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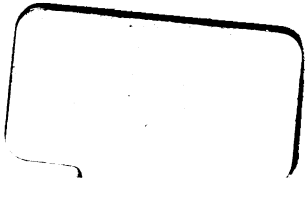

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

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ERRATA IN THIS VOLUME.

Page 41, line 38, *for* jug beef *read* jerked beef.
144, — 27, *for* Calcutta *read* Bombay.
241, — 20, *for* Gonsalez *read* Gonsalvi.
433, last line, *for* Cochin *read* Cochinchina.

In pages 445 and 449, the difference between the natural and monopoly prices of tea are greatly underrated. The materials of a more accurate calculation, extracted from English and American prices current, are contained in p. 452.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

NOVEMBER, 1817.

No. LVII.

ART. I. *Lalla Rookh; an Oriental Romance.* By THOMAS MOORE. 4to. pp. 405. London, 1817.

THERE is a great deal of our recent poetry derived from the East: But this is the finest orientalism we have had yet. The land of the Sun has never shone out so brightly on the children of the North—nor the sweets of Asia been poured forth, nor her gorgeousness displayed so profusely to the delighted senses of Europe. The beauteous forms, the dazzling splendours, the breathing odours of the East, seem at last to have found a kindred poet in that Green Isle of the West, whose Genius has long been suspected to be derived from a warmer clime, and now wantons and luxuriates in these voluptuous regions, as if it felt that it had at length regained its native element. It is amazing, indeed, how much at home Mr Moore seems to be in India, Persia, and Arabia; and how purely and strictly Asiatic all the colouring and imagery of his book appears. He is thoroughly embued with the character of the scenes to which he transports us; and yet the extent of his knowledge is less wonderful than the dexterity and apparent facility with which he has turned it to account in the elucidation and embellishment of his poetry. There is not a simile or description, a name, a trait of history, or allusion of romance which belongs to European experience; or does not indicate an entire familiarity with the life, nature, and learning of the East. Nor are these barbaric ornaments thinly scattered to make up a show. They are showered lavishly over all the work; and form, perhaps too much, the staple of the poetry—and the riches of that which is chiefly distinguished for its richness. We would confine this remark, however, to the descriptions of external objects, and the

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allusions to literature and history—to what may be termed the *materiel* of the poetry before us. The characters and sentiments are of a different order. They cannot, indeed, be said to be copies of European nature; but they are still less like that of any other region. They are, in truth, poetical imaginations;—but it is to the poetry of rational, honourable, considerate, and humane Europe, that they belong—and not to the childishness, cruelty, and profligacy of Asia. So far as we have yet seen, there is no sound sense, firmness of purpose, or principled goodness, except among the natives of Europe, and their genuine descendants.

There is something very extraordinary, we think, in the work before us—and something which indicates in the author, not only a great exuberance of talent, but a very singular constitution of genius. While it is more splendid in imagery—and for the most part in very good taste—more rich in sparkling thoughts and original conceptions, and more full indeed of exquisite pictures, both of all sorts of beauties and virtues, and all sorts of sufferings and crimes, than any other poem that has yet come before us; we rather think we speak the sense of all classes of readers when we add, that the effect of the whole is to mingle a certain feeling of disappointment with that of admiration—to excite admiration rather than any warmer sentiment of delight—to dazzle, more than to enchant—and, in the end, more frequently to startle the fancy, and fatigue the attention, with the constant succession of glittering images and high-strained emotions, than to maintain a rising interest, or win a growing sympathy, by a less profuse or more systematic display of attractions.

The style is, on the whole, rather diffuse, and too unvaried in its character. But its greatest fault, in our eyes, is the uniformity of its brilliancy—the want of plainness, simplicity and repose. We have heard it observed, by some very zealous admirers of Mr Moore's genius, that you cannot open this book without finding a cluster of beauties in every page. Now, this is only another way of expressing what we think its greatest defect. No work, consisting of many pages, should have detached and distinguishable beauties in every one of them. No great work, indeed, should have *many* beauties: If it were perfect, it would have but *one*, and that but faintly perceptible, except on a view of the whole. Look, for example, at what is perhaps the most finished and exquisite production of human art—the design and elevation of a Grecian temple, in its old severe simplicity. What penury of ornament—what neglect of beauties of detail!—what masses of plain surface—what rigid economical li-

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mitation to the useful and the necessary! The cottage of a peasant is scarcely more simple in its structure, and has not fewer parts that are superfluous. Yet what grandeur—what elegance—what grace and completeness in the effect! The whole is beautiful—because the beauty is in the whole; but there is little merit in any of the parts, except that of fitness and careful finishing. Contrast this, now, with a Dutch pleasure-house, or a Chinese—where every part is meant to be beautiful, and the result is deformity,—where there is not an inch of the surface that is not brilliant with colour, and rough with curves and angles,—and where the effect of the whole is monstrous and offensive. We are as far as possible from meaning to insinuate that Mr Moore's poetry is of this description; on the contrary, we think his ornaments are, for the most part, truly and exquisitely beautiful; and the general design of his pieces very elegant and ingenious: All that we mean to say is, that there is too much ornament—too many insulated and independent beauties—and that the notice, and the very admiration they excite, hurt the interest of the general design; and not only withdraw our attention too importunately from it, but at last weary it out with their perpetual recurrence.

It seems to be a law of our intellectual constitution, that the powers of taste cannot be permanently gratified, except by some *sustained* or continuous emotion; and that a series, even of the most agreeable excitements, soon ceases, if broken and disconnected, to give any pleasure. No conversation fatigues so soon as that which is made up of points and epigrams; and the accomplished rhetorician, who

——could not ope
His mouth, but out there flew a trope,

must have been a most intolerable companion. There are some things, too, that seem so plainly intended for ornaments and seasonings only, that they are only agreeable, when sprinkled in moderation over a plainer medium. No one would like to make an entire meal on *sauce piquante*; or to appear in a coat crusted thick over with diamonds; or to pass a day in a steam of rich distilled perfumes. It is the same with the glittering ornaments of poetry—with splendid metaphors and ingenious allusions, and all the figures of speech and of thought that constitute its outward pomp and glory. Now, Mr Moore, it appears to us, is decidedly too lavish of his gems and sweets;—he labours under a plethora of wit and imagination—impairs his credit by the palpable exuberance of his possessions, and would be richer with half his wealth. His works are not only of rich materials and graceful design, but they are everywhere

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glistening with small beauties and transitory inspirations—sudden flashes of fancy, that blaze out and perish; like earth-born meteors that crackle in the lower sky, and unseasonably divert our eyes from the great and lofty bodies which pursue their harmonious courses in a serener region.

We have spoken of these as faults of style,—but they could scarcely have existed without going deeper; and though they first strike us as qualities of the composition only, we find, upon a little reflection, that the same general character belongs to the fable, the characters, and the sentiments,—that they all sin alike in the excess of their means of attraction,—and fail to interest, chiefly by being too interesting.

In order to avoid the debasement of ordinary or familiar life, the author has soared to a region beyond the comprehension of most of his readers. All his personages are so very beautiful, and brave, and agonizing—so totally wrapt up in the exaltation of their vehement emotions, and withal so lofty in rank, and so sumptuous and magnificent in all that relates to their external condition, that the herd of ordinary mortals can scarcely venture to conceive of their proceedings, or to sympathize freely with their fortunes. The disasters to which they are exposed, and the designs in which they are engaged, are of the same ambitious and exaggerated character; and all are involved in so much pomp, and splendour, and luxury, and the description of their extreme grandeur and elegance forms so considerable a part of the whole work, that the less sublime portion of the species can with difficulty presume to judge of them, or to enter into the concernments of such very exquisite persons. The incidents, in like manner, are so prodigiously moving, so excessively improbable, and so terribly critical, that we have the same difficulty of raising our sentiments to the proper pitch for them;—and, finding it impossible to sympathize as we ought to do with such portentous occurrences, are sometimes tempted to withhold our sympathy altogether, and to seek for its objects among more familiar adventures. Scenes of voluptuous splendour and ecstasy alternate suddenly with agonizing separations, atrocious crimes, and tremendous sufferings;—battles, incredibly fierce and sanguinary, follow close on entertainments incredibly sumptuous and elegant;—terrific tempests are succeeded by delicious calms at sea: and the land scenes are divided between horrible chasms and precipices, and vales and gardens rich in eternal blooms, and glittering with palaces and temples—while the interest of the story is maintained by instruments and agents of no less potency than insanity, blasphemy, poisonings, religious hatred, national antipathy, demoniacal misanthropy, and devoted love.

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We are aware that, in objecting to a work like this, that it is made up of such materials, we may seem to be objecting that it is made of the elements of poetry,—since it is no doubt true, that it is by the use of these very materials that poetry is substantially distinguished from prose, and that it is to them it is indebted for all that is peculiar in the delight and the interest it inspires: and it may seem a little unreasonable to complain of a poet, that he treats us with the essence of poetry. We have already hinted, however, that no man likes to live entirely on essences, and that our objection goes not only to the excessive strength of the emotions that are sought to be raised, but to the violence of their transitions, and the want of continuity in the train of feeling that is produced. It may not be amiss, however, to add a word or two more of explanation.

In the *first* place, then, if we consider how *the fact* stands, we shall find that all the great poets, and, in an especial manner, all the poets who chain down the attention of their readers, and maintain a growing interest through a long series of narrations, have been remarkable for the occasional familiarity, and even homeliness, of their incidents, characters and sentiments. This is the distinguishing feature in Homer, Chaucer, Ariosto, Shakespeare, Dryden, Scott—and will be found to occur, we believe, in all poetry that has been long and extensively popular, or that is capable of pleasing very strongly, or stirring very deeply, the common sensibilities of our nature. We need scarcely make an exception for the lofty Lyric, which is so far from being generally attractive, that it is not even intelligible, except to a studious few—or for those solemn and devotional strains which derive their interest from a still higher principle: But in all narrative poetry—in all long pieces made up of descriptions and adventures, it seems hitherto to have been an indispensable condition of their success, that the persons and events should bear a considerable resemblance to those which we meet with in ordinary life; and, though more animated and important than to be of daily occurrence, should not be immeasurably exalted above the common standard of human fortune and character.

It should be almost enough to settle the question, that such is the fact—and that no narrative poetry has ever excited a great interest, where the persons were too much purified from the vulgar infirmities of our nature, or the incidents too thoroughly purged of all that is ordinary or familiar. But the slightest reflection upon the feelings with which we read such poetry, must satisfy us as *to the reason* of our disappointment. It may be told in two words. Writings of this kind revolt by their improbability; and fatigue, by offering no points upon which our

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sympathies can readily attach.—Two things are necessary to give a fictitious narrative a deep and commanding interest; *first*, that we should believe that such things might have happened; and *secondly*, that they might have happened to ourselves, or to such persons as ourselves. But, in reading the ambitious and overwrought poetry of which we have been speaking, we feel perpetually, that there could have been no such people, and no such occurrences as we are there called upon to feel for; and that it is impossible to have much concern about beings whose principles of action are so remote from our own, and who are placed in situations to which we have never known any parallel. It is no doubt true, that the stories that interest us must represent passions of a higher pitch, and events of a more extraordinary nature than occur in ordinary life; and that it is in consequence of rising thus sensibly above its level, that they become objects of interest and attention. But, in order that this very elevation may be felt, and produce its effect, the story must itself, in other places, give us the known and ordinary level,—and, by a thousand adaptations and traits of *universal* nature, make us feel, that the characters which become every now and then the objects of our intense sympathy and admiration, in great emergencies, and under the influence of rare but conceivable excitements, are, after all, our fellow creatures—made of the same flesh and blood with ourselves, and acting, and acted upon, by the common principles of our nature. Without this, indeed, the effect of their sufferings and exploits would be entirely lost upon us; as we should be without any scale by which to estimate the magnitude of the temptations they had to resist, or the energies they had exerted. To make us aware of the altitude of a mountain, it is absolutely necessary to show us the plain from which it ascends. If we are allowed to see nothing but *the table land* at the top, the effect will be no greater than if we had remained on the humble level of the shore—except that it will be more lonely, bleak, and inhospitable. And thus it is, that by exaggerating the heroic qualities of heroes, they become as uninteresting as if they had no such qualities—that by striking out those weaknesses and vulgar infirmities which identify them with ordinary mortals, they not only cease to interest ordinary mortals, but even to excite their admiration or surprise; and appear merely as strange inconceivable beings, in whom superhuman energy and refinement are no more to be wondered at, than the power of flying in an eagle, or of fasting in a snake.

The wise antient who observed, that being a man himself, he could not but take an interest in every thing that related to man—might have confirmed his character for wisdom, by add-

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ing, that for the same reason he could take no interest in any thing else. There is nothing, after all, that we ever truly care for, but the feelings of creatures like ourselves—and we are obliged to lend them to the flowers and the brooks of the valley, and the stars and airs of heaven, before we can take any delight in them. With sentient beings the case is more obviously the same. In whatever class we rank them, or with whatever fantastic attributes we may please to invest them, still we comprehend and concern ourselves about them, only in so far as they resemble ourselves. All the deities of the classic mythology—and all the devils and angels of later poets, are nothing but human creatures—or at least only interest us so long as they are so. Let any one try to imagine what kind of story he could make of the adventures of a set of beings who differed from our own species in any of its general attributes—who were incapable, for instance, of the debasing feelings of fear, pain or anxiety—and he will find, that instead of becoming more imposing and attractive by getting rid of those infirmities, they become utterly insignificant, and indeed in a great degree inconceivable. Or, to come a little closer to the matter before us, and not to go beyond the bounds of common experience—Suppose a tale, founded on refined notions of delicate love and punctilious integrity, to be told to a race of obscene, brutal and plundering savages—or, even within the limits of the same country, if a poem, turning upon the jealousies of court intrigue, the pride of rank, and the cabals of sovereigns and statesmen, were put into the hands of village maidens or clownish labourers, is it not obvious that the remoteness of the manners, characters and feelings from their own, would first surprise, and then revolt them—and that the moral, intellectual and adventitious Superiority of the personages concerned, would, instead of enhancing the interest, entirely destroy it, and very speedily extinguish all sympathy with their passions, and all curiosity about their fate? —Now, what gentlemen and ladies are to a ferocious savage, or politicians and princesses to an ordinary rustic, the exaggerated persons of such poetry as we are now considering, are to the ordinary readers of poetry. They do not believe in the possibility of their existence, or their adventures. They do not comprehend the principles of their conduct, and have no thorough sympathy with the feelings that are ascribed to them.

We have carried this speculation, we believe, a little too far —and, with reference to the volume before us, it would be more correct perhaps to say, that it had suggested these observations, than that they are strictly applicable to it. For though its faults are certainly of the kind we have been endeavouring to describe,

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it would be quite unjust to characterize it by its faults, which are beyond all doubt less conspicuous than its beauties. There is not only a richness and brilliancy of diction and imagery spread over the whole work, that indicate the greatest activity and elegance of fancy in the author; but it is everywhere pervaded still more strikingly with a strain of tender and noble feeling, poured out with such warmth and abundance, as to steal insensibly on the heart of the reader, and gradually to overflow it with a tide of sympathetic emotion. There are passages indeed, and these neither few nor brief, over which the very Genius of poetry seems to have breathed his richest enchantment--where the melody of the verse and the beauty of the images conspire so harmoniously with the force and tenderness of the emotion, that the whole is blended into one deep and bright stream of sweetness and feeling, along which the spirit of the reader is borne passively away, through long reaches of delight. Mr Moore's poetry, indeed, where his happiest vein is opened, realizes more exactly than that of any other writer, the splendid account which is given by Comus of the song of

> 'His mother Circe, and the Sirens three,
> Amid the flowery-kirtled Naiades,
> Who, as they sung, would take the prisoned soul,
> And lap it in Elysium.'

And though it is certainly to be regretted that he should so often have broken the measure with more frivolous strains, or filled up its intervals with a sort of brilliant *falsetto*, it should never be forgotten, that his excellences are at least as peculiar to himself as his faults, and, on the whole, perhaps more characteristic of his genius.

The volume before us contains four separate and distinct poems—connected, however, and held together 'like orient pearls at random strung,' by the slender thread of a slight prose story, on which they are all suspended, and to the simple catastrophe of which they in some measure contribute. This airy and elegant legend is to the following effect. Lalla Rookh, the daughter of the great Aurengzebe, is betrothed to the young king of Bucharia; and sets forth, with a splendid train of Indian and Bucharian attendants, to meet her enamoured bridegroom in the delightful valley of Cashmere. The progress of this gorgeous cavalcade, and the beauty of the country which it traverses, are described with great richness of colouring and picturesque effect; though in this, as well as in all the other parts of the prose narrative, a certain tone of levity, and even derision, is frequently assumed—not very much in keeping, we think, with the tender and tragic strain of the poetry of which

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it is the accompaniment—certain breakings out, in short, of that mocking European wit which has made itself merry with Asiatic solemnity, ever since the time of the facetious Count Hamilton—but seems not a little out of place in a miscellany, the prevailing character of which is of so opposite a temper. To amuse the languor, or divert the impatience of the royal bride in the noon-tide and night-halts of her luxurious progress, a young Cashmerian poet had been sent by the gallantry of the bridegroom; and recites, on those occasions, the several poems that form the bulk of the volume now before us. Such is the witchery of his voice and look, and such the sympathetic effect of the tender tales which he recounts, that the poor princess, as was naturally to be expected, falls desperately in love with him before the end of the journey; and, by the time she enters the lovely Vale of Cashmere, and sees the glittering palaces and towers prepared for her reception, she feels that she would joyfully forego all this pomp and splendour, and fly to the desert with her adored Feramorz. The youthful bard, however, has now disappeared from her side; and she is supported, with fainting heart and downcast eyes, into the hated presence of her tyrant, when the voice of Feramorz himself bids her be of good cheer—and, looking up, she sees her beloved poet in the Prince himself! who had assumed this gallant disguise, and won her young affections, without deriving any aid from his rank or her engagements. The whole story is very sweetly and gaily told; and is adorned with many tender as well as lively passages—without reckoning among the latter the occasional criticisms of the omniscient Fadladeen, the magnificent and most infallible grand chamberlain of the Haram—whose sayings and remarks, we cannot help observing, do not agree very well with the character which is assigned him—being for the most part very smart, snappish, and acute, and by no means solemn, stupid, and pompous, as was to have been expected. Mr Moore's genius, however, we suppose, is too inveterately lively, to make it possible for him even to counterfeit dulness. We come at last, however, to the poetry.

The first piece, which is entitled 'the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan,' is the longest, we think, and certainly not the best, of the series. It has all the faults which we have, somewhat too sweepingly, imputed to the volume at large; and it was chiefly, indeed, with a reference to it, that we made those introductory remarks, which the author will probably think too much in the spirit of the sage Chamberlain. The story, which is not in all its parts extremely intelligible, is founded on a notice, in D'Herbelot, of a daring impostor of the early ages of Islamism, who pretended to have received a later and more authoritative

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mission than that of the Prophet, and to be destined to overturn all tyrannies and superstitions on the earth, and to rescue all souls that believed in him. To shade the celestial radiance of his brow, he always wore a veil of silver gauze, and was at last attacked by the Caliph, and exterminated, with all his adherents. On this story, Mr Moore has engrafted a romantic and not very probable tale of two young lovers, Azim and Zelica; the former of whom having been supposed to perish in battle, the grief of the latter unsettles her understanding; and her distempered imagination is easily inflamed by the mystic promises of the Veiled Prophet, which at length prevail on her to join the troop of lovely priestesses who earn a blissful immortality in another world, by sharing his embraces upon earth. By what artful illusions the poor distracted maid was thus betrayed to her ruin, is not very satisfactorily explained; only we learn, that she and the Veiled Apostle descended into a charnel-house, and took a mutual oath, and drank blood together, in pledge of their eternal union. The prophet himself Mr Moore has represented as the most atrocious of all wretches, and instigated to his impious impostures, not so much by ambition, as by an insane and furious misanthropy, suggested, in part, by his consciousness of the hideous deformity of his visage, but inflamed, at last, into a diabolical hatred and scorn for human nature. At length Azim, who had not been slain, but made captive in battle, and who had wandered in Greece till he had imbibed the love of liberty that inspired her famous heroes of old—hears of the proud promises of emancipation which Mokanna (for that was the prophet's name) had held out to all nations, and comes to be enrolled among the champions of freedom and virtue. On the day of his presentment, the fallen Zelica sees him through the lattices of the hall; and the first sudden flash of joy and astonishment half restores her bewildered mind to a sense of her degradation and misery. In the mean time, Mokanna commands her attendance in private—tells her she must assist in seducing the warlike novice who had just joined their society, but seemed still too full of austerity for their purposes; and when she refuses the task, with expressions of agony and horror, addresses her, for the first time, in terms of undisguised profligacy and cruelty,—and at length lifts up the silver veil, and, with fiendish merriment, unmasks that dreadful countenance in which all horrors are assembled, and at the sight of which she falls senseless at his feet. Azim is next introduced into a scene of voluptuous splendour, where all the seductive influences of art and nature are in vain exerted to divert his thoughts from the love of Ze-

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lica and of Liberty. He breaks proudly away from these soft enchantments, and finds a mournful female figure before him, in whom he almost immediately recognises his long-lost and ever-loved Zelica. The first moment of their meeting is ecstasy on both sides; but the unhappy girl soon calls to mind the unutterable condition to which she is reduced—and, in agony, reveals to him the sad story of her derangement, and of the base advantages that had been taken of it. Azim at first throws her from him in abhorrence, but soon turns, in relenting pity, and offers at least to rescue her from this seat of pollution. She listens with eager joy to his proposal, and is about to fly with him in the instant, when the dread voice of Mokanna thunders in her ear her oath of eternal fidelity. That terrible sound brings back the frenzy of her soul. She throws her lover wildly from her, and vanishes at once, amidst the dazzling lights of that unholy palace. Azim then joins the approaching army of the Caliph, and leads on his forces against the impious usurper. Mokanna performs prodigies of valour,—but is always borne back by the superior force and enthusiasm of Azim. By vaunting words, however, and vain illusions, he contrives to maintain the confidence and courage of his followers, till their scanty remains are at length closely invested in the last of his cities. He then assembles them around him; tells them that the appointed hour of their triumph is at length arrived; and that that very night he will unveil to them that glorious brow, before the brightness of which, the force of his enemies shall be withered and overthrown in the morning. They are all invited accordingly to a sumptuous banquet, at the close of which he serves round to them cups drugged with deadly poison; and when it begins to operate, discloses to them, with bitter taunts and insults, the infernal countenance they had so long worshipped unseen. In the close of this scene of horror, he commands Zelica to be introduced,—forces her to drink the last drop of the poison,—and then, after a speech of insane blasphemy, misanthropy, and desperation, plunges into a bath, of such corrosive quality, as instantly to extinguish life, and dissolve all the elements of the mortal frame. Zelica covers herself with the fatal veil, and totters out to the ramparts, where, being mistaken for Mokanna, she rushes upon the spear of her Azim, and receives his forgiveness in death. He survives, to pass the rest of his life in continual prayer and supplication for her erring spirit; and dies at last upon her grave, in the full assurance of rejoining her in purity and bliss.——

It is needless to enlarge on the particular faults of this story, after the general observations we hazarded at the outset. The

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character of Mokanna, as well as his power and influence, is a mere distortion and extravagance: But the great blemish is the corruption of Zelica, and the insanity so gratuitously alleged by the poet in excuse of it. Nothing less, indeed, would in any way account for such a catastrophe; and, after all, it is painful and offensive to the imagination. But we really have nothing but the poet's word for the existence of this infirmity; for, except in the agony in which she breaks away from Azim, she conducts herself with perfect composure and consistency throughout. Indeed, the very supremacy she exercises in the Haram, and her selection to conduct a scheme of artful seduction, are irreconcileable with the idea of habitual frenzy. The bridal oath, pledged with blood among the festering bodies of the dead, is one of the overstrained theatrical horrors of the German school; and a great deal of the theorizing and argumentation which is intended to palliate or conceal those defects, is obscure and incomprehensible. Rich as it is, in short, in fancy and expression, and powerful in some of the scenes of passion, we should have had great doubts of the success of this volume, if it had all been of the same texture with the poem of which we are speaking. Yet, even there, there is a charm, almost irresistible, in the volume of sweet sounds and beautiful images, which are heaped together with luxurious profusion in the general texture of the style, and invest even the absurdities of the story with the graceful amplitude of their rich and figured veil. What, for instance, can be sweeter than this account of Azim's entry into this earthly paradise of temptations?

'Meanwhile, through vast illuminated halls,
Silent and bright, where nothing but the falls
Of fragrant waters, gushing with cool sound
From many a jasper fount is heard around,
Young AZIM roams bewilder'd,—nor can guess
What means this maze of light and loneliness.
Here, the way leads, o'er tesselated floors
Or mats of CAIRO, through long corridors,
Where, rang'd in cassolets and silver urns,
Sweet wood of aloe or of sandal burns;
And spicy rods, such as illume at night
The bowers of TIBET, send forth odorous light,
Like Peris' wands, when pointing out the road
For some pure Spirit to its blest abode!—
And here, at once, the glittering saloon
Bursts on his sight, boundless and bright as noon;
Where, in the midst, reflecting back the rays
In broken rainbows, a fresh fountain plays
High as the' enamell'd cupola, which towers
All rich with Arabesques of gold and flowers:

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And the mosaic floor beneath shines through
The sprinkling of that fountain's silvery dew,
Like the wet, glistening shells, of every dye,
That on the margin of the Red Sea lie.

Here too he traces the kind visitings
Of woman's love in those fair, living things
Of land and wave, whose fate—in bondage thrown
For their weak loveliness—is like her own!
On one side gleaming with a sudden grace
Through water, brilliant as the crystal vase
In which it undulates, small fishes shine,
Like golden ingots from a fairy mine;—
While, on the other, lattic'd lightly in
With odoriferous woods of COMORIN,
Each brilliant bird that wings the air is seen;—
Gay, sparkling loories, such as gleam between
The crimson blossoms of the coral tree
In the warm isles of India's sunny sea:
Mecca's blue sacred pigeon, and the thrush
Of Hindostan, whose holy warblings gush,
At evening, from the tall pagoda's top;—
Those golden birds that, in the spice-time, drop
About the gardens, drunk with that sweet food
Whose scent hath lur'd them o'er the summer flood;—
And those that under ARABY's soft sun
Build their high nests of budding cinnamon.' p. 53–56.

The warrior youth looks round at first with disdain upon those seductions with which he supposes the sage prophet wishes to try the firmness of his votaries.

'So thought the youth;—but, ev'n while he defied
This witching scene, he felt its witchery glide
Through every sense. The perfume, breathing round,
Like a pervading spirit;—the still sound
Of falling waters, lulling as the song
Of Indian bees at sunset, when they throng
Around the fragrant NILICA, and deep
In its blue blossoms hum themselves to sleep!
And music too—dear music! that can touch
Beyond all else the soul that loves it much—
Now heard far off, so far as but to seem
Like the faint, exquisite music of a dream;—
All was too much for him, too full of bliss,
The heart could nothing feel, that felt not this;
Soften'd he sunk upon a couch, and gave
His soul up to sweet thoughts, like wave on wave
Succeeding in smooth seas, when storms are laid;—
He thought of ZELICA, his own dear maid,

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And of the time when, full of blissful sighs,
They sat and look'd into each other's eyes,
Silent and happy—as if God had given
Nought else worth looking at on this side heaven!
'While thus he thinks, still nearer on the breeze
Come those delicious, dream-like harmonies,
Each note of which but adds new, downy links
To the soft chain in which his spirit sinks.
He turns him tow'rd the sound, and, far away
Through a long vista, sparkling with the play
Of countless lamps,—like the rich track which Day
Leaves on the waters, when he sinks from us;
So long the path, its light so tremulous;—
He sees a groupe of female forms advance,
Some chain'd together in the mazy dance
By fetters, forg'd in the green sunny bowers,
As they were captives to the King of Flowers,' &c.
'Awhile they dance before him, then divide,
Breaking, like rosy clouds at even-tide
Around the rich pavilion of the sun,—
Till silently dispersing, one by one,
Through many a path that from the chamber leads
To gardens, terraces, and moonlight meads,
Their distant laughter comes upon the wind,
And but one trembling nymph remains behind,
Beck'ning them back in vain, for they are gone,
And she is left in all that light alone;
No veil to curtain o'er her beauteous brow,
In its young bashfulness more beauteous now;
But a light, golden chain-work round her hair
Such as the maids of YEZD and SHIRAZ wear,
From which, on either side, gracefully hung
A golden amulet, in the' Arab tongue,
Engraven o'er with some immortal line
From holy writ, or bard scarce less divine;
While her left hand, as shrinkingly she stood,
Held a small lute of gold and sandal-wood,
Which, once or twice, she touch'd with hurried strain,
Then took her trembling fingers off again.
But when at length a timid glance she stole
At AZIM, the sweet gravity of soul
She saw through all his features calm'd her fear,
And, like a half-tam'd antelope, more near,
Though shrinking still, she came;—then sat her down
Upon a musnud's edge, and, bolder grown,
In the pathetic mode of ISPAHAN
Touch'd a preluding strain, and thus began:—

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'There's a bower of roses by BENDEMEER's stream,
And the nightingale sings round it all the day long;
In the time of my childhood 'twas like a sweet dream,
To sit in the roses and hear the bird's song.
That bower and its music I never forget,
But oft when alone, in the bloom of the year,
I think—is the nightingale singing there yet?
Are the roses still bright by the calm BENDEMEER?' p. 58–63.

This pensive strain is quickly broken off by a troop of dancing nymphs, whose graceful and expressive movements are described in verses of equal beauty.

'While she, who sung so gently to the lute
Her dream of home, steals timidly away,
Shrinking as violets do in summer's ray,—
But takes with her from AZIM's heart that sigh
We sometimes give to forms that pass us by
In the world's crowd, too lovely to remain,
Creatures of light we never see again!

'Around the white necks of the nymphs who danc'd
Hung carcanets of orient gems, that glanc'd
More brilliant than the sea-glass glittering o'er
The hills of crystal on the Caspian shore;
While from their long, dark tresses, in a fall
Of curls descending, bells as musical
As those that, on the golden-shafted trees
Of EDEN, shake in the Eternal Breeze,
Rung round their steps, at every bound more sweet,
As 'twere th' extatic language of their feet!
At length the chase was o'er, and they stood wreath'd
Within each other's arms; while soft there breath'd
Through the cool casement, mingled with the sighs
Of moonlight flowers, music that seemed to rise
From some still lake, so liquidly it rose,
And, as it swell'd again at each faint close,
The ear could track through all that maze of chords
And young sweet voices, these impassion'd words:—

'A Spirit there is, whose fragrant sigh
Is burning now through earth and air,
Where cheeks are blushing, the Spirit is nigh,
Where lips are meeting, the Spirit is there!

'His breath is the soul of flowers like these,
And his floating eyes—oh! *they* resemble
Blue water-lilies, when the breeze
Is making the stream around them tremble!

'Hail to thee, hail to thee, kindling power!
Spirit of Love, Spirit of Bliss!

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Thy holiest time is the moonlight hour,
And there never was moonlight so sweet as this.' p. 65–67.

The tragical meeting with Zelica, is described with the same redundance of bright images.—But we can only make room for her rapture of gratitude and humility, when Azim, after he knows all, presses her to fly with him from that false prophet's power.

' " What! take the lost one with thee? let her rove
" By thy dear side, as in those days of love,
" When we were both so happy, both so pure—
" Too heavenly dream! if there's on earth a cure
" For the sunk heart, 'tis this—day after day
" To be the blest companion of thy way;—
" To hear thy angel eloquence—to see
" Those virtuous eyes for ever turn'd on me;
" And in their light re-chasten'd silently,
" Like the stain'd web that whitens in the sun,
" Grow pure by being purely shone upon!
" And thou wilt pray for me—I know thou wilt—
" At the dim vesper hour, when thoughts of guilt
" Come heaviest o'er the heart, thou'lt lift thine eyes,
" Full of sweet tears unto the darkening skies,
" And plead for me with Heav'n, till I can dare
" To fix my own weak, sinful glances there;—
" Till the good angels, when they see me cling
" For ever near thee, pale and sorrowing,
" Shall for thy sake pronounce my soul forgiven,
" And bid thee take thy weeping slave to heaven!" ' p. 79–80.

The following picture of the grand armament of the Caliph, shows the same luxuriance of diction and imagination, directed to different objects.

' Whose are the gilded tents that crowd the way,
Where all was waste and silent yesterday?
This City of War which, in a few short hours,
Hath sprung up here, as if the magic powers
Of Him who, in the twinkling of a star,
Built the high pillar'd halls of CHILMINAR,
Had conjur'd up, far as the eye can see,
This world of tents and domes and sun-bright armory!—
Princely pavilions, screen'd by many a fold
Of crimson cloth, and topp'd with balls of gold;—
Steeds, with their housings of rich silver spun,
Their chains and poitrels glittering in the sun;
And camels, tufted o'er with Yemen's shells,
Shaking in every breeze their light-ton'd bells!

' But yester-eve, so motionless around,
So mute was this wide plain, that not a sound

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But the far torrent, or the locust-bird
Hunting among the thickets, could be heard;—
Yet hark! what discords now, of every kind,
Shouts, laughs, and screams are revelling in the wind!
The neigh of cavalry;—the tinkling throngs
Of laden camels and their drivers' songs;—
Ringing of arms, and flapping in the breeze
Of streamers from ten thousand canopies;—
War-music, bursting out from time to time
With gong and tymbalon's tremendous chime;—
Or, in the pause, when harsher sounds are mute,
The mellow breathings of some horn or flute,
That far off, broken by the eagle note
Of the' Abyssinian trumpet, swell and float!'—
'Ne'er did the march of MAHADI display
Such pomp before;—not ev'n when on his way
To MECCA's Temple, when both land and sea
Were spoil'd to feed the Pilgrim's luxury;
When round him, mid the burning sands, he saw
Fruits of the North in icy freshness thaw,
And cool'd his thirsty lip, beneath the glow
Of MECCA's sun, with urns of Persian snow:—
Nor e'er did armament more grand than that
Pour from the kingdoms of the Caliphat.
First, in the van, the People of the Rock,
On their light mountain steeds, of royal stock;
Then, Chieftains of DAMASCUS, proud to see
The flashing of their swords' rich marquetry,' &c. p. 86–89.

We can afford room now only for the conclusion—the last words of the dying Zelica; which remind us of those of Campbell's Gertrude—and the catastrophe of Azim, which is imaged in that of Southey's Roderick.

'"But live, my AZIM;—oh! to call thee mine
"Thus once again!—*my* AZIM—dream divine!
"Live, if thou ever lov'dst me, if to meet
"Thy ZELICA hereafter would be sweet,
"Oh live to pray for her—to bend the knee
"Morning and night before that Deity,
"To whom pure lips and hearts without a stain,
"As thine are, AZIM, never breath'd in vain,—
"And pray that He may pardon her,—may take
"Compassion on her soul for thy dear sake,
"And, nought remembering but her love to thee,
"Make her all thine, all His, eternally!
"Go to those happy fields where first we twin'd
"Our youthful hearts together—every wind
"That meets thee there, fresh from the well-known flowers,
"Will bring the sweetness of those innocent hours

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" Back to thy soul, and thou may'st feel again
" For thy poor ZELICA as thou did'st then.
" So shall thy orisons, like dew that flies
" To heav'n upon the morning's sunshine, rise
" With all love's earliest ardour to the skies!"

' Time fleeted—years on years had pass'd away,
And few of those who, on that mournful day,
Had stood, with pity in their eyes, to see
The maiden's death, and the youth's agony,
Were living still—when, by a rustic grave
Beside the swift Amoo's transparent wave,
An aged man, who had grown aged there
By that lone grave, morning and night in prayer,
For the last time knelt down—and, though the shade
Of death hung darkening over him, there play'd
A gleam of rapture on his eye and cheek,
That brighten'd even Death—like the last streak
Of intense glory on the' horizon's brim,
When night o'er all the rest hangs chill and dim,—
His soul had seen a Vision, while he slept;
She, for whose spirit he had pray'd and wept
So many years, had come to him, all drest
In angel smiles, and told him she was blest!
For this the old man breath'd his thanks, and died.—
And there, upon the banks of that lov'd tide,
He and his ZELICA sleep side by side.' p. 121, 123.

After these large and beautiful extracts, we may be permitted, without any imputation of unfairness, to observe, that there are here and there in this poem—and we think in this only—some traces of misplaced levity and familiarity of tone—of that poor commonplace smartness which sometimes passes for wit and gallantry with men of the world, but is absolutely offensive in a poem of tragic interest. Did Mr Moore, for example, forget that he was not writing a song for a Burletta, when he described the beauties of Mokanna's court as

' Creatures so bright that the same lips and eyes
They wear on earth will serve in Paradise.'?

Or when, in absurd allusion to a phrase in the Song of Solomon, he speaks of some other fair one,

' Who if between the folds but *one* eye shone,
Like Sheba's queen could vanquish with that one.'?

In another place, he speaks of a garden rich ' with every flower this Earth *has got;* '—and we have already seen his apostrophe to ' *Dear Music!* '—and its power over those ' who love it *much.* ' But this slip-slop becomes still more intolerable, when the heroic Azim is made to say, as he bends over the closed eyes of the fainting Zelica, ' There!—*my sweet lids!*—they move!' These,

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however, and a few others of the same cast, are blemishes of haste and extreme facility; and detract less from the merit of the poem than the pleasure of its readers.

The next piece, which is entitled 'Paradise and the Peri,' has none of these faults. It is full of spirit, elegance, and beauty; and, though slight enough in its structure, breathes throughout a most pure and engaging morality. It is, in truth, little more than a moral apologue, expanded and adorned by the exuberant fancy of the poet who recites it. The Peris are a sort of half-fallen female angels, who dwell in air, and live on perfumes; and, though banished for a time from Paradise, go about in this lower world doing good. One of these — But it is as short, and much more agreeable, to give the author's own introduction.

'One morn a Peri at the gate
Of Eden stood, disconsolate;
And as she listen'd to the Springs
Of Life within, like music flowing;
And caught the light upon her wings
Through the half-open portal glowing,
She wept to think her recreant race
Should e'er have lost that glorious place!' p. 133.

The Angel of the Gate sees her weeping, and says—

'"Nymph of a fair, but erring line!"
Gently he said—"One hope is thine.
"'Tis written in the Book of Fate,
"*The Peri yet may be forgiven*
"*Who brings to this Eternal Gate*
"*The Gift that is most dear to Heaven!*
"Go, seek it, and redeem thy sin;—
"'Tis sweet to let the Pardon'd in!"' p. 135.

Full of hope and gratitude, she goes eagerly in search of this precious gift. Her first quest is on the plains of India—the luxuriant beauty of which is put in fine contrast with the havoc and carnage which the march of a bloody conqueror had then spread over them. The Peri comes to witness the heroic death of a youthful patriot, who disdains to survive the overthrow of his country's independence. She catches the last drop which flows from his breaking heart, and bears that to heaven's gate, as the acceptable propitiation that was required. For

'"Oh! if there be, on this earthly sphere,
"A boon, an offering Heaven holds dear,
"'Tis the last libation Liberty draws
"From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her cause!"' p. 140.

The angel accepts the tribute with respect; but the crystal bar of the portal does not move! and she is told that something

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holier even than this will be required as the price of her admission. She now flies to the source of the Nile, and makes a delighted but pensive survey of the splendid regions which it waters; till she finds the inhabitants of the lovely gardens of Rosetta dying in thousands of the plague—the selfish deserting their friends and benefactors, and the generous, when struck with the fatal malady, seeking some solitude where they may die without bringing death upon others. Among the latter is a noble youth, who consoles himself, in the hour of his agony, with the thought, that his beloved and betrothed bride is safe from this mortal visitation. In the stillness of his midnight retreat, however, he hears a light step approaching.

'Tis she—far off, through moonlight dim,
He knew his own betrothed bride,
She, who would rather die with him,
Than live to gain the world beside!—
Her arms are round her lover now,
His livid cheek to hers she presses,
And dips, to bind his burning brow,
In the cool lake her loosen'd tresses.
Ah! once, how little did he think
An hour would come, when he should shrink
With horror from that dear embrace, &c.
" Oh! let me only breathe the air,
" The blessed air, that's breath'd by thee,
" And, whether on its wings it bear
" Healing or death, 'tis sweet to me!
" There,—drink my tears, while yet they fall,—
" Would that my bosom's blood were balm,
" And, well thou know'st, I'd shed it all,
" To give thy brow one minute's calm.
" Nay, turn not from me that dear face—
" Am I not thine—thy own lov'd bride—
" The one, the chosen one, whose place,
" In life or death is by thy side!
" When the stem dies, the leaf that grew
" Out of its heart must perish too!
" Then turn to me, my own love, turn,
" Before like thee I fade and burn;
" Cling to these yet cool lips, and share
" The last pure life that lingers there!"
She fails—she sinks—as dies the lamp
In charnel airs or cavern-damp,
So quickly do his baleful sighs
Quench all the sweet light of her eyes!
One struggle—and his pain is past—
Her lover is no longer living!

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One kiss the maiden gives, one last,
Long kiss, which she expires in giving!' p. 146—148.

The gentle Peri bids them sleep in peace; and bears again to the gates of heaven the farewell sigh of pure, self-sacrificing love. The worth of the gift is again admitted by the pitying angel; but the crystal bar still remains immoveable, and she is sent once more to seek a still holier offering. In passing over the romantic vales of Syria, she sees a lovely child at play among dews and flowers, and opposite to him a stern wayfaring man, resting from some unhallowed toil, with the stamp of all evil passions and evil deeds on his face.

'Though still, whene'er his eye by chance
Fell on the boy's, its lurid glance
Met that unclouded, joyous gaze,
As torches, that have burnt all night
Through some impure and godless rite,
Encounter morning's glorious rays.

'But hark! the vesper-call to prayer,
As slow the orb of day-light sets,
Is rising sweetly on the air,
From SYRIA's thousand minarets!
The boy has started from the bed
Of flowers, where he had laid his head,
And down upon the fragrant sod
Kneels, with his forehead to the south,
Lisping th' eternal name of God
From purity's own cherub mouth,
And looking, while his hands and eyes
Are lifted to the glowing skies,
Like a stray babe of Paradise,
Just lighted on that flowery plain,
And seeking for its home again!
Oh 'twas a sight—that Heav'n—that Child—
A scene, which might have well beguil'd
Ev'n haughty EBLIS of a sigh
For glories lost and peace gone by!

'And how felt *he*, the wretched Man
Reclining there—while memory ran
O'er many a year of guilt and strife,
Flew o'er the dark flood of his life,
Nor found one sunny resting place,
Nor brought him back one branch of grace!
"There *was* a time," he said, in mild,
Heart-humbled tones—"thou blessed child!
"When young and haply pure as thou,
"I look'd and pray'd like thee—but now—"

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He hung his head—each nobler aim
And hope and feeling, which had slept
From boyhood's hour, that instant came
Fresh o'er him, and he wept—he wept!' p. 156, 157.

This tear of repentance is the acceptable gift for the Peri's redemption. The gates of heaven fly open, and she rushes into the joy of immortality.

'The Fire Worshippers' is the next in the series, and appears to us to be indisputably the finest and most powerful. With all the richness and beauty of diction that belong to the best parts of Mokanna, it has a far more interesting story; and is not liable to any of the objections we have been obliged to bring against the contrivance and structure of that leading poem. The outline of the story is short and simple.—Al Hassan, the bigotted and sanguinary Emir of Persia, had long waged a furious and exterminating war against the votaries of the ancient religion of the land—the worshippers of Mithra, or his emblem, Fire—then and since designated by the name of Ghebers. The superior numbers of the invader had overcome the heroic resistance of the patriots, and driven them to take refuge in a precipitous peninsula, cut off from the land by what was understood to be an impassable ravine, and exposing nothing but bare rocks to the sea. In this fastness the scanty remnant of the Ghebers maintain themselves, under the command of their dauntless leader, Hafed, who is still enabled by sudden and daring incursions to harass and annoy their enemy. In one of those desperate enterprises, this adventurous leader climbs to the summit of a lofty cliff, near the Emir's palace, where a small pleasure-house had been built, in which he hoped to surprise this bigotted foe of his country; but found only his fair daughter Hinda, the loveliest and gentlest of all Arabian maids—as he himself expresses it.

'He climb'd the gory vulture's nest,
And found a trembling dove within.'

This romantic meeting gives rise to a mutual passion—and the love of the fair Hinda is inevitably fixed, before she knows the name or quality of her nightly visitant. In the noble heart of Hafed, however, love was but a secondary feeling to devotion to the freedom and the faith of his country. His little band had lately suffered further reverses, and saw nothing now before them but a glorious self-sacrifice. He resolves, therefore, to tear all gentler feelings from his breast, and in one last interview to take an eternal farewell of the maid who had captivated his soul. In his melancholy aspect she reads at once, with the instinctive sagacity of love, the tidings of their approaching

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separation, and breaks out into the following sweet and girlish repinings.

" I knew, I knew it *could* not last—
" 'Twas bright, 'twas heavenly, but 'tis past!
" Oh! ever thus, from childhood's hour,
" I've seen my fondest hopes decay;
" I never lov'd a tree or flower,
" But 'twas the first to fade away.
" I never nurs'd a dear gazelle,
" To glad me with its soft black eye,
" But when it came to know me well,
" And love me, it was sure to die!
" Now too—the joy most like divine
" Of all I ever dreamt or knew,
" To see thee, hear thee, call thee mine,—
" Oh misery! must I lose *that* too?
" Yet go—on peril's brink we meet;—
" Those frightful rocks—that treacherous sea—
" No, never come again - though sweet,
" Though heaven, it may be death to thee." p. 187, 188.

When he smiles sternly at the idea of danger, she urges him to join her father's forces, and earn her hand by helping him to root out those impious Ghebers whom he so much abhors. The spirit of the patriot bursts forth at this; and, without revealing his name or quality, he proudly avows and justifies the conduct of that luckless sect; and then, relenting, falls into a gentler and more pathetic strain.

" Oh! had we never, never met,
" Or could this heart ev'n now forget
" How link'd, how bless'd we might have been,
" Had Fate not frown'd so dark between!
" Hadst thou been born a Persian maid,
" In neighbouring valleys had we dwelt,
" Through the same fields in childhood play'd,
" At the same kindling altar knelt,—
" Then, then, while all those nameless ties,
" In which the charm of Country lies,
" Had round our hearts been hourly spun,
" Till IRAN's cause and thine were one;—
" While in thy lute's awakening sigh
" I heard the voice of days gone by,
" And saw in every smile of thine
" Returning hours of glory shine!—
" While the wrong'd Spirit of our Land
" Liv'd, look'd, and spoke her wrongs through thee,—
" God! who could then this sword withstand?
" Its very flash were victory!

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" But now—estrang'd, divorced for ever,
" Far as the grasp of Fate can sever;
" Our only ties what love has wove,—
" Faith, friends, and country, sunder'd wide;—
" And then, then only, true to love,
" When false to all that's dear beside!
" Thy father IRAN's deadliest foe—
" Thyself, perhaps, ev'n now—but no—
" Hate never look'd so lovely yet!
" No—sacred to thy soul will be
" The land of him who could forget
" All but that bleeding land for thee!
" When other eyes shall see, unmov'd,
" Her widows mourn, her warriors fall,
" Thou'lt think how well one Gheber lov'd,
" And for *his* sake thou'lt weep for all!" p. 193, 194.

He then starts desperately away, regains his skiff at the foot of the precipice, and leaves her in agony and consternation. The poet now proceeds to detail, a little more particularly, the history of his hero, and recounts some of the absurd legends and miraculous attributes with which the fears of his enemies had invested his name.

' Such were the tales, that won belief,
And such the colouring fancy gave
To a young, warm and dauntless Chief,—
One who, no more than mortal brave,
Fought for the land his soul ador'd,
For happy homes and altars free,
His only talisman, the sword,—
His only spell-word, Liberty!
'Twas not for him to crouch the knee
Tamely to Moslem tyranny;—
'Twas not for him, whose soul was cast
In the bright mould of ages past,
Whose melancholy spirit, fed
With all the glories of the dead;—
'Twas not for him to swell the crowd
Of slavish heads, that shrinking bowed
Before the Moslem, as he pass'd,
Like shrubs beneath the poison-blast—
No—far he fled—indignant fled
The pageant of his country's shame;
While every tear her children shed
Fell on his soul, like drops of flame;
And, as a lover hails the dawn
Of a first smile, so welcom'd he
The sparkle of the first sword drawn
For vengeance and for liberty!' p. 206, 207.

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The song then returns to Hinda—

'Whose life, as free from thought as sin,
Slept like a lake, till Love threw in
His talisman, and woke the tide,
And spread its trembling circles wide.
Once, EMIR! thy unheeding child,
Mid all this havoc, bloom'd and smil'd,—
Tranquil as on some battle-plain
The Persian lily shines and towers,
Before the combat's reddening stain
Has fall'n upon her golden flowers.
Light-hearted maid, unaw'd, unmov'd,
While Heav'n but spar'd the sire she lov'd,
Once at thy evening tales of blood
Unlistening and aloof she stood—
And oft, when thou hast pac'd along
Thy Haram halls with furious heat,
Hast thou not curs'd her cheerful song,
That came across thee, calm and sweet,
Like lutes of angels, touch'd so near
Hell's confines, that the damn'd can hear!
Far other feelings Love has brought—
Her soul all flame, her brow all sadness,' &c.

'Ah! not the Love, that should have bless'd
So young, so innocent a breast;
Not the pure, open, prosperous Love,
That, pledg'd on earth and seal'd above,
Grows in the world's approving eyes,
In friendship's smile and home's caress,
Collecting all the heart's sweet ties
Into one knot of happiness!
No, HINDA, no—thy fatal flame
Is nurs'd in silence, sorrow, shame.—
A passion, without hope or pleasure,
In thy soul's darkness buried deep,' &c. p. 215—217.

The Emir now learns, from a recreant prisoner, the secret of the pass to the Ghèber's retreat; and when he sees his daughter faint with horror at his eager anticipation of their final extirpation, sends her, in a solitary galley, away from the scene of vengeance, to the quiet of her own Arabian home.

'And does the long-left home she seeks
Light up no gladness on her cheeks?
The flowers she nurs'd—the well-known groves,
Where oft in dreams her spirit roves—
Once more to see her dear gazelles
Come bounding with their silver bells;

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Her birds' new plumage to behold,
And the gay, gleaming fishes count,
She left, all filleted with gold,
Shooting around their jasper fount.—
Her little garden mosque to see,
And once again, at evening hour,
To tell her ruby rosary,
In her own sweet acacia bower.—
Can these delights, that wait her now,
Call up no sunshine on her brow?
No—silent, from her train apart,—
As if ev'n now she felt at heart
The chill of her approaching doom,—
She sits, all lovely in her gloom
As a pale Angel of the Grave.' p. 227, 228.

Her vessel is first assailed by a violent tempest, and, in the height of its fury, by a hostile bark; and her senses are extinguished with terror in the midst of the double conflict. At last, both are appeased—and her recollection is slowly restored. The following passage appears to us extremely beautiful and characteristic.

'How calm, how beautiful comes on
The stilly hour, when storms are gone;
When warring winds have died away,
And clouds, beneath the glancing ray,
Melt off, and leave the land and sea
Sleeping in bright tranquillity,—
Fresh as if Day again were born,
Again upon the lap of Morn!
When the light blossoms, rudely torn
And scatter'd at the whirlwind's will,
Hang floating in the pure air still,
Filling it all with precious balm,
In gratitude for this sweet calm;—
And every drop the thunder-showers
Have left upon the grass and flowers
Sparkles, as 'twere that lightning-gem
Whose liquid flame is born of them!
When, 'stead of one unchanging breeze,
There blow a thousand gentle airs,
And each a different perfume bears,—
As if the loveliest plants and trees
Had vassal breezes of their own
To watch and wait on them alone,
And waft no other breath than theirs!
When the blue waters rise and fall,
In sleepy sunshine mantling all;

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And ev'n that swell the tempest leaves
Is like the full and silent heaves
Of lovers' hearts, when newly blest,
Too newly to be quite at rest!—
Such was the golden hour, that broke
Upon the world, when HINDA woke
From her long trance, and heard around
No motion but the water's sound
Rippling against the vessel's side,
As slow it mounted o'er the tide.—
But where is she?—her eyes are dark,
Are wilder'd still—is this the bark,
The same, that from HARMOZIA's bay
Bore her at morn—whose bloody way
The sea-dog tracks?—no—strange and new
Is all that meets her wondering view.
Upon a galliot's deck she lies,
Beneath no rich pavilion's shade,
No plumes to fan her sleeping eyes,
Nor jasmin on her pillow laid.
But the rude litter, roughly spread
With war-cloaks, is her homely bed,
And shawl and sash, on javelins hung,
For awning o'er her head are flung.' p. 233—36.

She soon discovers that she is a captive in the hands of the Ghebers; and shrinks with horror, when she finds that she is to be carried to their rocky citadel, and to the presence of the terrible Hafed. The galley is rowed by torch-light through frightful rocks and foaming tides, into a black abyss of the promontory, where her eyes are bandaged,—and she is borne up a long and rugged ascent, till at last she is desired to look up and receive her doom from the formidable chieftain. Before she has raised her eyes, the well known voice of her lover pronounces her name; and she finds herself alone in the arms of her adoring Hafed. The first emotion is ecstasy,—but the recollection of her father's vow and means of vengeance, comes like a thundercloud on her joy;—she tells her lover of the treachery by which he has been sacrificed, and urges him, with passionate eagerness, to fly with her to some place of safety.

' " HAFED, my own beloved Lord, "
She kneeling cries—" first, last ador'd!
" If in that soul thou'st ever felt
" Half what thy lips impassion'd swore,
" Here, on my knees that never knelt
" To any but their God before,
" I pray thee, as thou lov'st me, fly—
" Now, now—ere yet their blades are nigh.

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" Oh haste—the bark that bore me hither
" Can waft us o'er yon darkening sea
" East—west—alas, I care not whither,
" So thou art safe, and I with thee!
" Go where we will, this hand in thine,
" Those eyes before me smiling thus,
" Through good and ill, through storm and shine,
" The world's a world of love for us!
" On some calm, blessed shore we'll dwell,
" Where 'tis no crime to love too well;—
" Where thus to worship tenderly
" An erring child of light like thee
" Will not be sin—or, if it be,
" Where we may weep our faults away,
" Together kneeling, night and day,
" Thou, for *my* sake, at ALLA's shrine,
" And I—at *any* God's, for thine!"
Wildly these passionate words she spoke—
Then hung her head, and wept for shame;
Sobbing, as if a heart-string broke
With every deep-heav'd sob that came.' p. 261–2.

Hafed is more shocked with the treachery to which he is sacrificed than with the fate to which it consigns him:—One moment he gives up to softness and pity—assures Hinda, with compassionate equivocation, that they shall soon meet on some more peaceful shore—places her sadly in a litter, and sees her borne down the steep to the galley she had lately quitted, and to which she still expects that he is to follow her. He then assembles his brave and devoted companions—warns them of the fate that is approaching—and exhorts them to meet the host of the invaders in the ravine, and sell their lives dearly to their steel. After a fierce, and somewhat too sanguinary combat, the Ghebers are at last borne down by numbers; and Hafed finds himself left alone, with one brave associate, mortally wounded like himself. They make a desperate effort to reach and die beside the consecrated fire which burns for ever on the summit of the cliff.

'The crags are red they've clamber'd o'er,
The rock-weed's dripping with their gore—
Thy blade too, HAFED, false at length,
Now breaks beneath thy tottering strength—
Haste, haste—the voices of the Foe
Come near and nearer from below—
One effort more—thank Heav'n! 'tis past,
They've gain'd the topmost steep at last.
And now they touch the temple's walls,

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Now HAFED sees the Fire divine—
When, lo!—his weak, worn comrade falls
Dead on the threshold of the Shrine.
"Alas, brave soul, too quickly fled!
"And must I leave thee withering here,
"The sport of every ruffian's tread,
"The mark for every coward's spear?
"No, by yon altar's sacred beams!"
He cries, and, with a strength that seems
Not of this world, uplifts the frame
Of the fall'n Chief, and tow'rds the flame
Bears him along;—with death-damp hand
The corpse upon the pyre he lays,
Then lights the consecrated brand,
And fires the pile, whose sudden blaze
Like lightning bursts o'er OMAN's Sea.—
"Now, Freedom's God! I come to Thee,"
The youth exclaims, and with a smile
Of triumph vaulting on the pile,
In that last effort, ere the fires
Have harm'd one glorious limb, expires!' p. 278, 279.

The unfortunate Hinda, whose galley had been detained close under the cliff by the noise of the first onset, had heard with agony the sounds which marked the progress and catastrophe of the fight, and is at last a spectatress of the lofty fate of her lover.

'But see—what moves upon the height?
Some signal!—'tis a torch's light.
What bodes its solitary glare?
In gasping silence tow'rd the shrine
All eyes are turn'd—thine, HINDA, thine
Fix their last failing life-beams there.
'Twas but a moment—fierce and high
The death-pile blaz'd into the sky,
And far away o'er rock and flood
Its melancholy radiance sent;
While HAFED, like a vision, stood
Reveal'd before the burning pyre,
Tall, shadowy, like a Spirit of Fire
Shrin'd in its own grand element!
"'Tis he!"—the shuddering maid exclaims,—
But, while she speaks, he's seen no more;
High burst in air the funeral flames,
And IRAN's hopes and hers are o'er!
One wild, heart-broken shriek she gave—
Then sprung, as if to reach that blaze,
Where still she fix'd her dying gaze,

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And, gazing, sunk into the wave,—
Deep, deep,—where never care or pain
Shall reach her innocent heart again!' p. 283—4.

This sad story is closed by a sort of choral dirge of great elegance and beauty, of which we can only afford to give the first stanza.

'Farewell—farewell to thee, ARABY'S daughter!
(Thus warbled a PERI beneath the dark sea)
No pearl ever lay, under OMAN'S green water,
More pure in its shell than thy Spirit in thee.' p. 284.

The general tone of this poem is certainly too much strained. It is overwrought throughout, and is too entirely made up of agonies and raptures;—but, in spite of all this, it is a work of great genius and beauty; and not only delights the fancy by its general brilliancy and spirit, but moves all the tender and noble feelings with a deep and powerful agitation.

The last piece, entitled 'The Light of the Haram,' is the gayest of the whole; and is of a very slender fabric as to fable or invention. In truth, it has scarcely any story at all; but is made up almost entirely of beautiful songs and descriptions. During the summer months, when the court is resident in the Vale of Cashmere, there is a sort of oriental carnival, called the Feast of Roses, during which every body is bound to be happy and in good humour. At this critical period, the Emperor Selim had unfortunately a little love-quarrel with his favourite Sultana Nourmahal,—which signifies, it seems, the Light of the Haram. The lady is rather unhappy while the sullen fit is on her, and applies to a sort of enchantress, who invokes a musical spirit to teach her an irresistible song, which she sings in a mask to the offended monarch; and when his heart is subdued by its sweetness, throws off her mask, and springs with fonder welcome than ever into his repentant arms. The whole piece is written in a kind of rapture,—as if the author had breathed nothing but intoxicating gas during its composition. It is accordingly quite filled with lively images and splendid expressions, and all sorts of beauties,—except those of reserve or simplicity. We must give a few specimens, to revive the spirits of our readers after the tragic catastrophe of Hafed; and we may begin with this portion of the description of the Happy Valley.

'Oh! to see it by moonlight,—when mellowly shines
The light o'er its palaces, gardens and shrines;
When the water-falls gleam like a quick fall of stars,
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars

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Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shining walks where the young people meet.—
Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one
Out of darkness, as they were just born of the Sun.
When the Spirit of Fragrance is up with the day,
From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
The young aspen-trees till they tremble all over.
When the East is as warm as the light of first hopes,
And Day, with his banner of radiance unfurl'd,
Shines in through the mountainous portal that opes,
Sublime, from that Valley of bliss to the world!' p. 296.

The character of Nourmahal's beauty is much in the same taste: though the diction is rather more loose and careless.

'There's a beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like the long, sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till Love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This *was not* the beauty—oh! nothing like this,
That to young NOURMAHAL gave such magic of bliss;
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days,
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lips to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes,
Now melting in mist and now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint has of Heav'n in his dreams!
When pensive, it seem'd as if that very grace,
That charm of all others, was born with her face;
And when angry,—for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the flowers sometimes—
The short, passing anger but seem'd to awaken
New beauty, like flow'rs that are sweetest when shaken.
If tenderness touch'd her, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, a heavenlier dye,
From the depth of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings!
Then her mirth—oh! 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild-bird in spring;—
Illum'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as Peris just loos'd from their cages.
While her laugh, full of life, without any controul
But the sweet one of gracefulness, rung from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek or eyes, for she brighten'd all over,—

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Like any fair lake that the breeze is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.' p.302,303.

We can give but a little morsel of the enchanting Song of the Spirit of Music.

'For mine is the lay that lightly floats,
And mine are the murmuring, dying notes,
That fall as soft as snow on the sea,
And melt in the heart as instantly!
And the passionate strain that, deeply going,
Refines the bosom it trembles through,
As the musk-wind, over the water blowing,
Ruffles the wave, but sweetens it too!
The warrior's heart, when touch'd by me,
Can as downy soft and as yielding be
As his own white plume, that high amid death
Through the field has shone—yet moves with a breath.
And, oh how the eyes of Beauty glisten,
When Music has reach'd her inward soul,
Like the silent stars that wink and listen
While Heav'n's eternal melodies roll!' p. 318–19.

Another song, warbled by one of the Sirens of this voluptuous court, in the absence of Nourmahal, has the same richness of thought and of melody. It begins in this manner—

'Come hither, come hither—by night and by day,
We linger in pleasures that never are gone;
Like the waves of the summer, as one dies away,
Another as sweet and as shining comes on.
And the Love that is o'er, in expiring, gives birth
To a new one as warm, as unequall'd in bliss;
And oh! if there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this.' p. 328.

Nourmahal herself, however, in her Arabian disguise, sings a still more prevailing ditty—of which we can only insert a few stanzas.

'Fly to the desert, fly with me,
Our Arab tents are rude for thee;
But oh! the choice what heart can doubt
Of tents with love, or thrones without?

'Our rocks are rough, but smiling there
Th' acacia waves her yellow hair,
Lonely and sweet, nor lov'd the less
For flowering in a wilderness.

'Our sands are bare, but down their slope
The silvery-footed antelope
As gracefully and gaily springs
As o'er the marble courts of Kings.

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'Then come—thy Arab maid will be
The lov'd and lone acacia-tree,
The antelope, whose feet shall bless
With their light sound thy loneliness.
'Come, if the love thou hast for me
Is pure and fresh as mine for thee,—
Fresh as the fountain under ground,
When first 'tis by the lapwing found.
'But if for me thou dost forsake
Some other maid, and rudely break
Her worshipp'd image from its base,
To give to me the ruin'd place;—
'Then, fare thee well—I'd rather make
My bower upon some icy lake
When thawing suns begin to shine,
Than trust to love so false as thine!' p. 331—333.

This strain and the sentiment which it embodies, remind the offended monarch of his charming Nourmahal; and he names her name in accents of tenderness and regret.

'The mask is off—the charm is wrought—
And SELIM to his heart has caught,
In blushes, more than ever bright,
His NOURMAHAL, his Haram's Light!' p. 334.

We have now said enough, and shown enough of this book, to let our readers understand both what it is, and what we think of it. Its great fault certainly is its excessive finery—and its great charm the inexhaustible copiousness of its imagery—the sweetness and ease of its diction—and the beauty of the objects and sentiments with which it is concerned. Its finery, it should also be observed, is not the vulgar ostentation which so often disguises poverty or meanness—but the extravagance of excessive wealth. We have said this, however, we believe before—and suspect we have little more to say.

All poets, who really love poetry, and live in a poetical age, are great imitators; and the character of their writings may often be as correctly ascertained by observing whom they imitate and whom they abstain from imitating, as from anything else. Mr Moore, in the volume before us, reminds us oftener of Mr Southey and Lord Byron, than of any other of his contemporaries. The resemblance is sometimes to the Roderick of the first mentioned author, but most frequently to his Kehama. This may be partly owing to the nature of the subject; but, in many passages, the coincidence seems to be more radical—and to indicate a considerable conformity, in taste and habits

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of conception. Mr Southey's tone, indeed, is more assuming, his manner more solemn, and his diction weaker. Mr Moore is more lively—his figures and images come more thickly—and his language is at once more familiar and more strengthened with points and antitheses. In other respects, the descriptive passages in Kehama bear a remarkable affinity to many in the work before us—in the brightness of the colouring, and the amplitude and beauty of the details. It is in his descriptions of love, and of female loveliness, that there is the strongest resemblance to Lord Byron—at least to the larger poems of that Noble author. In the powerful and condensed expression of strong emotion, Mr Moore seems to us rather to have imitated the tone of some of his Lordship's smaller pieces—but imitated them as only an original genius could imitate—as Lord Byron himself may be said, in his later pieces, to have imitated those of an earlier date.——There is less to remind us of Scott, than we can very well account for, when we consider the great range and variety of that most fascinating and powerful writer; and we must say, that if Mr Moore could bring the resemblance a little closer, and exchange a portion of his superfluous images and ecstasies for an equivalent share of Mr Scott's gift of interesting and delighting us with pictures of familiar nature, and of that spirit and energy which never rises to extravagance, we think he would be a gainer by the exchange.—To Mr Crabbe there is no resemblance at all; and we only mention his name, to observe, that he and Mr Moore seem to be the antipodes of our present poetical sphere, and to occupy the extreme points of refinement and homeliness that can be said to fall within the legitimate dominion of poetry. They could not meet in the middle, we are aware, without changing their nature, and losing their specific character; but each might approach a few degrees, we think, with great mutual advantage. The outposts of all empires are posts of peril,—though we do not dispute that there is great honour in maintaining them with success.

There is one other topic upon which we are not quite sure whether we should say any thing. In an early Number of this work, we reproved Mr Moore, perhaps with unnecessary severity, for what appeared to us the licentiousness of some of his youthful productions. We think it a duty to say, that he has long ago redeemed that error; and that in all his later works that have come under our observation, he appears as the eloquent champion of purity, fidelity and delicacy, not less than of justice, liberty and honour. Like most other poets, indeed, he speaks much of beauty and love; and we doubt not that many

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mature virgins and careful matrons may think his lucubrations on those themes too rapturous and glowing to be safely admitted among the private studies of youth. We really think, however, that there is not much need for such apprehensions; and, at all events, if we look to the moral design and scope of the works themselves, we can see no reason to censure the author. All his favourites, without exception, are dutiful, faithful, and self-denying; and no other example is ever set up for imitation. There is nothing approaching to indelicacy even in his description of the seductions by which they are tried; and they who object to his enchanting pictures of the beauty and pure attachment of the more prominent characters, would find fault, we suppose, with the loveliness and the embraces of angels.

ART. II. *Memoir of the Conquest of Java, with the subsequent Operations of the British Forces in the Oriental Archipelago.* By Major WILLIAM THORN, late Deputy-Quartermaster to the Forces serving in Java. 1 Vol. 4to. pp. 369.

THE expedition, of which this work contains an authentic and scientific narrative, was the greatest that ever crossed the Indian ocean; and was also remarkable as the second occasion—the occupation of Egypt being the first—on which the Asiatic forces of this empire were successfully employed in foreign conquests,—and legions of bigotted Hindus transported, without murmur or complaint, across those mighty waters which many of them had never before beheld, and trained to act and to live with comfort in regions so remote from the scene of their darling superstitions. The results of the conquest, too, were interesting and momentous in the highest degree—both as exposing to our fair and impartial observation large and remarkable races of men, who had been previously very much misrepresented and misconceived—and as holding out a fair prospect of increased happiness, knowledge and improvement, to a great and most docile population.

We will fairly confess, however, that it is not with these topics that we now propose to busy ourselves; and that we have inserted the title of Major Thorn's book, chiefly to have an apology for discoursing a little about Java, under other relations, and with a view to other objects than those with which he is occupied. The story of the conquest has now lost its interest, since the occurrence of nearer and more important victories; and the pleasing prospects to which it once seemed to

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open the way, have been overcast, by the restoration of the country to its old masters. For our own sakes, we do not know that it would be wise or patriotic to wish for a further extension of our Indian dominions; and, in point of political justice, we do not see how the claims of the Dutch, who certainly never were our enemies but by compulsion, could easily be resisted. But it is impossible not to commiserate the fate of the natives, whom this restoration (a word, for the most part, of evil omen to subjects) has once more delivered over to such harsh and injudicious rulers; and we really are not sanguine enough to hope that they will soon have either sense or liberality enough to profit by the example we set before them, or the models we put into their hands. Of the actual state and capabilities, both moral and physical, of this great country, we hope soon to be able to give our readers an account, in a review of the large and comprehensive publication of Sir Stamford Raffles. At present, we mean to confine ourselves to a short sketch of the Commerce of the Indian Islands—a subject peculiarly interesting to this country, since the relaxation of the East India Company's monopoly has opened up the neighbouring regions to the enterprise of English merchants—and still, we believe, very partially and imperfectly understood, even among commercial men.

That vast and fertile groupe of islands which lies between India and China, is perhaps the richest and most luxurious region of the habitable globe; and the greater part of its productions being eminently suited to the taste and the wants of all other countries, seem, from the most ancient times, to have found a market coextensive with the known world; and to have excited, through a long series of ages, the cupidity and ambition, not of traders merely, but of the greatest statesmen and conquerors. From the days of Alexander down to those of Bonaparte, the commerce of the Eastern world has been regarded as one grand source of national wealth and industry—the central and primary region of opulence and luxury—and the great fountain of public splendour and individual comfort. It was by the golden droppings of this trade, strained through the narrow and obstructed channels of Arabia and Egypt, that the wasted shores of Italy were first stimulated to reproduction, after the conquest of the barbarians,—and it was this that revived, by the wealth which it poured upon Florence and Venice, the slumbering Genius of Europe, and rekindled from its ashes the long-extinguished flame of liberty and taste. It was the attraction of the same splendid commerce that gave its first memorable impulse to the spirit of maritime discovery—opened a way to Vasco round the Cape of

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Storms,—and led Columbus, though in an opposite direction, to the still more eventful and magnificent discovery of another world. Its actual effects, too, were long commensurate with the efforts and expectations to which it gave rise. It created Alexandria—it revived Italy—it gave wealth, power, talent and virtue to Portugal and Spain—and spread through all Europe that taste for elegance and splendour which is akin to still higher refinements—and is, at any rate, the great spring of mental activity and omnipotent industry.

It would be curious to inquire from what causes it has lost its efficacy in these later times; and why Portugal, Holland, and England, when in full and peaceful possession of those very fountains of wealth, from the precarious access to which they once derived so many benefits, seem now to find them a part rather of their weakness than their strength, and a burden rather than a support to their finances. The problem is full of instruction—and full, too, of humiliation. We do not say that its solution is perfectly easy, or that it is to be determined by dogmatic asseverations: One thing, however, may be safely assumed; and that is, that nature is still the same, and that the change has not arisen from any revolution in the condition of the countries in question, or the physical wants and appetites of men. The teeming islands of the East have not been blasted with sterility; nor have men lost their relish for their 'spicy drugs' and infinitely various productions. But our resort to them has been artificially regulated and restrained; and the freedom of trade has been fettered by monopolies, and its object narrowed, from that of enriching the world, to the support of provincial power and official importance. We have no wish, however, to enter at present into these thorny discussions; and shall proceed therefore, without further preface, to give our readers such information as we happen to possess as to the nature and actual extent of the trade now carried on, from the countries of which we have been speaking, to the other parts of the world.

Without pretending to a very complete or minute enumeration, we may observe, in the way of general description, that the Indian islands trade with each other, with China and Japan—with what Dr Leyden terms the Hindu-Chinese nations of the Continent—with Hindustan—with Persia and Arabia—and with Europe and America. Each of these branches of trade will demand a few observations.

To a careless observer, there will probably appear little difference in the state of society among the numerous nations or tribes which inhabit this vast Archipelago; and he may not

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perhaps think of looking for any extraordinary varieties of climate and production in countries all situated within about eight degrees of the equator. A very little attention, however, will soon discover, even in this comparatively narrow range, many degrees of social existence, and a curious diversity of climate and production.

The population of these islands may, in a commercial view, be enumerated as follow; viz. the Agricultural tribes, who provide all the commodities not furnished by the spontaneous bounty of Nature, and who, as there are scarcely any manufactures, may be reckoned the most civilized of the natives; the Maritime tribes, the most turbulent and enterprising; the Savages, who, till they can be tamed, are oftener destructive than serviceable to commerce; and the Foreign Settlers, who may be looked on as the brokers and wholesale merchants in the great traffic which is driven from one end of the Archipelago to the other.

Among the agricultural nations may be reckoned some of the greater tribes in the interior of Sumatra; the people of Bali and Lomboc; and, above all, the bulk of the population in the fertile island of Java. The navigators, or maritime tribes, comprehend all the nations which speak the Malay language, and the greater portion of the spirited and enterprising population of Celebes. The foreign settlers are a few Europeans, emigrants from the maritime ports of continental India—some adventurous Arabs; but, above all, the Chinese—the industrious and indefatigable Chinese—in a tropical climate at least, the most productive class of subjects which any state can possess. The intelligence, industry, and foresight of all these foreigners, readily distinguish them from the natives of the country; and, to the most common observation, determine their superior claims to civilization and improvement.

The more improved tribes, or those fixed to the soil, supply the maritime, or less improved tribes, with such productions as imply a superiority of skill and industry—such as corn, cotton-wool, cotton-cloths, salt and tobacco. All these articles, when exported, for example, from Java to Sumatra, Borneo, the Peninsula and the Moluccas, bring an advance, according to circumstances, of from one to three hundred per cent.

The productions which the less improved tribes supply in exchange, are either in their rude state, or little altered by labour; such as gold dust, rough diamonds, cloves and nutmegs; benjamin and gambir or catechu, the inspissated juice of a plant which is eaten with the betel-nut, and constitutes, indeed, from its universal use, one of the most considerable articles of native commerce.

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The carrying trade, in all these commodities, is principally conducted by the enterprising navigators of Celebes, and especially by the Bugis of Wajo, who, by their skill and activity, may be said to form the very life of the native commerce of the Archipelago. A slight sketch of their regular dealings will afford the most interesting picture of the native trade of those countries. The Wajo Bugis are a turbulent aristocracy of six confederated states, who inhabit the northern part of the south-western limb of that whimsically shaped island. They dwell on the borders of a great lake, from which there flow into the sea several navigable rivers. This peculiarity of situation has perhaps given rise to that character for enterprise and industry which distinguishes them from all the other indigenous tribes of the Indian Islands. There is no country, from New Guinea to Mergui, to which their enterprise does not extend. Setting out on their voyages at the beginning of the favourable season, they quit the borders of their native lake, in vessels of from 20 to 70 tons burthen, and sail in various courses, as directed by interest, habit, and previous connexion. Their original outward cargoes are chiefly composed of the excellent durable cloths of their native country, manufactured from the cotton of Bali and Lomboc. The greater number of the traders direct their course towards the fertile and extensive countries to the westward. One body takes the direction of Java, where they exchange their cloths, and gold and silver specie, for the highly prized tobacco of that island, which supplies the extensive consumption of the Indian islanders throughout with that drug,—for the opium of Bengal—the cotton fabrics of Europe and India—and the iron, broad-cloth, and steel of Europe.

The most considerable body, however, performs a trading voyage along the coasts of Celebes, Borneo, Sumatra, the eastern shores of the Gulf of Siam, the islands in the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, and the western shores of the Peninsula, until it terminates in Malacca or Penang, where they give the gold and bullion, collected in the voyage, for the same commodities obtained by their brother traders in Java. At Penang alone, to give some notion of the extent of this branch of trade, we have reason to believe that not less than half a million of dollars in bullion is annually left by those people in exchange for the single article of opium.

The Wajo and other merchants of Celebes, who take an easterly direction, generally engage in the fishery of tripang or sea-slug, a singular article of Chinese luxury, and from its amount, and the demand for it, a most important ingredient in the commerce of the Indian islands; tortoise shell, which abounds in the

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same parts of the country; and birds' nests which are found in almost all of them. These same merchants, before they were disturbed by the injustice of Europe, were also the carriers and dealers in the great spice trade, and transported their spices to the emporia in the western parts of the Archipelago. A few smuggled cloves and nutmegs, and a larger portion of these spices in their wild state, are all that now remain to them of this branch of commerce.

Of the adventurous character of the commercial enterprises of these semibarbarous traders, the highest opinion may be formed, from their voyages to the coast of New Holland in quest of tripang,—in the fishery of which, it is probable that not less than 40 vessels of from 20 to 70 tons, are annually engaged from the port of Macassar alone, from which 400 tons of the commodity are exported to China, the sole market of this singular luxury, where the curious discrimination of the epicures of that nation divides the fish into no less than thirty varieties at as many different prices, one hardly distinguishable from the other but by a practised dealer.

These spirited adventures of the Bugis merchants are, however, it must not be overlooked, wonderfully facilitated by the ease, the safety, and security with which the seas of the Indian Archipelago may generally be navigated. The great number of the islands, the proximity of their shores, the smoothness of their waters, the total absence of hurricanes and typhoons, the indisputable advantages of the steadfast monsoons, and of the land and sea breezes, make it, in short, a matter of ease to perform in their crazy barks such long voyages, as it would be madness to undertake in any other climate. In a word, from all the advantages now enumerated, we may rather compare the Malayan seas to canals formed by the hand of Nature, facilitating the intercourse between the different provinces of the same country, than to the rude and inconstant seas of other latitudes.

The trade between *the Indian islands* and *China*, is certainly the most important of the foreign commercial relations of both countries, for its extent and utility. This indeed is the only foreign commerce which is admitted to be necessary to the proud empire of China, which pretends in other cases to despise it. The peculiar productions of the Indian Archipelago have become, by the habit of ages, scarcely less indispensable to its great population, than the teas of China are to the modern inhabitants of Europe. At least twenty thousand tons of Chinese shipping conduct this trade annually. These vessels, which, from a corruption of the Malayan word *jung* (a ship), we call junks, are, according to the depth of the ports they enter, from the incon-

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siderable size of 100 tons burthen, to the enormous and unwieldy one of 1500. These vessels perform no more than one voyage yearly,—though the time, from port to port, seldom exceeds twenty days. They come and go with a flowing sheet, under the benignant influence of the monsoons, without which, it may be said of this, as well as every other proper Asiatic trade, that it could have had no existence.

The intercourse between China and the Indian islands is prodigiously extended by the crowds of emigrants from the former to the latter. There is not, for example, one of the seven great junks which annually visit the ports of Java, which does not bring from four to five hundred passengers, as permanent settlers. The overflowing population of China is, in fact, poured out in this way on the almost unoccupied Indian Archipelago, as its most natural receptacle. An easy intercourse is kept up by a short voyage between these countries; and, did not the laws of China, without the possibility of evasion, prohibit the emigration of women, we should, beyond doubt, see in a few years a Chinese empire established in the Indian islands. As it is, they intermarry with the natives of the country,—continuing, however, with their descendants, a distinct race, and retaining the religion and manners of their native country. In this manner they are established in every country of the Archipelago; but the singular condition in which they exist on the west coast of Borneo, is most deserving of notice. There they are found, it is alleged, to the number of two hundred thousand, nearly in a state of independence, acknowledging but a nominal subjection to the native Princes.

The cargoes of the junks consist of teas, porcelain, raw silk, wrought silks, cotton cloths, wearing apparel, toys, books and stationary, with brass and iron utensils of various descriptions. We have room for little more than a bare enumeration of the various articles which form the return cargoes of these vessels. The most prominent are, edible birds' nests, of which Java alone supplies, annually, not much less than half a million of Spanish dollars worth; gold, tin, tripang, pepper, spices, animal sinews dried in the sun—what in the commercial language of our South-American traders, is called, we believe, jug-beef; betel-nut, chiefly used as a masticatory; rattans, applied in China, as in the Indian islands, to every purpose of cordage; tortoise-shell, which chiefly abounds on the coasts of Celebes, Amboyna, and the more eastern islands; buffalo and ox-hides, from Java, Bali and Lomboc, in which a large and handsome breed of both descriptions of cattle is found; cotton from Lomboc, Bali and Java; cloves, mace and nutmegs; bees-wax, fish maws, and sharks fins, fresh additions to the singular luxuries of the Chinese table;

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rhinoceros' hides and horns; with elephants' teeth, and those of a variety of marine animals; ebony, benzoin, Malayan camphor, sandal-wood, lignum-aloes, and agar-agar, a species of marine moss, cheaply used by the Chinese in room of gum, in several of their manufactures, and which might perhaps be substituted by ourselves with advantage, for the expensive gums at present employed in the arts.

We give this hasty list, chiefly to point out to our readers the indiscriminate avidity with which the commodities of the Indian islands are demanded in the markets of China. For the ordinary products of the Indian islands, the Chinese have a taste in common with the rest of mankind; but to these they add a list peculiar to themselves; and with them there is a steady demand for some articles rejected by, or even revolted at, by the taste of other nations.

Two prominent articles of the list deserve, from their value in the general commerce of mankind, a more particular notice, viz. gold and tin. The first metal abounds in almost all the islands of the Archipelago; but it is in the great islands of Sumatra and Borneo that the most fertile sources have been discovered. Gold, until the last few years, was obtained in the Malay islands by processes not much more skilful than those practised by the negroes of Africa, or the aboriginal inhabitants of America: But, recently, the skill and industry of the Chinese has been applied to the speculation of mining in Borneo; and the result has been, a prodigious augmentation of produce. In the countries lying between the rivers of Sambas and Pontianak, six thousand labourers of that nation now produce annually to the value of a million and a half of Spanish dollars of this precious metal, by the simple process of passing a stream of water over the sand which contains the ore, and which is extracted from mines of no great depth,—kept free from the intrusion of water, by the application of some simple Chinese machinery. The only authentic grounds we have to form a conjecture respecting the amount of the whole gold of the Archipelago, are the custom-house books of Calcutta, which show, that, in five years, the value annually imported into that city alone, from the Malayan ports, averaged 266,000 Spanish dollars.

Tin is an article of still more value; for the western portions of the Indian Archipelago are the only countries in the world where it is produced for useful purposes, save a corner of Great Britain. The little island of Banka, acquired by the valour of British soldiers, and cast away by the folly and ignorance of her politicians, is the principal repository of this metal, and yields annually, under a most vicious system of management, and at a price wonderfully low, at least 4,725,000 of pounds; being

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more than two-thirds of the produce of the mines of Cornwall, justly deemed so grand a source of our national wealth.

The trade which Europe has carried on *with Japan* was conducted, on the part of the former, chiefly with the commodities of the Indian islands; a fact which may teach us a new lesson respecting the commercial value of the latter. The currency of those commodities, indeed, approximates them rather to the nature of the precious metals, than to the more vulgar objects of commercial exchange. The cloves, mace, and nutmegs—the pepper, camphor, and sugar of the Archipelago, are still eagerly demanded by the Japanese. With these, we know, from the most authentic and recent sources, that there is also an anxious demand for the manufactures of Europe; and a preference, as elsewhere, for those of England. But what avails all this?—for it is impracticable to introduce them; and it will always be so, until some European nation becomes possessed, as the Dutch once were, of the island of Formosa; for we consider it to be quite certain that it was to the greatness of the power they possessed in that island, at the doors of the Japanese monarchy, they owed their admission to the trade of the empire, and not to the meanness of their submissions, however abject. From the moment the Japanese ceased to be overawed by the neighbourhood of the Dutch, they ceased to respect them. The trade decayed from year to year; and at last dwindled into a pittance, hardly worth the adventure of a private merchant.

The trade between the *Indian Islands* and *the Hindu-Chinese* nations, is too inconsiderable, on its present footing, to deserve a minute description. The carriers in this trade are the Chinese, whose peaceable habits, and whose views, palpably and unequivocally mercantile, give them a claim to confidence in the ports of Cochin-China, Tonquin, Camboja, and Siam, which is justly refused to the ambitious and distrusted monopoly companies of Europe. It is in these countries, particularly in Siam, that their great junks or vessels, even those in which they trade between the Archipelago and China, are constructed, of the fine and abundant teak wood of that country. The Indian islands afford to these countries their fine spiceries, gold, and tin; and require, in return, the cheap and excellent salt and rice of the latter. Many articles which they yield in common, such as sugar, pepper, and teak timber, might be conveniently stored at the emporia of the Archipelago for exportation. Even in touching upon this ground, facts crowd upon us far beyond our limits.

The trade between the *Indian Islands* and *Bengal* is of recent origin, and has had its source in the enterprising spirit of a few

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British merchants, though fettered by the thousand vexatious restraints of the monopoly. The exports to Bengal are pepper, tin, gold, coffee, Japan copper, teak wood, and many minor articles;—the imports, chiefly opium and piece goods. By the custom-house books of Calcutta it appears, that at least a million and a half of rupees' worth of opium is exported to the Indian islands; which averages a gross profit to the merchant of 30 per cent., and generally not less than 250 per cent. to the governments which draw an excise revenue from it; the result of which to that of Java, for example, ought not, under good management, to be less than one million of Spanish dollars annually. The average of four years proves, that three millions seven hundred and seventy-six pounds of pepper are yearly imported into Calcutta from the various ports of the Malayan Archipelago.

The only article of this branch of trade which deserves especial notice, is teak timber, which, in our times, has been principally exported to Calcutta, where it has sold for full 300 per cent. above its prime cost, and that cost an arbitrary price affixed by the European government. This invaluable timber is hardly produced anywhere in the Indian islands but in Java; and, even in Java, is confined to the most fertile districts of that fine island. Yet its abundance makes ample amends for the narrow limits of its production; for the inexhaustible forests of Java now contain the ready materials of many British navies. The extraordinary qualities of this timber, and its superiority even over British oak, are now so universally admitted, that it would be superfluous to insist further on the subject; but we may mention as a fact, worth the knowledge of the politician, that, saving the teak, the splendid and luxuriant forests of the Indian islands (and the same observation may be extended to all those of central Asia) afford no timber, fitted by strength and durability, for the general purposes of ship-building. Of this fine wood, in spite of our precarious occupation, at least 8000 tons of square-rigged vessels were constructed in our times in Java; and probably not less than 10,000 tons of the unwrought timber were exported to Calcutta. The exportation of this timber to Britain, had the island continued a British possession, might have constituted a material branch of trade, and contributed to such a degree to the naval strength and resources of the empire, as it is in vain to look for from any other Asiatic connexion; for no one at all acquainted with the facts, can calculate on such a result from the half-exhausted forests of Malabar, and the precarious and inferior produce of those of Pegu.

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With the countries of the Decan, or Southern Peninsula of Hindustan, and the Indian islands, a commercial intercourse of great antiquity has subsisted, through which it appears that the islanders received the religion, literature, and arts of India—a singular discovery, recently but unequivocally determined. Of the inhabitants of both coasts of the Peninsula, but particularly of those of Coromandel, whole shoals annually pour over on the western portions of the Archipelago, among whom are to be found Hindus as well as Mahomedans. These emigrants are notorious, in the Indian islands, for their intelligence, expertness, and chicanery. The cargoes brought by them, in vessels awkwardly constructed, though navigated after the European model, consist chiefly of white and blue cotton-cloths, chintzes, salt, and tobacco; and the returns are betel-nut, gold, tin, damar, bees-wax, ivory, lignum-aloes, frankincense, cloves, nutmegs, and black pepper.

The Arabs, as soon as they became possessed of the ports on the Persian gulf, entered upon the field of Indian commerce; but the precise period of their first appearance in the seas of the Archipelago is not known. In the beginning of the 13th century, the intercourse increased; some of the natives were converted to the Mahomedan religion—and, in the course of the next two centuries, nearly all the civilized tribes. This intercourse still continues. The navigators of Arabia, from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, bring bullion, dried fruits, salt, and Indian cottons, which they dispose of for the usual produce of the Indian islands, and particularly for the sugar of Java, the most considerable article of the return cargoes. Besides the marketable cargoes, the Arabian shipping accommodate a host of simple pilgrims, who contribute, with the small zeal and learning imported from Arabia, to keep alive the embers of Islam in the Archipelago.

Of all Oriental traders, the Arabs, in intelligence, spirit and enterprise, approach the nearest to the bold and adventurous genius of European nations. The Indian islands, in spite of the intolerant genius of the Arabian religion, owe much to this connexion. In many situations, the priests or apostles of Arabia established independent authority, and rose to sovereign rank. Wherever this happened, as at Bantam, Achin, Palembang, Pontianak, and perhaps Malacca, commerce flourished; and ceased not to do so until crushed by the ambition, injustice, or false policy of Europe.

The *commerce of the Indian islands with Europe*, being the most important to us, will require a longer detail than those branches already enumerated. We may premise, that our intercourse with these fertile islands bears, on the whole, a much

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stronger resemblance to that which we originally maintained with America, than to our connexion with the great nations of continental Asia; for the latter are inhabited by civilized, populous, and, in some sense, manufacturing communities; and the islands by tribes far less improved, and often thinly scattered over a great though fertile territory. Add to this the rich peculiarity of the productions of the Indian islands, and their suitableness to the general taste and habits of the European nations; and we think our readers will agree with us in holding, that, of all branches of the Indian commerce, this promises to be ultimately of the greatest value. The prominent articles of export to Europe are well known to be, the fruit of the clove and nutmeg trees, black pepper, coffee, and sugar. The minor articles are, diamonds, gold, rattans and canes, benjamin, tortoise-shell, elephants' teeth, with buffalo horns and hides.

A singular and anomalous fact in regard to the consumption of the finer spiceries in Europe in modern times, has been remarked; and, by those interested in the support of existing abuses, has been generally ascribed to the caprices of fashion. It is, at all events, notorious, that within the last two centuries, the consumption of these costly articles has prodigiously *diminished;* while the population, wealth and luxury of the consumers have increased in an equal degree. This seeming *caprice,* however, we conceive may be very easily accounted for. The fine spices have been sold at an exorbitant monopoly price, beyond the means of the consumers, who have been compelled to content themselves with the less costly; leaving the narrow market of the former to a few opulent customers. These spices themselves have accordingly been withdrawn from consumption, exactly as they rose in price; and *mace,* the most extravagant, in by far the greatest degree. They have been supplied by black pepper, pimento, ginger, and capsicums, cheap commodities, which have followed the natural progress of a free trade—fallen in price, and augmented in consumption. It is the injustice of a monopoly in the higher spiceries which has injured their sale; for Nature produces them in abundance, in a luxuriance indeed which is amply proved by the pains which the monopolists use to suppress their production, amounting to the very extirpation of the plants—for they grow spontaneously in the forests of a thousand islands. The trade in spices, which is known to be ruinous to the monopolists themselves, and never occupies more than the tonnage of a single East Indiaman, might, with free culture, and unrestricted trade, become a great branch of the commerce of the Indies—promoting industry, extending the comfort and enjoyment of the consumer, and rescu-

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ing the grower from one of the most galling and ignominious conditions of slavery and servitude under which a people ever groaned,—implying not only the inhibition of using the staple produce of the soil, but the necessity of cultivating it as a task-work for the benefit of their oppressors.

Coffee is the next article in point of importance in this branch of trade. It was introduced from Arabia into Java, to which it is still nearly confined; and was then an article of monopoly, until a partial enlargement of the trade took place, in the times of the British administration. It is, under this enlargement, now sold by the grower at from six to seven Spanish dollars per pecul; * and, by the wholesale merchant, cured, and packed for importation, at ten dollars. Java produces, of this commodity, at least sixteen millions of pounds. The same fine island yields about ten millions of pounds of superior clayed sugar; and the quantity is daily increasing. The active, intelligent, and frugal Chinese, are the manufacturers of this commodity; and, with the advantage of a wonderfully fertile soil, † cheap machinery, and low wages, it is estimated that it might be produced at two Spanish dollars per pecul, or one-sixth part of the average of West India. The markets of Europe, however, regulate the local ones; and the manufacturer obtains from the wholesale merchant, from 4 to 5 Spanish dollars per pecul, while he disposes of his purchase to the exporter at from 6 to 7.

The trade in pepper, which is not an indigenous plant, but anciently introduced from the Peninsula of India, is too well known to require any long detail. It is confined to the westerly portions of the Archipelago; and yields in quality to the produce of the parent country—but not in the same degree that it surpasses it in cheapness and abundance. Its natural price may be estimated at 5 Spanish dollars the pecul; and the exporter, in times of competition, receives it at 8 or 9. ‡

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* A Malay name for a Chinese weight, signifying a natural load, equal to 133⅓ lib. avoirdupois, in universal use throughout the Archipelago.

† The soil of Java is often 100 feet deep, and 18 and 20 are common. In this fine mould, the sugar cane and tobacco grow luxuriantly, without manure; and in all the best lands, which are also the most abundant, the great rice crop is, within the circle of the year, succeeded either by a second of the same grain, or by one of maize, pulse, farinaceous roots, or cotton.

‡ The Americans, in their small shipping, carry on a direct trade with the native ports, in this commodity; while the express provision of an act of Parliament makes us spectators only of this branch of commerce.

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In speaking of the exports for Europe, it would be unfair towards our commercial readers, not to notice the article of cotton, so cheaply and abundantly produced in Java, where, besides the exports to the neighbouring islands, in its raw and manufactured state, and now and then to China, it affords the material with which its five millions of inhabitants are clothed. Under existing circumstances, when neither skill nor machinery are employed, the clear wool, of superior quality, can be exported at from 10 to 12 Spanish dollars per pecul. The introduction of European enterprise, skill and capital, without which, neither this nor any other branch of foreign Indian commerce can acquire value and importance, would enhance the quality and reduce the price of the cotton of Java,—leaving, in our judgments, little chance for competition to other countries.

The inhabitants of the Indian islands have a taste for the luxuries, comforts and enjoyments esteemed by the rest of mankind, so general, and it may be almost said indiscriminate, that it is little controlled by any prejudice, religious, moral or political. Among them we find, in this respect, not the most distant similitude to the selfish, obstinate, yet exaggerated prejudices ascribed to the Hindus. The teas, silks and porcelains of China; the hardware, cotton fabricks, broad-cloths, *even the wines* of Europe; the cotton goods and opium of Hindustan; the coffee and dried fruits of Arabia, with the immense variety of their own native productions, are all adapted to their versatile tastes. Throughout the Archipelago there certainly cannot be less than ten millions of such customers.

It would be superfluous to enter upon an enumeration of every European commodity which finds a market in the Indian islands. Iron, cotton-cloths, and broad-cloths, are the staples of the trade. In iron, the whole consumption of the great population to which we have just alluded, is exclusively supplied from Europe. At one port of Java, (and we quote this instance, because the article was intended for the consumption of the provinces adjacent, and not for exportation), thirteen thousand cwts. were imported in one year. It is a very remarkable and most instructive fact, that the Malay and Bugis tribes have long substituted, in a great measure, the chintzes of Britain for the inferior produce of Bengal, and the higher priced ones of Coromandel; and, among the Javanese, the taste for the same articles became so prevalent during our administration of the colony, when the freedom of competition poured them in in cheapness and abundance, that hardly any one above the rank of a peasant was seen without a gala dress of this material. The very same remarks apply to woollens; for the lighter descriptions of which there

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is, considering all circumstances, a great and a growing market. It is one of the prejudices of those who are but superficially acquainted with the nature of the Indian commerce, that the manufacturing industry of Europe can produce nothing suitable to the taste or necessities of the natives. No example can tend more to show how chimerical are all such notions than the one before us. Who would, from abstract reasoning, expect that, in countries under the equator, there should be a demand for the peculiar clothing of a northern climate? Yet the books of the customhouse may be confidently referred to for the extent, and for the increase of this export. The truth is, that the countries of the Indian Archipelago, refreshed by frequent showers, by land and sea breezes, and abounding in stupendous mountains, are a comfortable residence even for European settlers. On the flat plains, where the thermometer is about 80°, there is always a fresh and cooling air. On the extensive table lands, where it falls to 70° and 75°, the air is temperate and agreeable, and the inhabited portions of the mountains afford climates of every degree of cold from thence to 50°. In the first of these situations, warm clothing is often comfortable; in the second, it is always so; and, in the last, it is indispensable.

Instead of dwelling on minor articles of European manufacture demanded in the Malayan markets, such as stationary, which supplies the place of the styles and palm-leaves, once in general use, but now confined to the least civilized of the tribes,—or glass and crystal ware, the use of which is nearly universal with the higher classes,—we shall generally observe, that freedom and security to the merchant are alone necessary to establish a beneficial, agreeable, and extensive intercourse. We may form some notion of the importance and extent of the trade, when we are told, that, in one year, 15,000 tons of shipping cleared out from the port of Batavia for that of London only.

The timorous may apprehend embarrassment to such a traffic, from the piratical character, ferocious manners, and perfidy of the East-insular tribes, so often spoken of, and always with so much exaggeration. The truth, however, is, that the East-insular tribes have a chivalrous abhorrence of blows and personal abuse; and that, when subjected to the coarse and rigorous coercion of naval discipline, it becomes so intolerable to them as to be by far the most usual source of those acts of desperation which have subjected their character, among the nations of Europe, to the odious imputations of perfidiousness, and sanguinary revenge. The writer of this article is confident that no intelligent person who will take the trouble of making himself acquaint-

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ed with their character, will scruple in preferring its simple truth and ingenuousness to the degenerate virtues of the more polished inhabitants of Hindustan. In striking contrast to what is too well known to be the case there, the Malayan and European character readily assimilate under favourable circumstances; and a mutual kindness is engendered.

Piracy, to be sure, is just as common and as openly pursued in the Malay seas, as robbery in the deserts of Arabia. Nor can we wonder very much at its prevalence among a hundred nations of independent barbarians, along whose shores half the wealth of Asia is yearly passing. The real danger, however, arises, not from the desperate character of the Malayan pirate, but from the weakness and pusillanimity of their victims, the Lascars of Bengal, the dastardly Chinese, and the cowardly inhabitants of Malabar and Coromandel. A few British seamen might, on their own element, defy the whole hostile array of a Malay state;—in incontrovertible proof of which opinion, it is only necessary to state a known truth, that in twenty years, during which the Americans have visited the same seas, not a single ship of that nation has been cut off by the Malays, though navigated, at an average of the whole, with not so many as a dozen of men each. To render the navigation secure, even to the most timid of the Asiatic traders themselves, the presence of an active European power amply suffices. During our five years' possession of the Dutch colonies, there was not an example of an European vessel cut off by pirates, and hardly, we imagine, a native one.

An extraordinary degree of protection, however, it must be admitted, is necessary here, as in all similar situations, where a commerce is carried on with men barbarous, or half civilized. A naval force is, in the peculiar condition of the Indian islands, the most natural and legitimate instrument of control and protection. But, of itself, it is certainly not adequate to the purpose of insuring the attainment and possession of that extensive commerce for which there is room. It appears to us, that two or three free ports, centrically and commodiously situated, which might serve as emporia for the whole traffic of the Archipelago, where the native trader might resort with safety, and where the distant and inexperienced merchant of Europe might quickly dispose of and obtain a cargo, would amply effect this purpose. Penang Banka, and a safe port among the many isles of the Amboyna seas, are the most eligible points which occur to us.

It is indeed under freedom, justice, and good faith alone, that this trade, in common with every other, can flourish; and a disregard for them perhaps never was more signally punished than it is known to have been in the history of this very com-

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merce, once so flourishing in our early knowledge of it, but nearly exterminated by violence and injustice. There is, on this subject, an interesting passage in the voyages of Dampier, with which we shall close this long article. The honest navigator, after narrating the circumstances of an atrocious and tragical attack upon a small English trading ship, proceeds, in his artless way, with the following instructive commentary.

'The people of Barcalis, therefore,' says he, 'though they 'are Malayans as the rest of the country, yet they are civil 'enough *engaged thereto by trade*; for the more trade, the more 'civility; and, on the contrary, the more barbarity and inhu- 'manity. For trade has a strong influence upon all people 'who have found the sweets of it, bringing with it so many of 'the conveniences of life as it does; and I believe, that even 'the poor Americans, who have not yet tasted the sweets of it 'by an honest and just commerce, even such of them as yet 'seem to court no more than a bare subsistence of meat and 'drink, and a clout to cover their nakedness. That extensive 'continent hath yet millions of inhabitants, both the Mexican 'and Peruvian parts, who are still ignorant of trade; and they 'would be fond of it, did they once experience it, though they 'at present live happy enough, by enjoying such fruits of the 'earth as Nature has bestowed on those places where their lot 'is fallen;—and it may be, they are happier now, than they 'may hereafter be, when more known to the avaricious world. 'For, with trade, they will be in danger of meeting with op- 'pression,—*men not being content with a free traffic, and a just 'and reasonable gain, especially in those remote countries; but 'they must have the current run altogether in their own channel,* '—though to the depriving the poor natives they deal with 'of their natural liberty, as if all mankind were to be ruled by 'their laws. The islands of Sumatra and Java can sufficiently 'witness this; the Dutch having in a manner engrossed all 'the trade of these, and several of the neighbouring islands, to 'themselves; *not that they are able to supply them with a quar- 'ter of what they want, but because they would have all the 'produce of them at their own disposal.* Yet even in this they 'are short, and may be still more disappointed of the pepper 'trade, if other people would seek it; for the greater part of 'the island of Sumatra propagates this plant; and the natives 'would readily comply with any who would come to trade with 'them, notwithstanding the great endeavours the Dutch make 'against it; for this island is so large, populous, and pro- 'ductive of pepper, that the Dutch are not able to draw all to 'themselves. Indeed, this place about Barcalis is in a man-

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'ner at their devotion; and, for ought I know, it was through 'a design of being revenged on the Dutch, that Captain John-'ston lost his life. I find the Malayans, in general, are im-'placable enemies to the Dutch; and all seems to arise from an 'earnest desire they have for a free trade, which is restrained 'by them not only here, but in the Spice islands, and all other 'places where they have any power.

'*But it is freedom* only must be the means to encourage any of 'these remote people to trade, especially such of them as *are 'industrious, and whose inclinations are bent this way, as most 'of the Malayans are, and the major part of the people of the 'East Indies, even from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to 'Japan—both continent and islands.* For though, in many 'places, they are limited by the Dutch, English, Danes, '&c. and restrained from a free trade with other nations; 'yet have they continually shown what uneasiness that is to 'them. And how dear has this restraint cost the Dutch! '—when, yet, neither can they, with all their forts and guard-'ships, secure the trade wholly to themselves, any more than 'the Barlaventa fleet can secure the trade of the West Indies 'to the Spaniards.'——Such, in homely, but impressive lan-guage, are the unprejudiced sentiments of an honest observer, on a question which, in our times, has been studiously darken-ed by all the arts of sophistry and misrepresentation.

ART. III. *The Speeches of* CHARLES PHILLIPS, Esq. *delivered at the Bar, and on various Public Occasions, in Ireland and England.* Edited by Himself. 8vo. pp. 220. London. Longman & Co. 1817.

MR PHILLIPS is a man of talents certainly; but he is not very docile; and has not a very correct taste, we fear, in more things than in style. It is now about two years since we called the attention of our readers to the attempts which were then made to obtain from the English public, a confirmation of the partial judgment of his personal friends, and Irish ad-mirers. We referred reluctantly to the unworthy system of puffing which had been adopted for this purpose; we were extremely glad to be informed, soon after, that Mr Phillips had no concern with it; although it was a little unlucky that the very letter in which he denied the charge was prefaced by a panegyrick, which we rather think he could not have read without a blush, in a room alone. On that occasion,

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we certainly expressed our anxious desire to prevent the importation of this false eloquence from the country of Grattan, Burke and Plunkett, *—and did what we could to make the prohibition effectual, by pointing out the manifold vices in which it abounded: Nor were we without some hopes, that the author himself might be reclaimed from the course in which the applauses of the rabble, or of his equally unwise friends, were betraying him, and devote his talents to the cultivation of genuine eloquence, under the discipline of sound taste. The volume before us, however, gives us no reason to believe that this reformation is at hand; and we are very sorry for it: For, whatever he may think of it, we are sure that our admonitions proceeded from the most friendly feelings. What prepossession, indeed, could we entertain that was not favourable to Mr Phillips? We highly approved of his political opinions, though a little exaggerated in the expression; we admired the independence of his conduct; we saw in him many of the highest qualities of an orator. But we perceived him to be surrounded by the worst of enemies, flatterers; and as he has, in his humble sphere, committed the error so often fatal even to great men—mistaken flatterers for friends, and allowed his ear to be tickled by their praises, till he fancied every one his foe who spoke unpleasant truths, he has gone on, not perhaps from bad to worse, but in a repetition of the same kind of composition—all the defects remaining, and the merits having lost the novelty by which they chiefly attracted notice. It would be a disgraceful sacrifice of truth to party feelings, were we to say less than we think upon this subject, because we sincerely agree in most of Mr Phillips's opinions. The sentiments of esteem which all we have heard of his political conduct teaches us to entertain for his character, and the good opinion we still have of his natural talents, make it impossible not to cherish, even after the publication of this volume, a fond hope that his eyes may yet be opened to the deplorable folly of chusing his critics among friends blinded by partiality, or mobs incapacitated by ignorance—and of believing that the advertisements of the one, or the noise of the other, can succeed in changing that eternal rule, still more applicable to oratory than poetry, that 'sense is the only source of excellence.'

* The reputation of the two former has long been beyond the reach of controversy or cavil;—but of the last, it may not be altogether unnecessary to say, that we consider him as a model of chaste eloquence, reaching the highest perfection of the art, and free from every one of the faults to which his countrymen are so liable.

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In the publication before us, we have, first of all, to complain of the same system of puffing which has, in Mr Phillips's former publications, given offence to every person of correct notions, and, more especially, to those who possessed any feelings of professional delicacy. A young barrister, printing his Speeches at publick meetings as well as in courts of law, at tavern dinners, in various places both on the mainland and in islands in the Lakes, betokens a zeal for applause not very usual among members of that learned order. The title-page bears that these Speeches are 'edited by himself.' He dedicates them himself to Mr Roscoe,—and then modestly steps aside for a moment, that his friend Mr Finlay (the same gentleman, we presume, who is praised largely in one of the Speeches) may come forward, and deliver, in the shape of a preface, a highly wrought panegyric of the orator, equally warm, indeed, with any thing said by Quintilian of Cicero, though not in precisely the same style. This piece is entitled '*Preface, by John Finlay, Esq.*' Mr Finlay treats his friend exactly as if he had already taken his place among the English classics. 'The Speeches of Phillips,' says he, 'are now, for the first time, offered to the world in an authentic form.' The next sentence is written pretty much in the correct phraseology of 'the Speeches of Phillips' themselves. 'So far as his *exertions* have been hitherto *developed*, his admirers, and they are innumerable, must admit that the text of this volume is an *acknowledged reference*, to which future criticism may fairly *resort*, and from which his friends must *deduce* any *title* which the speaker may have *created* to the character of an orator.' He then shows that he has borrowed also the correctness of metaphor which distinguishes Mr Phillips. 'Defects and detraction,' says he, 'are as the spots and shadow which of necessity adhere and attach to every object of honourable toil.' He afterwards boasts, that these Speeches 'are read in all the languages of Europe,' at this moment; meaning, of course, in the foreign newspapers, where it is unquestionable that far worse compositions than Mr Phillips's are translated daily from the public papers of this country. The criticism to which they have been subjected, is next ascribed to the influence of Government; for Mr Finlay observes, 'that Mr Phillips's political principles have been a drawback on his reputation; and the dispraise of these Speeches has been a discountable quantity for the promotion of placemen, and the procurement of place.' As, however, he was probably aware that *we* had not so negotiated our paper, he must needs find another reason for the opinions expressed in the Edinburgh Review, upon the Speech in the case of *Guthrie* v. *Sterne* (No. L.) It seems we

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took for 'the basis of the criticism, an unauthorized and incorrect publication of a single forensic exertion in the ordinary routine of professional business.' Now, we have a strong suspicion that this unauthorized publication was printed from Mr Phillips's own handwriting: At all events, it bore manifest proofs of having been corrected, or rather written by him; and, if any further evidence were wanting, the book before us contains it; for it contains that Speech, almost word for word as in the edition reviewed by us; the only alterations being a word here and there, probably typographical errors in the former edition. * Nor is it less unfair to represent that Speech as an ordinary effusion; one of a great number daily made in the course of a barrister's practice. Mr Finlay must know, that it was a most elaborate effort of a person who had little or no practice, and who probably made no other speech of any kind for some time before and after it was delivered. Indeed it happens, whimsically enough, that this is the very speech selected by our judicious panegyrist a few pages further on, as the best instance of Mr Phillips's reasoning powers, and skilful selection of topics.

One word more, before leaving the Preface, upon the standard of criticism erected by Mr Finlay in rhetorical matters. 'To juries and public assemblies' says he 'alone the following 'speeches have been addressed; and it is by ascertaining their 'effect on these assemblies or juries, that the merit of the exertion should in justice be measured.

'But there seems a general and prevalent mistake among our 'critics on this judgment. They seem to think that the taste 'of the individual is the standard by which the value of oratory should be decided. We do not consider oratory a mere 'matter of taste: it is a given means for the procurement of a 'given end; and the fitness of its means to the attainment of 'its end should be in chief the measure of its merit;—of this fitness success ought to be evidence.' (p. xi. xii.) And then he proceeds to boast of Mr Phillips's success in a case where he obtained large damages, and to assert also that he has 'procured a larger 'number of readers through the world than ever resorted to the 'productions of any man of these countries,' (meaning, by this

* It is worthy of remark, however, that the sentence about 'an artery torn from the heart-strings,' is omitted in the present edition. But does Mr Finlay mean to say, that Mr Phillips never spoke of such an artery? We can have no doubt that the original edition was correct in this particular; and that the words are now left out, because they were laughed at. What printer, indeed, could have inserted them?

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plural, the country of Ireland, as we find elsewhere.) Now, as to this last assertion, it is so ridiculous an assumption of fact, that we really wonder how even the secret vanity of any man's own heart could make it in the choicest moment of self-complacency. Do Messrs Finlay and Phillips verily and indeed believe, that more nations read their compositions, than are to be found reading the vilest effusions of our newspaper writers and our hustings orators? But we are more anxious to protest against the new canon of criticism which these gentlemen would introduce; and which, if adopted, must at once put an end to all classical eloquence. Success with a jury or a mob, it seems, is the criterion of good oratory. Now, we venture to assert, that no worse test can be conceived; for every one who knows any thing of those audiences, but especially in Ireland, is aware that they are liable to be led away by the glare of the worst style of speaking,—although we have no manner of doubt, that the purest and most chaste oratory, if adapted to the occasion, would always insure a still greater success even with the multitude.

The preface concludes with the following expressions, which we cite in support of the censure reluctantly passed on Mr Phillips, for want of delicacy. They are not indeed written by himself; but he gets a friend to write them, and does not scruple to publish them. We really thought that the old practice of introducing an author with a flourish of recommendatory verses had been wholly exploded—and even in former days we think it was never applied to prose compositions. *

'Unaided by the advantages of fortune or alliance; under the frown of political power and the interested detraction of professional jealousy, confining the exercise of that talent which he derives from his God to the honour, and succour, and protection of his creatures—this interesting and highly-gifted young man runs his course like a giant, prospering and to prosper;—in the court as a flaming sword, leading and lighting the injured to their own; and in the public assembly exposing her wrongs—exacting her rights—conquering envy—trampling on corruption—beloved by his country—esteemed by a world—enjoying and deserving an unexampled fame—and actively

* Mr Phillips pays back his friend's panegyrick almost in ready money. The extract in the text praising the author of the book, is from the end of the preface. The second page of the book thus speaks of the author of the preface. 'One whose patriotism has already rendered him familiar to every heart in Ireland; a man, who, conquering every disadvantage, and spurning every difficulty, has poured around our misfortunes the splendour of an intellect that at once irradiates and consumes them.' p. 2.

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employing the summer of his life in gathering honours for his name, and garlands for his grave!' p. xiv.

Of the ten Speeches contained in this volume, five were delivered at dinners and other public meetings, and five in courts of justice;—But the style of all is exactly the same; and indeed, there is nothing more to be remarked in Mr Phillips's compositions, than their surprising uniformity. It almost amounts to repetition; it is so very perfect and exact, that you can always tell beforehand how he is to go on when he has begun with a topic. He proceeds as if he worked by a particular receipt, mechanically; and the worst of it is, that he uses the same receipt whatever be his object. The perfection of oratory, he seems to think, consists in pouring out, without any selection, a multitude of images, in language always epigrammatic, whether the ideas it conveys be so or not. The object which ought to be in view is perpetually sacrificed to what is no doubt the real purpose of all these Speeches—the saying something gaudy or striking; and Mr Phillips has but one way of saying it. We may open the book at random. Thus, of the Pope he says,

'Placed at the very pinnacle of human elevation, surrounded by the pomp of the Vatican and the splendours of the Court, pouring the mandates of CHRIST from the throne of the CÆSARS, nations were his subjects, kings were his companions, religion was his handmaid; he went forth gorgeous with the accumulated dignity of ages, every knee bending, and every eye blessing the prince of one world and the prophet of another. Have we not seen him, in one moment, his crown crumbled, his sceptre a reed, his throne a shadow, his home a dungeon!' p. 22, 23.

Of Buonaparte—

'The goal of other men's speed was his starting-post; crowns were his play-things, thrones his footstool; he strode from victory to victory; his path was 'a plane of continued elevations.' p. 84.

Of Ferdinand—

'A wretch of even worse than proverbial princely ingratitude; who filled his dungeons, and fed his rack with the heroic remnant that braved war, and famine, and massacre beneath his banners; who rewarded patriotism with the prison, fidelity with the torture, heroism with the scaffold, and piety with the Inquisition; whose royalty was published by the signature of his death-warrants, and whose religion evaporated in the *embroidering of petticoats for the Blessed Virgin!*' p. 85.

Of a bigot generally, we are told that he is

—'a wretch, whom no philosophy can humanize, no charity soften, no religion reclaim, no miracle convert; a monster, who, red with the fires of hell, and bending under the crimes of earth, erects his murderous divinity upon a throne of skulls, and would gladly feed, even with a brother's blood, the cannibal appetite of his rejected altar,' p. 30.

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Of Bigotry—that

'She has no head, and cannot think; she has no heart, and cannot feel; when she moves, it is in wrath; when she pauses, it is amid ruin; her prayers are curses, her communion is death, her vengeance is eternity, her decalogue is written in the blood of her victims; and if she stoops for a moment from her infernal flight, it is upon some kindred rock, to whet her vulture fang for keener rapine, and replume her wing for a more sanguinary desolation!' p. 54.

Again, of Bigotry (we believe, but are not certain), in the same speech—

—'in form a fury, and in act a demon, her heart festered with the fires of hell, her hands clotted with the gore of earth, withering alike in her repose and in her progress—her path apparent by the print of blood, and her pause denoted by the expanse of desolation.' p. 59.

Of a Catholic sending his son to the wars—

'Suppose he sends his son, the hope of his pride and the wealth of his heart, into the army; the child justifies his parental anticipation; he is moral in his habits, he is strict in his discipline, he is daring in the field, and temperate at the board, and patient in the camp; the first in the charge, the last in the retreat: With an hand to achieve, and an head to guide, and a temper to conciliate, he combines the skill of Wellington with the clemency of Cæsar and the courage of Turenne.' p. 64.

Of ditto sending ditto to the bar—

'He has spent his nights at the lamp, and his days in the forum; the rose has withered from his cheek mid the drudgery of form; the spirit has fainted in his heart mid the analysis of crime; he has foregone the pleasures of his youth, and the associates of his heart, and all the fairy enchantments in which fancy may have wrapped him. Alas! for what?—Though genius flashed from his eye, and eloquence rolled from his lips; though he spoke with the tongue of Tully, and argued with the learning of Coke.' &c. p. 64.

It is the less necessary to multiply instances, because every passage which we may extract in the course of these observations is sure to exemplify the same thing.

As it is a rule with Mr Phillips that every sentence must look like an epigram; that point and antithesis must for ever appear in the words, though none may exist in the meaning; we are fatigued to death with the alternations of 'this' and 'that'—'the one' and 'the other;'—with jingling and alliteration—with words perverted to significations wholly foreign to their real meaning, by the figure commonly called slip-slop, and of which Mrs Malaprop was so bright an example, until some of our journalists threw her into the shade;—and lastly, and very generally, with the figure of pure nonsense. Thus, take for a specimen of alliteration—'a miserable maniac in the contents

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ment of his captivity;' unless, peradventure, you rather choose 'the period approaching, when, if penalty does not pause in the pursuit, patience will turn short on the pursuer;' (p. 77.)—in which is to be noted also the genuine nonsense of penalty chasing patience, and patience turning and attacking penalty;—nonsense, in part owing to the love of jingle, and in part to the rage for imagery. The following description of his countrymen is intended to be very highly finished; and, if much working makes a highly wrought passage, it assuredly may be so deemed.

'I think I know my countrymen; they cannot help being grateful for a benefit; and there is no country on the earth where one would be conferred with more characteristic benevolence. They are, emphatically, the schoolboys of the heart—a people of sympathy; their acts spring instinctively from their passions; by nature ardent, by instinct brave, by inheritance generous. The children of impulse, they cannot avoid their virtues; and to be other than noble, they must not only be unnatural but unnational. Put my panegyric to the test. Enter the hovel of the Irish peasant, I do not say you will find the frugality of the Scotch, the comfort of the English, or the fantastic decorations of the French cottager; but I do say, within those wretched bazaars of mud and misery, you will find sensibility the most affecting, politeness the most natural, hospitality the most grateful, merit the most unconscious:—their look is eloquence, their smile is love, their retort is wit, their remark is wisdom—not a wisdom borrowed from the dead, but that with which nature has herself inspired them; an acute observance of the passing scene, and a deep insight into the motives of its agents. Try to deceive them, and see with what shrewdness they will detect; try to outwit them, and see with what humour they will elude; attack them with argument, and you will stand amazed at the strength of their expression, the rapidity of their ideas, and the energy of their gesture! In short, God seems to have formed our country like our people: he has thrown round the one its wild, magnificent, decorated rudeness; he has infused into the other the simplicity of genius and the seeds of virtue: he says audibly to us, "Give them cultivation." p. 14, 15.

The very first sentence contains a signal specimen of Mr Phillips's constant figure, saying what he plainly does not mean to say, in order to appear pointed in his form of expression. What can the gratitude of the receiver have to do with the 'characteristic benevolence' of the giver? In the next sentence of four lines, the same idea is repeated four times; and then, in the same sentence, comes a notable instance of false antithesis, where the point is only in the collocation of the words—'by *nature* ardent—by *instinct* brave;' as if *nature* and *instinct* were not in this case precisely the same thing; and ardour and bravery very near akin;—'by inheritance generous,' is almost a repetition; at any rate, *inheritance*,

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here, can mean nothing but *nature.* In the next sentence, the sense is again sacrificed to the point. 'Not only *unnatural*, but *unnational*;' for the conclusion from what precedes is, that *unnatural* and *unnational* are here the same. We say nothing of the figures—'schoolboys of the heart'—and 'children of impulse;' but why is an Irish hovel, a '*bazaar* of mud and misery'? Bazaar means a market. And why, but for the clink, are *mud* and *misery* coupled together?—Then follow an *apparently* distinctive enumeration of different qualities, with a superlative to each; but it turns out, when we look into them, that the qualities are nearly the same, and that the epithets are affixed at random, being intended to look like characteristic additions; whereas they might be shuffled and distributed anew, without any material injury to the sense. The look and smile, the retort and remark, are liable to the same observation. 'An acute observance,' is slip-slop;—observance is never used for observation. Neither do we *elude* those who are trying to *outwit* us, but to catch, or entrap us;—still less do we elude by means of humour. What can be the meaning of *rudeness* being *decorated* and *wild?* The one epithet is a pleonasm, the other a contradiction. It would not be much more absurd to speak of an old, new novelty. The parallel attempted between the country and the people, is a complete failure; for the only point of resemblance is the rudeness, which is praised as the merit of the one, and, by the conclusion of the sentence, is allowed to be the defect of the other. Yet this passage is, as the reader will presently see, far more correct and chaste than most of Mr Phillips's fine writing. Nor have we, in the foregoing remarks, dwelt upon its principal vice; the strained, affected, and childish manner in which every thing is conceived, as well as expressed,—so that there is nothing like nature and simplicity, or plain manly sense, to be traced either in the thought or the diction.

We have already noticed Mr Phillips's love of imagery; and all the greatest sins against good taste, to which this passion leads its victims, are to be found committed by him in every part of his work. Confusion of metaphor—extravagance or violence, frequently exciting even disgust—absolute nonsense, and the defect of meaning, so nearly akin to it. Thus, speaking of 'the 'Burkes, Barrys and Goldsmiths,' he says, 'they wreathed the 'immortal shamrock round the brow of painting, poetry and 'eloquence.' Of some poor children, he observes, that they may have 'a soul swelling with the energies, and *stamped* with 'the *patent* of the Deity;' whereby it appears that this learned person confounds the letters patent with the seal appended to

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them. He adds, of the same soul, that it might 'bless, *adorn*, 'immortalize, and *ennoble* empires;' an anticlimax not often exceeded, and into which Mr Phillips is clearly led, by his determination always to use four or more words to express the same idea. Again, of Mr Curran—'When thrones were crumbled, 'and dynasties forgotten, he might stand the *landmark* of his 'country's *genius*, rearing himself amid regal ruins and national 'dissolution, a mental *pyramid* in the *solitude of time*, beneath 'whose *shade* things might moulder, and round whose summit '*eternity* must *play*.' (p. 17.) Surely the writer of this never saw a pyramid, or heard of the meaning of a landmark; but, when he talks about the solitude of time, and the playing of eternity, we cannot even conjecture his meaning. Then, what shall we say of such exclamations as this frantic parody upon the Scripture—'Oh, Prejudice, where is thy reason? Oh, Bigotry, 'where is thy blush?' (p. 12.) Or of this other, 'Gospel of 'Heaven! is this thy herald? God of the universe! is this thy 'handmaid? Christian of the Ascendancy!' &c. (p. 59.) Or again, 'Shades of Heroic Millions, these are *thy* achievements! 'Monster of Legitimacy, this is thy consummation!'—whereunto the printer has added, somewhat maliciously, three several marks of admiration. (p. 87.) In one short sentence (p. 67) we have 'God's apostle a court-appendage'—'God himself a 'court-purveyor'—'Omnipotence a menial'—and 'Eternity 'a pander,' (whatever that may denote)—beside several terrestrial figures. But in one oration (O'Mullan *v.* M'Korkill), Mr Phillips exceeds himself; and we doubt not it is the peculiar favourite of Mr Finlay and himself. To give an adequate notion of the *splendour* of imagery which marks this finished specimen of modern eloquence almost from the beginning to the end, we must cite nearly the whole of it, from the very exordium in which we find something *non constat* what 'poured upon the 'patriot by the venom of a venal turpitude;' and are rather unexpectedly introduced into a place described as 'the charnel-'house of crime—the sepulchre where corruption sits enthron-'ed upon the merit it has murdered.' But we fear our cold understandings are incapable of appreciating the beauties of this style. Let, then, a few specimens be presented to the reader; and if his imagination is naturally so ardent as to confound together all distinctions among ideas, or if, like those to whom some of the Speeches were probably addressed, he happens at the moment to have procured that voluntary confusion of the brain which may be superinduced by a simple process, he may be delighted with what follows. The venal writers of Ireland are thus depicted—'the worst foes of Government, under pretence of giving it as-

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sistance; the deadliest enemies to the Irish name, under the mockery of supporting its character; the most licentious, irreligious, illiterate banditti, that ever polluted the fair fields of literature, under the spoliated banner of the press. Bloated with the public spoil, and blooded in the chase of character, no abilities can arrest, no piety can awe; no misfortune affect, no benevolence conciliate them; the reputation of the living, and the memory of the dead, are equally plundered in their desolating progress; even the awful sepulchre affords not an asylum to their selected victim. HUMAN HYENAS! they will rush into the sacred receptacle of death, gorging their ravenous and brutal rapine, amid the memorials of our last infirmity!' p. 124.

Of the Liberty of the Press—' a theme which I approach with mingled sensations of awe, and agony, and admiration. Considering all that we too fatally have seen—all that, perhaps, too fearfully we may have cause to apprehend, I feel myself cling to that residuary safeguard, with an affection no temptations can seduce, with a suspicion no anodyne can lull, with a fortitude that peril but infuriates. In the direful retrospect of experimental despotism, and the hideous prospect of its possible re-animation, I clasp it with the desperation of a widowed female, who, in the desolation of her house, and the destruction of her household, hurries the last of her offspring through the flames, at once the relic of her joy, the depository of her wealth, and the remembrancer of her happiness. It is the duty of us all to guard strictly this inestimable privilege—a privilege which can never be destroyed, save by the licentiousness of those who wilfully abuse it. NO, IT IS NOT IN THE ARROGANCE OF POWER; NO, IT IS NOT IN THE ARTIFICES OF LAW; NO, IT IS NOT IN THE FATUITY OF PRINCES; NO, IT IS NOT IN THE VENALITY OF PARLIAMENTS, TO CRUSH THIS MIGHTY, THIS MAJESTIC PRIVILEGE:—REVILED, IT WILL REMONSTRATE; MURDERED, IT WILL REVIVE; BURIED, IT WILL RE-ASCEND; THE VERY ATTEMPT AT ITS OPPRESSION WILL PROVE THE TRUTH OF ITS IMMORTALITY, AND THE ATOM THAT PRESUMED TO SPURN, WILL FADE AWAY BEFORE THE TRUMPET OF ITS RETRIBUTION!' p. 134, 135.

Now, that Messrs Finlay and Phillips deem this a very fine passage, we infer from their having printed the latter half of it in large Roman characters. Then follows a picture of him who abuses the Liberty of the Press.

' Oh, I would hold such a monster, so protected, so sanctified, and so sinning, as I would some demon, who, going forth consecrated, in the name of the Deity, the book of life on his lips, and the dagger of death beneath his robe, awaits the sigh of piety, as the signal of plunder, and unveins the heart's-blood of confiding adoration!' p. 135.

Again, ' in every line he licks the sores, and pampers the ' pestilence of authority.' (p. 136.) Let any man declare to

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us the meaning of what follows, and we will not call him *Davus*.

'Without it, gold has no value, birth no distinction, station no dignity, beauty no charm, age no reverence; or, should I not rather say, without it every treasure impoverishes, every grace deforms, every dignity degrades, and all the arts, the decorations, and accomplishments of life, stand, like the beacon-blaze upon a rock, warning the world that its approach is danger—that its contact is death? The wretch without it is under *an eternal quarantine*;—no friend to greet—no home to harbour him. The voyage of his life becomes a joyless peril; and in the midst of all ambition can achieve, or avarice amass, or rapacity plunder, he tosses on the surge—*a buoyant pestilence!*' p. 138.

And again—

'Oh divine, oh delightful legacy of a spotless reputation! Rich is the inheritance it leaves; pious the example it testifies; pure, precious, and imperishable, the hope which it inspires! Can you conceive a more atrocious injury than to filch from its possessor this inestimable benefit—to rob society of its charm, and solitude of its solace; not only to outlaw life, but to attaint death, converting the very grave, the refuge of the sufferer, into the gate of infamy and of shame?' p. 139.

And then of Calumny—

'The reptile Calumny is ever on the watch. From the fascination of its eye no activity can escape; from the venom of its fang no sanity can recover. It has no enjoyment but crime; it has no prey but virtue; it has no interval from the restlessness of its malice, save when, bloated with its victims, it grovels to disgorge them at the withered shrine, where envy idolizes *her own infirmities*. Under such a visitation, how dreadful would be the destiny of the virtuous and the good, if the providence of our constitution had not given you the power, as, I trust, you will have the principle, to bruise the head of the serpent, and crush and crumble the altar of its idolatry!' p. 140.

And the plaintiff on the record is thus described—

'In the midst of slander, and suffering, and severities unexampled, he has had no thought, but, that as his enemies evinced how malice could persecute, he should exemplify how religion could endure; that if his piety failed to affect the oppressor, his patience might at least avail to fortify the afflicted. He was as the rock of Scripture before the face of Infidelity. The rain of the deluge had fallen—it only smoothed his asperities; the wind of the tempest beat—it only blanched his brow: the rod, not of prophecy, but of persecution, smote him; and the desert, glittering with the Gospel dew, became a miracle of the faith it would have tempted! We must picture to ourselves a young man, partly by the self-denial of parental love, partly by the energies of personal exertion, struggling into a profession, where, by the pious exercise of his talents, he may make the *fame*, the *wealth*, the flatteries of this world, so many angel heralds

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to the happiness of the next. His precept is a treasure to the poor; his practice, a model to the rich. When he reproves, sorrow seeks his presence as a sanctuary; and in his path of peace, should he pause by the death-bed of despairing sin, the soul becomes *imparadised* in the light of his benediction! Imagine, Gentlemen, you see him thus; and then, if you can, imagine vice so desperate as to defraud the world of so fair a vision.' * p. 140—142.

The peroration is as follows.

'I will not pursue this picture; I will not detain you from the pleasure of your possible compensation; for oh! divine is the pleasure you are destined to experience;—dearer to your hearts shall be the sensation, than to your pride shall be the dignity it will give you. What! though the people will hail the saviours of their pastor: what! though the priesthood will hallow the guardians of their brother; though many a peasant heart will leap at your name, and many an infant eye will embalm their fame who restored to life, to station, to dignity, to character, the venerable friend who taught their trembling tongues to lisp the rudiments of virtue and religion, still dearer than all will be the consciousness of the deed. Nor, believe me, countrymen, will it rest here. Oh no! if there be light in Instinct, or truth in Revelation, believe me, at that awful hour, when you shall await the last inevitable verdict, the eye of your hope will not be the less bright, nor the agony of your ordeal the more acute, because you shall have, by this day's deed, redeemed the Almighty's persecuted Apostle, from the grasp of an insatiate malice—from the fang of a worse than Philistine persecution.' p. 142, 143.

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* The '*genus dicendi*' of which Messrs Finlay and Phillips are the chief patrons (and indeed models) in the present day, does not appear to have been known to the antient masters. We look in vain for any description of it in Cicero or Quintilian. In the middle ages, however, it was abundantly practised. The rule in which its whole mystery may be summed up, is, to give utterance to all the ideas, and in all the words that present themselves (and as near as possible all at once), upon any matter, without regard to order or selection, and how remote soever their reference may be to the subject. Who does not recognize the true *Philippic* style in such passages as the following, being part of Thomas de Elinham's description of the battle of Agincourt? The historian from whom we extract it, indeed terms it, '*Example of the Bombast*,'—but he was a person of a cold, northern taste—in truth a Scotchman.—'O! letale bellum, dira strages, clades mortalis, fomes mortis, sitis cruoris insatiabilis, furibundus impetus, furor impetuosus, insania vehemens, crudelis conflictus, immisericors ulcio,' &c. &c. 'Aer fragoribus tonitruat, nubes missilia impluunt, tellus cruorem absorbet,' &c. &c. 'Iste invadit, ille cadit; iste aggreditur, ille moritur; iste,' &c. &c. 'Occisor irascitur, occisus mœrore conteritur; victus reddi desiderat, victorum impetus redditionis tempora non expectat; sævitia regnat, pietas exulat,' &c. &c.—*Henry's History, Book V. App.*

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What portion of the 'Divine pleasure' here mentioned, the gentlemen of the Jury thought proper to taste, we are not informed; and indeed it is somewhat singular, that, after the large boast in the preface of the practical effects produced by Mr Phillips's eloquence in a Speech not published in this volume, the results of those that are here inserted, are omitted, except in one case, where he was of counsel for the defendant, and succeeded at least so far as to make the plaintiff consent to withdraw a juror. We infer, unwillingly, that the effects of the other Speeches were not very remarkable—at least in the essential matter of damages,—and that he either obtained no verdicts at all, or so little that it is deemed better to suppress the particulars. Such reflexions are extorted from us by the empirical nature of the present publication. On any ordinary occasion we should gladly have suppressed them.

Mr Phillips has but little talent for wit or humour. The following piece of violent absurdity, is, we presume, meant for a specimen of his powers in that line.

'Only just admire this far-famed Security bill,—this motley compound of oaths and penalties, which, under the name of emancipation, would drag your prelates with an halter about their necks to the vulgar scrutiny of every village-tyrant, in order to enrich a few political traders, and distil through some state alembic the miserable rinsings of an ignorant, a decaying, and degenerate aristocracy! Only just admire it! Originally engendered by our *friends* the Opposition, with a *cuckoo* insidiousness, they swindled it into the nest of the Treasury ravens, and when it had been fairly hatched with the beak of the one, and the nakedness of the other, they sent it for its feathers to MONSEIGNEUR QUARANTOTTI, who has obligingly transmitted it with the hunger of its parent, the rapacity of its nurse, and the coxcombry of its *plumassier*, to be baptized by the bishops, and received *æquo gratoque animo* by the people of Ireland!! Oh, thou sublimely ridiculous Quarantotti! Oh, thou superlative coxcomb of the Conclave! what an estimate hast thou formed of the MIND of Ireland! Yet why should I blame this wretched scribe of the Propaganda!' p. 4, 5.

The Speech, however, in the case of *Blake* v. *Wilkins*, is full of ribaldry; and the transitions from vulgar, and coarse or silly jokes, to extravagant, pompous declamation, in Mr Phillips's worst bombast, make this perhaps the worst thing in the collection. His quotations here are chiefly from Dibdin's songs. Sometimes he gives the words of the original exactly—as when he cites from Captain Wattle and Miss Roe;—sometimes he parodies—as in quoting 'Poor Jack,'—which furnished, we presume, the original of the following motley passage.

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'Alike to him the varieties of season or the vicissitudes of warfare. One sovereign image monopolizes his sensibilities. Does the storm rage? the Widow Wilkins outsighs the whirlwind. Is the Ocean calm? its mirror shows him the lovely Widow Wilkins. Is the battle won? he thins his laurel that the Widow Wilkins may interweave her myrtles. Does the broadside thunder? he invokes the Widow Wilkins!

"*A sweet little Cherub* she sits up aloft
To keep watch for the life of poor Peter!' p. 185.

And he gives an elaborate adaptation of Alley Croker in the same style. We really cannot give any more specimens of this production. But the vulgar story, so badly as well as flippantly told of Mr Fox, in p. 50, and which we will venture to assert has no earthly foundation, except in the jest-book it was taken from, where we dare say it was at least told comparatively well, surpasses any thing else in this volume, for low and unsuccessful attempt at humour.

After the idea which the foregoing pages must have conveyed of Mr Phillips's judgment, it can hardly appear wonderful that we should now mention, as amongst the most prominent of his faults, an injudicious choice of his topics, and a manner of handling them which generally sacrifices the sense to the sound. In fact, he never appears for a moment to have in view the object which alone he ought constantly to aim at, conviction or persuasion. To strike—to dazzle—is his perpetual effort; to bring forward the speaker, and let the subject fare as it may, is the manifest purpose, not only of every Speech, but of all the particular passages. To be sure, the kind of speaking in which he seems chiefly to have practised, leads naturally enough to this grand defect. When a gentleman is called upon after dinner for a speech, he is expected to entertain the company pretty much as if he were asked to sing a song. There is too often, upon such occasions, a want of any precise point towards which his eloquence can be directed; and, at all events, it is displayed to a friendly audience, and hardly ever *in foro contentioso.* But never was there any instance of oratory brought so exactly down to the level of mere display amusement (except, perhaps, in the ludicrous associates of Clubs) as at the 'Dinner on Dinas Island in the Lake of Killarney,'—for there, it is plain, that speech-making must have been introduced, like pipes or songs, for no other purpose than to pass the evening. Yet even here there was a style more peculiarly ill adapted to the occasion than any other;—and, that the orator hit it, the following sentences may testify.

'I appeal to History! Tell me, thou reverend chronicler of the grave, can all the illusions of ambition realized, can all the wealth of an universal commerce, can all the achievements of successful he-

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roism, or all the establishments of this world's wisdom, secure to empire the permanency of its possessions? Alas, Troy thought so once; yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once; yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her very tombs are but as the dust they were vainly intended to commemorate! So thought Palmyra—where is she? So thought Persepolis, and now—

'Yon waste, where roaming lions howl,
Yon aisle, where moans the gray-eyed owl,
Shows the proud Persian's great abode,
Where sceptred once, an earthly god,
His power-clad arm controlled each happier clime,
Where sports the warbling muse, and fancy soars sublime.'

So thought the countries of Demosthenes and the Spartan;—yet Leonidas is trampled by the timid slave, and Athens insulted by the servile, mindless, and enervate Ottoman! In his hurried march, Time has but looked at their imagined immortality; and all its vanities, from the palace to the tomb, have, with their ruins, erased the very impression of his footsteps!' p. 40, 41.

But the mismanagement appears far greater upon occasions where a particular point was to be steadily kept in view; and we should select, as a specimen of this, the manner in which he handles his topics, in a Speech which, from internal evidence, we have no doubt he prefers to all the rest—that for O'Mullan. It is not very easy to collect the circumstances of the case, from the laboured, vague, figurative declamation in which it is opened; but, as far as we can get a glimpse of it, the action was brought for a libel in a newspaper against a Catholic priest, accusing him of an assault upon his bishop and the recorder, in his own chapel; whereas, at the time when it was alleged to have been committed, he was absent in Dublin, obtaining subscriptions for a charity school. Now, to state the cause of his absence was highly proper; and there would have been nothing extravagant in adding a single sentence in commendation of the object of his journey. But this would not satisfy the insatiable love of display which rules in this advocate. He straightway enters into the subject of Education, as if he had been delivering a lecture upon it.

'I need not descant upon the great general advantage, or to this country the peculiarly patriotic consequences, which the success of such a plan must have produced. No doubt, you have all personally considered—no doubt, you have all personally experienced, that of all the blessings which it has pleased Providence to allow us to cultivate, there is not one which breathes a purer fragrance, or bears an heavenlier aspect than education. It is a companion which no misfortunes can depress, no clime destroy, no enemy alienate, no despotism enslave; at home a friend, abroad an introduction; in solitude a

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solace, in society an ornament;—it chastens vice, it guides virtue, it gives at once a grace and government to genius. Without it, what is man? A splendid slave! a reasoning savage, vacillating between the dignity of an intelligence derived from God, and the degradation of passions participated with brutes; and, in the accident of their alternate ascendancy, shuddering at the terrors of an hereafter, or embracing the horrid hope of annihilation. What is this wondrous world of his residence?

A mighty maze, and all without a plan—

a dark and desolate and dreary cavern, without wealth, or ornament or order. But light up within it the torch of knowledge, and how wondrous the transition! The seasons change, the atmosphere breathes, the landscape lives, earth unfolds its fruits, ocean rolls in its magnificence, the heavens display their constellated canopy, and the grand animated spectacle of nature rises revealed before him, its varieties regulated, and its mysteries resolved.' p. 131, 132.

We cannot now make room for any more; but the orator proceeds a great deal further in much the same strain; comparing education to the cross which appeared to 'the hesitating Constantine;'—asserting, that 'if man will *follow its precepts* purely,' (the precepts of education), he shall have victory in this world, and the '*portals of omnipotence* will open for his admission;'—and ascribing, at some length, the rise of Athens, Rome, and Sparta, to its influence. He then goes on to state, that 'the blessings of education are peculiarly applicable to the Irish;'—and this brings in one of his choice morsels upon the character of that people, which, when we begin to cite, our readers will recognise pretty much as those of the Vicar of Wakefield do the man who talked about Sanconiathan, Manetho, and Berosus,—'lively, ardent, intelligent and sensitive; nearly all their acts spring from impulse,' and so forth;—exactly to the tune of a passage already quoted from another speech, until we arrive at a strange consequence, which, it seems, 'this principle' (of being subject to impulse) produces;—'it leads victory captive at her (Ireland's) car, and holds echo mute at her eloquence; making a national monopoly of fame, ‡ and, as it were, attempting to naturalize the achievements of the universe.' He then passes to another topic, quite foreign to the course of his argument and declamation, but which he says is 'connected with the subject of the trial,'—the Liberty of the Press; and he gives nearly two pages of rant upon this;—part of them we have already extracted. The general sermon upon Reputation and

‡ All we are anxious about is to see the monopoly strictly enforced, and that there never may arise any competition for such fame in this country.

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Calumny, of which we have also given a specimen, comes next;—and is as applicable to the case of O'Mullan, as to that of any other plaintiff in an action for slander and libel, and not one degree more so.

We have, both now and in the former article upon Mr Phillips, expressed our reluctance at performing the harsh task which our duty imposed upon us. We not only approve generally of his conduct, (excepting always the intolerable flippancy of his sneers at Mr Grattan, and the absurd attempts to make the Catholics believe that all parties are alike hostile to their cause), but we consider him to be a young man whose errors are those of bad taste, and who might have excelled, had he not listened to friends and mobs. He shows no defect of talents; on the contrary, there are many passages in the volumes before us which display a natural genius for oratory. The following we give as an example of his powers, with much more pleasure than we have felt in citing the instances of their great abuse and perversion.

'Your friendship has been to him (the Irish Catholic) worse than hostility; he feels its embrace but by the pressure of his fetters! I am only amazed he is not more violent. He fills your exchequer, he fights your battles, he feeds your clergy from whom he derives no benefit; he shares your burdens, he shares your perils, he shares every thing except your privileges—*can you wonder he is violent?* No matter what his merit, no matter what his claims, no matter what his services; he sees himself a nominal subject, and a real slave; and his children, the heirs perhaps of his toils, perhaps of his talents, certainly of his disqualifications—*can you wonder he is violent?* He sees every pretended obstacle to his emancipation vanished; Catholic Europe your ally, the Bourbon on the throne, the Emperor a captive, the Pope a friend, the aspersions on his faith disproved by his allegiance to you, against, alternately, every Catholic potentate in Christendom; and he feels himself branded with hereditary degradation—*can you wonder, then, that he is violent?* He petitioned humbly; his tameness was construed into a proof of apathy. He petitioned boldly; his remonstrance was considered as an impudent audacity. He petitioned in peace; he was told it was *not the time.* He petitioned in war; he was told it was *not the time.* A strange interval, a prodigy in politics, a pause between peace and war, which appeared to be just made for him, arose; I allude to the period between the retreat of Louis and the restoration of Buonaparte; he petitioned then, and he was told it was *not the time.*' p. 80, 81.

Is it even now too late to reform? The criticism which ought to make him pause, and question the soundness of the taste he has hitherto been guided by, may possibly have no other effect than to irritate him, and make him pursue his present errors more pertinaciously. That it should have the effect of disheart-

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ening him, we take to be highly improbable; for surely the confidence which has dictated this publication is a plant of no sickly growth. If he takes as he ought what has been said, not merely by us, but by all those whose judgment any man of sense would value, and applies himself to the correction of his innumerable defects: If he learns to think of his subject; to regard the sense always, even in ornamental passages; to speak plainly and rationally; to use figures only where they come naturally in, and then to use them as not abusing them—we will venture to promise him very considerable success in the arduous pursuit of oratorical renown.

ART. IV. *Transactions of the Geological Society, established November* 1807. Vol. III. 4to. pp. 444. W. Phillips, London, 1816.

IT has been remarked by critics, that the want of education is sometimes of advantage to a man of genius, who is thus left free to the suggestions of invention, and is neither biassed in favour of erroneous maxims, nor deterred from the trial of his own powers by names of high authority. On this principle, it is evident that the members of the Geological Society have derived great benefit from their want of systematical instruction. At the time of its formation, there was in fact no English school of Mineralogy where they could imbibe either information or prejudice. They were neither Vulcanists nor Neptunists, nor Wernerians nor Huttonians, but plain men, who felt the importance of a subject about which they knew very little in detail; and, guided only by a sincere desire to learn, they have produced, with a rapidity that is truly surprising, publications, of the greatest interest and importance, upon the subjects to which they have devoted their attention.

The volume now before us cannot fail, we think, to add considerably to the reputation of this distinguished Body. But, before we enter upon the examination of it, we shall state briefly what appear to us to be the present bearings of geological inquiry; for although the principles upon which geologists proceed in their investigations, may be collected, by an intelligent reader, from various detached publications, we do not know of any one book where they are delivered in a manner at once popular and correct.

We have already taken occasion * to state our opinion re-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xviii. Art. 3.—Vol. xx. Art. 6.

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specting that part of the system of the celebrated WERNER, which includes his hypothesis of the deposition of rocks; and, we think, have proved, that it is, to say the least, as destitute of support in some of its leading positions as any of those fantastic productions which have been denominated Theories of the Earth. The true geological merit of that distinguished naturalist, appears in fact to consist, neither in his theory, however eulogized, nor yet in that more useful part of his productions, his enumeration of rocks;—but in his having been the first to draw the attention of geologists, explicitly, to the *order of succession* which the various natural families of rocks are found in general to present, and in having himself developed that order to a certain extent, and with a degree of accuracy which, before his time, was unattainable, from the want of sufficient methods of discriminating minerals and their compounds.

It has been proved, (and Werner was the first to make the observation), that the masses or strata that constitute the surface of the globe, present themselves in groups or assemblages, the members of which are generally associated, wherever they occur, and are so connected as to exhibit a certain unity of character. To such assemblages Werner gave the name of *Formations;* and his doctrine (or hypothesis, if this latter term be preferred) is—*that the exterior of the earth consists of a series of these formations, laid over each other in a certain determinate order.* Not that the whole series is anywhere complete; but that the relative place of its several members is never departed from. Thus, in the series A, B, C, D, it may happen that B or C, or both, may be occasionally wanting, and consequently D be found immediately above A; but the succession is *never* violated, nor the order inverted, by the discovery of A above the formations B, or C, or D, nor of B above those that follow it, &c.

The only rival claimant to this doctrine, that we know of, is Mr William Smith, the publisher of the Geological Map of England that has recently made its appearance,—a work which it would be unjust to mention, without adding, that it is of great and original value; indeed, regarding it as the production of an unassisted individual, of most extraordinary merit. For, although the publication of this map was delayed till the year 1815, we have no doubt that Mr Smith's acute and laborious researches originated entirely from the facts which came before him in examining the stratification of England many years ago; and that he was then, and long afterwards, wholly unacquainted with what had previously been done by Werner. The opinions of Mr Smith, however, so nearly coincide with the doctrine of *Formations* which we have just stated, that it would be difficult to express them in any other terms; and this complete

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coincidence between two independent observers, is no slight confirmation both of the fidelity of their observations, and of the correctness of the hypothesis which they have severally deduced from them.

The error of some of the leading disciples of the Wernerian school in this country appears to be, that they already consider as established, with respect to the whole exterior of the globe, a principle which, at the utmost, is proved to a limited extent only. Yet, even in the present state of our knowledge, the facts brought to light by modern investigations, respecting the corresponding structure of very distant regions, are so remarkable, as to induce us to allow, not only the existence of a very strong resemblance between the rock formations of the globe in general, but an analogy at least, formerly unsuspected, in their successive order; and to withhold our *dissent*, until we are possessed of a greater body of evidence, even from the sweeping generalization of Werner. This order, it is true, is much less distinct in the older and primary rocks, perhaps also less determinate, and certainly much more difficult of development, than that of the more recent stratified formations: In the latter, we are sure that it is already proved to exist in England, and some other countries of Europe. And if Geology at the present day deserves, in any thing, the name of science, it is in the approach which has been made to the establishment of the more general law which that succession implies.

That some such general law in the arrangement of rocks should actually be discovered, is what we think might have been expected, *à priori*, from the uniformity which is in other respects observable in the mineral kingdom. The chemical composition of the species of minerals, is determinate, not merely in the nature and number of their ingredients, but probably even in the numerical proportion of their elements. These simpler bodies, again, thus similarly constituted, are grouped together in the compound rocks, not with endless variety, but in aggregates, of which the number at present known, and probably the whole number, is very small; and, however dissimilar the climates, or remote the quarters of the globe in which these aggregates occur, they are always found to possess considerable uniformity of character. The mind, therefore, is almost tempted to advance another step in the analogy, and to expect that the arrangement, as well as the characters and composition of these aggregates, will have a certain steadiness and uniformity: And this expectation, while it ought to put us on our guard against deception as to the evidence, may also diminish our hesitation to admit, upon sufficient proof, what otherwise might seem very extraordinary.

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A very important exception, however, to this regularity of arrangement, is found in the position of that great class of compound rocks, which includes all those of the Trap family, the porphyries, syenite, and some at least of the granite formations of Werner. The compounds of this tribe, in general, agree, not only in possessing the characters of very decisive crystallization, and in being wholly destitute of organized remains, but in exhibiting, at their junction with the stratified substances, the most obvious marks of violent disturbance and irregularity: And the trap rocks, in the form of large and numerous veins, are found to traverse, indiscriminately, all the other more regular formations. It is impossible, then, to believe, that the same laws have governed the disposition, both of these compounds and of the strata which contain organic remains, and exhibit greater regularity of structure: And every arrangement which assigns to both a common origin, or attempts to include the Trap, and other similar formations, in the general series of rocks, must, in itself, be defective, and even radically inconsistent. The capital mistake of Werner, (to which he was led, no doubt, by his erroneous theory), is, that he has attempted such a combination, and neglected these demonstrations of violence and disturbance.

In England, although the vicinity of the metropolis wants the more striking features which render the positions of Edinburgh and Dublin so interesting to the geologist, the series of rocks is fortunately such as to exhibit, very distinctly, the order of their succession: And the coincidence between the topographical features, and the geological disposition of the country, is, in several respects, of the most impressive character. The beautiful regularity of the long continued line, as it were, of coast, which is seen from Shotoverhill, at the termination of the chalk strata to the east of Oxford, has no doubt powerfully assisted the zealous geologists of that University, in making converts to their favourite pursuits: And it is impossible, while contemplating the general mass of the eastern portion of England, to learn that the elevated ranges, of several miles in extent, which, in so many instances, strike the eye, are formed by the emergence of certain distinct uniform strata, without feeling a desire to investigate the laws that have produced this regularity. It is, accordingly, to the development of facts like these, that the labours of geologists are at present everywhere directed: And this constitutes, in truth, the only method of arriving at what has been so long sought after,—a rational theory of the earth.

Those who are the best acquainted with the history of other

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branches of science, will be the least disposed to regard the province of inquiry thus restricted, as unimportant or uninteresting; or to regret the seclusion of the naturalist from those more easy and tempting speculations which, till of late, it has been the fashion to dignify with the name of Geology. The most sublime discoveries, and the inventions most useful to mankind, the astronomical system of the Universe, the steam-engine, the safety-lamp, are all the result of long-continued researches, ennobled by their object, but abstract, severe, and laborious in their detail, and in themselves not at all more attractive than the minute comparison of fossil remains, or the most fatiguing pursuit of the ambiguous relations of rocks, amidst indistinct appearances, and through widely extended districts. In the mean time, Geology has this great advantage, of which not even Botany partakes more largely,—that it leads continually to healthful and active exertion, amidst the grandest and most animating scenery of Nature,—and that, demanding, indispensably, the combination of labour, and the interchange of acquirements, it gives rise to a frankness and warmth of communication amongst its cultivators, which renders the collateral results of friendship and association some of the most delightful of its fruits. There are few, indeed, of those who are engaged sincerely in the study of any department of natural knowledge, who will not testify, that many of those enjoyments which are remembered with the greatest satisfaction, have originated in the unreserved and candid intercourse arising from the common pursuit of truth.

The volume which has suggested these observations, contains, in the whole, fifteen different papers; of which, ten only are properly Geological,—eight relating to the structure of England,—and two to that of Foreign countries:—the rest are principally devoted to Mineralogy. The first paper in the volume is a very long one, of 111 pages, *On the Geology of the Island of Sky*, by Dr M'Culloch, of which we had prepared an abstract; but, perceiving that an additional memoir of the same kind, upon the same subject, has recently appeared in the 4th volume of the Geological Transactions, we shall defer our account of the whole until a future occasion.

The next paper that we shall mention, is certainly one of the most valuable which has been published by this Society, *On the Geological features of the North-Eastern Counties of Ireland*,—from the notes of Dr Berger; with an introduction and remarks, by the Rev. W. Conybeare. It explains very clearly the structure of one of the most remarkable Basaltic districts in Europe; and establishes the identity of some of the strata in the north

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of Ireland, with those of the eastern part of England, and of some other countries. The paper is illustrated by two instructive maps, and by a very interesting series of sectional views for more than fifty miles along the Basaltic coast, with observations by Mr Conybeare, and Mr Buckland, Reader in Mineralogy at Oxford; the former of whom appears to have discharged the duty of editor of Dr Berger's papers, with the greatest judgment and candour.

The portion of Ireland which is here described, includes the counties of Derry, Antrim, Armagh and Down, with parts of Tyrone and Lowth, and is marked by three distinct groups or systems of mountains.—1. The Southern portion of the district consists principally of those of Mourne, in the county of Down, of which the highest summit, Slieve Donard, is 2654 feet above the sea. The prevailing rock is granite; but some lesser elevations on the north and east of the Mourne mountains, are primitive hornblende and greenstone; and to the north and north-west, a still lower chain, principally of greywacke and greywacke slate, detaches this group from the Basaltic tract hereafter mentioned. —2. The second group, is situate above 30 miles N. W. of the first, principally in the county of Derry. Sawell, the highest summit, is 2557 feet above the sea; and the extensive tract around it is wholly primitive, mica-slate constituting almost exclusively nine-tenths of the district.—3. The third system comprehends two chains of hills, bounding on the E. and W. the valley through which the river Ban flows from Loughneagh to the ocean; it is formed entirely of an enormous platform of basalt, from beneath which, at an interval of 30 miles from the primitive country, mica-slate again emerges at the N. E. angle of the county of Antrim.—The exact correspondence between the structure of the portion of Ireland here described, and the opposite parts of Scotland, which is illustrated in the papers by a coloured geological sketch, leaves no doubt of the former continuity of the Scotch and Irish coasts.

The primitive districts of Mourne and Londonderry, are described in the paper, and the topographical distribution of the primary and intermediate rocks is given; but their boundaries are not minutely traced; and it is from the 3d, or Basaltic country above mentioned, that the memoir principally derives its interest. The surface of this tract appears to form a sort of basin, with its lowest point near the centre of the trough or valley of Ban; the hills presenting abrupt declivities to the east, north, and west, but sloping gently inwards in every direction. The summits within this area are in general detached and distinct: Knocklead, the highest point at the north of the eastern range, is 1820 feet above the sea; and Divis on the south, 1475 feet. In the

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western chain, Craignashook, at the southern extremity, is 1864 feet above the sea, and Benyavenagh, the extreme mountain on the north, 1114. The whole surface of the district is covered with a vast stratified mass of Basalt, about 540 feet in average thickness, and not less than 800 square English miles in extent. The strata upon which this mass reposes, agree precisely with some of those which are found immediately above the coal, to a great extent, in the south and east counties of England; but those in Ireland do not reach beyond the verge of the Basaltic mass, by which they seem to have been protected from the agents that have removed them in other situations. The whole series is traversed by numerous dikes of trap. The rocks of the several districts described in this paper, succeed each other in the following order, beginning with the lowest—

Viz.

1. Granite.
2. Mica-slate.
3. Primitive limestone.
4. Primitive Trap.
5. Porphyry.
6. Syenite.
7. Greywacke.
8. Transition limestone.
9. Trap.
10. Old red sandstone.
11. Limestone, lying under, or associated with,
12. Coal formation.
13. Red and variegated sandstone, red and variegated marl, containing gypsum.
14. Lyas (or lias).
15. Green sand or *mulattoe* stone.
16. Chalk, the *white limestone* of the north of Ireland.
17. Basaltic formations.
18. Alluvial depositions.

The rock most widely distributed in the primary country is the mica-slate, No. 2, which is in some places succeeded immediately by a red sandstone, No. 10 or 13; the former of these numbers appearing, according to Dr Berger, to alternate, in some instances, with greywacke. The limestone, No. 11, is of great importance in the local geology of Ireland, as it appears to constitute a portion of the great calcareous formation, which may be traced from Dublin, through several of the midland counties, and to be the rock upon which the great coal districts of Kilkenny and Lough-Allen, as well as those of Dungannon and Coal Island, described in this paper, are found to repose.* The

* A mistake, of considerable importance, occurs at p. 159, where Dr Berger mentions, that all the coal in Ireland to the north of a line drawn through Lough-Allen, from the east to the western coast, is Slate coal, but to the south *Cannel* coal—the latter being evidently intended to signify *Kilkenny* coal, a substance perfectly distinct, which contains no bitumen.

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coal strata, No. 12, occur in two detached positions, one in Tyrone, to the south-west of the Basaltic district, the other at Ballycastle on the north-east coast. Several beds of coal have been discovered in Tyrone; but the works are not carried on with spirit. The Ballycastle colliery, also, is badly managed, and was formerly much more productive than of late. The coal there is bituminous.

The next five formations, from No. 13 to 17, possess altogether a thickness of from 800 to 1000 feet; the whole system appearing, at the north-east and south-west extremities, to repose on the coal formation. The sandstone, No. 13, is in every instance below the Lyas: it seems, however, to alternate with some of the preceding numbers, and to agree in part with the sandstone of the English coal formation,—in part with some of the beds of the rock-marl: But the arrangement of the sandstone formations in the north-east of Ireland, is a problem of considerable difficulty, and the correct position of Nos. 10. & 13. is still to be determined. The numerous beds of coarse Oolites, which in England in general occur below the lyas and greensand, are entirely wanting in Ireland: But this is the case also in the neighbourhood of Lime-Regis in Dorsetshire, which place affords an exact counterpart of the Irish series here described. No. 14, the Lyas (or Lias) formation, consists of beds of slate-clay, alternating with thin seams of a blue argillaceous limestone; distinguished by its containing, in abundance, ammonites, gryphites, and the remains of pentacrinites. The thickness of the lyas in the north of Ireland, has not been ascertained:—near Glenarm it exceeds 100 feet. No. 15, the Green Sandstone, or *Mulattoe* of the county of Antrim, is an arenaceous stone, containing 9-10ths of a calcareous cement, which, after treatment by acids, leaves a greenish chloritic earth: It holds the same relative place on every side of the Basaltic area, and agrees precisely with the bed which is found almost universally in England, immediately below the chalk—the organic remains also being the same in both. The lyas and green sandstone are seldom wanting in the series. No. 16. The great compactness of the *white limestone* of Antrim, and the occurrence in it of the Cornu Ammonis, were supposed to distinguish this bed from the English chalk; but the lower chalk-beds in the isles of Wight and Purbeck correspond with it precisely, being equally hard, containing the same fossils, and occupying a similar position over the greensand-rock. The thickness of the chalk, however, which in England often extends to 800 feet, does not in Ireland exceed 300. It is traversed by flinty nodules in horizontal strata, which cease in the lowest beds. Immediately above the chalk, there occurs a

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confused assemblage of flinty nodules, the remains perhaps of superior beds of the chalk formation, coloured red by the ochreous bole in which they lie. The position of the chalk, and its relation to the adjoining strata, are beautifully exhibited at Knocklead, an insulated mountain near Ballycastle, where the chalk strata, by their intersection with the conical surface of the hill, form a sort of zone, completely encircling its middle region; and, after interruption by a deep valley, are resumed exactly in some plane in the slope of an opposite mountain. The greatest height or upper limit of the chalk is on Slieve-Gallion, about 1466 feet above the sea. The chalk itself, which is frequently traversed by basaltic dikes, often (but, it would seem, not universally) undergoes a remarkable alteration near the surfaces of contact. The change sometimes extends eight or ten feet from the wall of the dike, being at that point greatest, and thence gradually decreasing. The extreme effect presents a dark brown crystalline limestone, the crystals running in flakes as large as those of coarse primitive limestone. This altered chalk is highly phosphorescent when subjected to heat. The flints which it contains usually assume a grey yellowish colour.

No. 18. Trap.—The rocks which constitute the formation to which this term is here applied, are basalt, greenstone, greystone, clink-stone porphyry, bole or red-ochre, wacke, (which is very rare), and woodcoal. The greatest thickness of the mass is, in the eastern chain of hills, 944 feet; in the western chain 1145. The intermediate rocks between the coal formation, No. 12, and the basalt, are wholly wanting in some places, as at Ballycastle, where the latter rock is placed immediately over the coal strata. But the whole series above enumerated, from No. 12 to 17, may be examined with great advantage in the neighbourhood of Belfast, where all its members occur. The prevailing rock within this district is tabular basalt, which occupies nine-tenths of the whole area. The *columnar* strata seem to occur principally towards the northern boundary; and besides the well known cliffs at the Giant's Causeway, and the adjoining coast, * of which the prin-

* 'The neighbourhood of the Causeway,' Messrs Conybeare and Buckland say, 'with all its remarkable features,—its superb storied 'façades, distinguished by a double order of columns,—its whin 'dikes, and its caverns, has been so fully and ably described by Dr 'Richardson, in the Philosophical Transactions, that they are al-'ready familiar to every reader interested in such subjects.' Mr Hamilton's 'Letters on the coast of Antrim' are also referred to, in terms of high and just eulogium. pp. 212. 207.

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cipal bed is 54 feet in thickness, and a second 44, similar strata are mentioned as occurring at several other places; one of which, named Craigahuillar, is very remarkable. At Fairhead and Crosshill, the columns, which Dr Berger states to consist of greenstone, highly crystallized,

—' are destitute of the regular articulations and neatness of form which distinguish the basaltic pillars of the Causeway; they form enormous prismatic masses, often quadrilateral; and these latter appear to be formed of a congeries of smaller prisms, aggregated in a manner which brings to mind the clustered assemblage of shafts, forming a Gothic column. The greatest length of these columns is not less than 250 feet.—Slievemish, a remarkable mountain, which lies like a colossal landmark in the middle of the county, is, from its basis to its summit, composed entirely of greenstone, thus forming a mass of 900 feet in thickness.' p. 184–5.

Among the more remarkable miscellaneous features of the Basaltic district, is an area of about four English miles in extent, on the north-west of Belfast, over which numerous small hills are scattered; one of them, called *Sandybrae*, being 737 feet in height above the sea. These hills are all comparatively low hummocks, strongly contrasted with the basaltic ridges of the surrounding country, and are composed principally of clay porphyry, with black pitch-stone and pearl-stone porphyries, in smaller quantity:—but their geological relations are not yet ascertained.

The *Whin-dikes* of this district, we shall find, are the subject of a separate paper in this volume, by Dr Berger: But one of the most extraordinary, that of Carrick Mawr, is described by Messrs Conybeare and Buckland. The mass of this projecting rock consists of a central line formed by the dike itself, with adhering portions of slaty-clay (of the coal strata), which has been brought to the state of flinty-slate, evidently by the contiguity of the basalt. The adjacent sandstone is also indurated. But the most remarkable change is visible in the coal itself, which is cut by the dike at the distance of 500 yards inland from the cliff, and is altered by it to a considerable distance from the place of contact; 'being reduced to the state of a cinder, which 'can be employed only for burning lime.'

Kenbaan, a remarkable promontory on the Basaltic coast, has obviously been the scene of great convulsion and derangement. We have not room for the detail; but the main facts are, that the beds of chalk are very much contorted; that detached masses of debris, composed of chalk, fragments of flint and basalt, are found high up on the Basaltic cliff; and that the course of an enormous whin-dike can be traced through the promontory, as well as in the opposite shore of Rathlin Island,

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where three dikes, of very peculiar character, are visible within the space of 90 feet. ‡

A remarkable rock at Portrush had been considered as a variety of basalt; exhibiting the conclusive fact of an impression of Cornu Ammonis existing in that substance. The rock in question, however, is flinty-slate, exactly similar to the indurated clay at Carrick Mawr; and the impressions are precisely the same with those in the slate-clay under the chalk near Balintoy. Messrs Conybeare and Buckland were therefore convinced, that the supposed basalt was no other than the slate-clay of the Lyas formation, in an indurated state; the change having been produced, as Mr Playfair had conjectured, by the adjoining mass of whin.

The next paper, *On the Dikes of the North of Ireland*, by

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‡ In this place Mr Conybeare, 'desiring,' as he states, 'to keep 'the description of facts distinct from conclusions merely specula-'tive,' has subjoined, in a very well written and temperate note, (the whole of which deserves attention), the views which he has been led to form on the origin of basalt, and of the other rocks usually associated under the general name of floetz trap,—and 'the convic-'tion which this spot first impressed upon his mind,' respecting the igneous origin of such formations. We shall imitate this caution, and give his remarks in a distinct form from the text. He first states the general evidence, both negative and positive, by which he conceives the trap rocks to be distinguished from those of undoubted igneous origin; and, after forcibly recapitulating the extraordinary appearances at Kenbaan, continues thus.—'It seems impossible to 'conceive appearances more utterly irreconcileable with the hypo-'thesis, that the basalt was deposited regularly above the chalk, 'from a state of aqueous solution. On the other hand, were we to 'imagine *a priori* the phenomena which would probably result from 'the eruption of a current of ignited lava from beneath the chalk, 'and its subsequent diffusion over the upper surface of the chalk, 'while the whole was submerged beneath the sea, and under a con-'siderable pressure, they would exactly accord with those which 'we may actually observe at Kenbaan.—To the same purpose, the 'changes effected by whin-dikes of this district on the rocks they 'traverse, might be cited..... Hence, if it be allowable to specu-'late on subjects so remote from actual observation, I would infer, 'that the hypothesis which ascribes the formation of the floetz-trap-'rocks to submarine volcanoes, which were active at a very remote 'period, before the seas and continents had assumed their present 'relative level, is both in itself more consistent, and, in its applica-'tion to the actual phenomena, more satisfactory, than any other.' p. 208.

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Dr Berger, is properly a supplement to the last. These dikes (or veins, for such in fact they are) have hitherto been observed, according to Dr Berger's information, in the northern parts of Ireland only; where they occur, or are visible, principally upon the sea-shore: Those of Donegal, however, are 15 miles from the coast. They are found at various heights above the sea; the highest at an elevation of 2220 feet. They are commonly in groups, several being found within a short distance of each other; and their direction in general is about N. W. and S. E. Of 31, a list of which is given, 24 bear between 20° and 60° west of north. They cut the planes of the strata at very considerable angles, and intersect the veins and longitudinal valleys of the country, which last, Dr Berger states, are generally parallel to the veins. They vary in width from a few inches to several hundred feet, but the latter dimensions are very rare; and the width seems to be uniformly less in the primitive, than in the secondary rocks. Of 62 dikes, 38 in primitive rocks were, on an average, 9 feet wide; the remaining 24, in the secondary, 24 feet. From the decay of the adjoining substances, they are frequently left standing like walls, detached from the adjoining rocks: one near the Giant's Causeway thus jutting out 372 feet into the sea. Their depth is quite unknown; and in no instance is there any appearance of convergence in the sides as they descend, nor do they swell into larger masses, or send off small branches, after the manner of ordinary veins. There is not much variety in their composition; trap (basalt?), greenstone, lydian stone and flinty slate, in the proportion of the order here enumerated, being the substances of which they consist. They traverse rocks of every class, from mica-slate (we believe from granite) to the chalk; and Dr Berger states, that they cut through even the basalt, at the Giant's Causeway, and in some other places. The principal effects of induration &c. which they produce on the adjoining substances, have been already mentioned. In their internal structure the dikes are not laminated like metallic veins, but 'formed either of a number of diminutive pillars aggregated together, or of rhomboidal 'pieces piled one upon another, like blocks of masonry, the 'long axes of these figures in either case, lying transversely and 'perpendicularly to the walls of the dike.' The substance of the dike is not continuous with the walls, nor does it partake of the same composition; but lime is sometimes found in considerable quantity in those that traverse calcareous rocks.

The parallelism and uniformity of structure in the veins above described, seem to show that they are all of contemporaneous formation: But Dr Berger considers the *porphyry* dikes of

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Donegal as belonging to a distinct class from those composed of basalt. The former are parallel to the metallic veins, and are probably intersected by the basaltic dikes.

To this paper is subjoined an account of the veins or dikes of *lava*, in the cliffs of Monte Somma, near Vesuvius, from the papers of the late Reverend George Graydon, an observer with whose fidelity we have had an opportunity of being acquainted. Somma, it is well known, is to all appearance the remnant of an antient volcano, the top of which formerly stood high above the present cone of Vesuvius, but sank into the bowels of the mountain at some remote period of antiquity, leaving an abrupt cliff, of great height, which now surrounds the base of the existing cone. The face of this precipice, at right angles to the external slope of Somma, is composed of about 30 successive beds of lava, interstratified with scoriæ, and is intersected from top to bottom by dikes, perpendicular and inclined in all directions, which have evidently been cracks in the crust of the mountain, into which the subsequent lavas have been forcibly injected. The analogy between these veins of lava, and the dikes on the coast of Antrim is exceedingly striking; and this resemblance is ascribed by Mr Graydon, to the operation at both places of volcanic agency. The observations of M. Brieslak accord with those of Mr Graydon; and our readers will not fail to perceive the coincidence between the descriptions we have just given, and those which Sir James Hall has detailed in his well known papers on whinstone and lava, and on the effects of heat modified by compression. This concurrence of three several observers, is quite sufficient to establish the perfect similarity in the appearances, if not the identity as to their cause, of the *lava dikes* of Somma, and the *whin dikes* of the coast of Ireland.

Some Observations on a Bed of Trap occurring in the Colliery of Birch-Hill, near Walsall in Staffordshire, by Arthur Aikin, Esq., Sec. Geol. Soc.—This paper is drawn up with great judgment and precision; and describes some very interesting facts, which lead to inferences of the same tendency with those we have just given an account of. The coal-field of Birch-hill, which is a part of the great coal district of Staffordshire, is bounded on the south by a low ridge, consisting of greenstone, named the *Green-rock-fault*. In sinking a pit, about 100 yards to the north of this green-rock, there was found, at 190 feet from the surface, a bed of greenstone, 12 feet in thickness, which was cut entirely through. The coal, and all the beds, have, in general, an uniform rise of about 6° to the south; but, as they approach the *Green-rock*, they are all thrown up, at an angle so rapidly increasing, as, in the space of 100 yards, to

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amount to 25°. None of the beds are known to vary in thickness, except the Trap, which, in the pits nearest to the *Green-rock*, is 24 feet thick, but decreases to 12 feet, at the pit above mentioned; and is wholly wanting at a third pit, still further to the north. The substances that occur in the immediate neighbourhood of this trap, are sandstone, slaty clay, and common bituminous coal, which, in all other parts of this colliery, exhibit the usual characters; but, in the vicinity of the greenstone bed, the two rocks first mentioned are *indurated*; and the coal,

—'where covered by the greenstone, has a shining, somewhat iridescent lustre; it is entirely destitute of bitumen, and, when put in the fire, burns rapidly like a common cinder, differing materially, in this respect, from the culm of South Wales, or the blind coal of Kilkenny.'

'Hence,' says Mr Aikin, at the close of his description, 'it appears that the Birch-hill colliery presents the following important facts. *First*, the existence of a bed of greenstone interposed between the usual strata of the coal formation, but not coextensive with them; and, *secondly*, that the coal and bituminous shale, where they are covered by the greenstone, *but protected from actual contact with it by an indurated sandstone, a yard in thickness*, differ materially in many respects, but chiefly in being deprived of bitumen, from those parts of the same beds where they are not covered by the greenstone. The works have not, indeed, been sufficiently opened, to demonstrate that the changes just mentioned are strictly coextensive with the greenstone; yet I think we may infer, by fair analogy, that such is the case; and that the greenstone is necessarily concerned in bringing about these changes.' p. 257.

Mr Aikin was at first disposed to think, that the greenstone above described, was, in reality, part of a *bed* conformable with the coal strata; but the facts which he has stated, soon led him to a contrary opinion;—and, 'upon the whole,' he concludes, 'I am inclined to consider the green-rock-fault as a fissure in the coal-field, filled up by greenstone; and the supposed greenstone bed as a wedge-shaped (lateral) prolongation of the same. With regard to the mode in which this and similar fissures have been filled, whether by deposition of the constituents of greenstone from solution or suspension in a superincumbent aqueous fluid, or by the bursting from below upwards of earthy matter, either melted or in the state of boiling hot mud, like the mud volcanoes of Mexico, and of the Island of Tamar in the sea of Asof, I shall not pretend to decide.'

The place which is the subject of this very interesting communication, is one of those that we think would justify, what in a former article we have ventured to suggest to the Geological

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Society, the application of *Experiment*. Very little doubt indeed can remain as to the validity of the conclusions which Mr Aikin, and even, as he states, 'the miners themselves,' have deduced from the appearances which he so well describes. But it would remove all possibility of cavil, as to these important inferences, if the *bed* of greenstone were traced into actual continuity with the *green rock*, and the relations of the latter explored to some distance from the coal strata.

In addition to the light which is thrown upon the immediate object of inquiry by the facts here stated, this paper tends to illustrate the probable relations of those detached hills of basalt, greenstone, syenite, and other similar rocks, which are found in the interior of England; including the *wrekin* of Shropshire, which is the subject of a former valuable communication of Mr Aikin, (Geol. Trans. I. p. 191.) The hills near Dudley and Bilston, from one of which the basalt well known under the denomination of *Rowley rag* is obtained, as well as those of Mountsoviell in Leicestershire, have been supposed to form what Werner would have denominated 'overlying masses' above the adjoining strata; ‡ but it may deserve inquiry, whether they do not, like the *green rock* of Birch-hill colliery, break through the adjoining strata from below, and retain a connexion with inferior masses of the same composition with themselves:—and perhaps, whether even the apparently conformable beds of greenstone that occur in the coal districts of Scotland, and some other countries, may not, in certain cases, be really branches, like that of the Birch-hill colliery, from more considerable accumulations in their vicinity. The double occurrence of the same substance, in forms so dissimilar as that of a regular stratum in the coal formation, and of the dikes or overlying masses of the floetz trap, would form, under any theoretic view of the subject, a difficulty which it would not be easy to explain; and, before the explanation be attempted, the nature of the facts should be thoroughly ascertained.

A Geological Description of Glen Tilt, by John M'Culloch, M. D. President of the Geological Society, &c. &c.—The Tilt is a branch of the river Tay, which rises in the north-east of Perthshire, and holds a course nearly rectilinear for about 15 miles to the south-west. The appearances displayed along its banks, are well known to have afforded one of the original arguments by which Dr Hutton supported his theory of the unstratified rocks: and the *Glen* in which they occur has thence acquired, Dr M'Culloch justly observes, a sort of classical celebrity, independent of the interest which is excited by the intricate dis-

‡ Thomson's Annals of Philosophy, Vol. VIII. p. 172.

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position of its rocks. We may add, that these appearances belong to a class of phenomena which seems to have escaped the attention of the continental geologists, and to have been brought into notice by the sagacity of Dr Hutton, and by the eloquent illustrator of his theory. The general statement of these appearances is well given in a summary, under the form of detached propositions, with which Dr M'Culloch concludes the detail of his descriptions.

'The course of the Tilt may therefore be considered as bounded on one side by the outer edge of the granite mass of the Grampians, and on the other by the primary rocks which follow, and are superimposed on it. These rocks consist of an alternation of limestone, schist, and quartz rocks. The bed of the river is cut upon the line of contact of these two separate classes of rock, lying upon the surface of the granite, and against the elevated edges of the stratified rocks. Its action has in various instances exposed the junction of the granite with the stratified rocks; and these exposed parts are the confused mixtures in the bed of the river which have already been described. Although the river follows the line of junction in a general view, it does not follow it so accurately as always to keep the granite on its right bank, and the stratified rocks on the left. For this reason, the stratified rocks are sometimes seen crossing to the right bank, and even ascending high up on the right side of the hill: The granite also crosses to the left in a few cases; but as it rises under the stratified rocks, it is not found in the hill. The sections which are given, illustrate this variation, and explain its cause. The apparent alternation of the granite with the stratified rocks, is also explained by attending to this arrangement. The granite masses, which extend beyond the general surface of the granite, and are found in the bed of the river, do not run to any extent through the mass of the strata. It is therefore probable that they are not veins, but simply irregularities of the granite. The junctions of granite in the Tilt are not therefore the transit of independent granite veins like those of Portsoy or Rona, but the interrupted portions of a continued line of junction between a great surface of stratified rocks, and an equally extensive but irregular surface of granite. Wherever this junction is found, a complicated substance is seen, and small veins of granite are observed penetrating the stratified rocks. In these places of junction, the granite becomes so intimately mixed with the limestone as to alter its character; and wherever the granite is in contact both with schist and limestone, a similar mixture and transition between these two substances takes place. In all other cases, the schistose and calcareous rocks preserve both their regular disposition, and their ordinary chemical characters.' p. 314, 315.

It is impossible, within our limits to detail the facts which support the statements here delivered; but Dr Macculloch's method

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of unfolding them is very judicious. He first descends the glen along the stream, and describes the perplexing intermixtures of the several rocks, which he illustrates by very striking coloured sketches. He then goes over the heights on the north-west side; establishes the continuity of the granitic mass, and its connexion with that of the Grampians; and finally surveys the stratified slope on the south-east of the stream.

The order of the rocks which constitute the places thus described, is the following.—1. *Granite*, a term here applied to a compound of felspar, quartz, mica *and hornblende*, which is evidently the *syenite* of mineralogists in general: But Dr Macculloch having found this rock to be conterminous with, and to pass insensibly into granite of the usual character, is of opinion, after a full discussion, that the geological separation of syenite from granite, is inconvenient, and without support in nature; the presence or absence of the hornblende being altogether accidental.—2. *Granular limestone.*—3. *Quartz rock*, sometimes immediately incumbent on the granite.—4. *Mica-slate.*—The whole of Bengloe, on the south-east of the Tilt, is one mass of quartz rock, placed above and alternating with limestone; and this is suceeeded by mica-slate graduating into clay-slate, and interstratified * with hornblende-slate. The beds of limestone near Gow's Bridge afford a white granular marble resembling the Pentelic, and, like it, rendered less valuable to the sculptor by the intermixture of mica, but still applicable to various useful purposes. Some other varieties of marble are also found in the neighbourhood. The granite (or syenite) on the north of the glen, possesses, in a remarkable degree, the property of affecting the magnetic needle—a subject upon which Dr Macculloch's memoirs in the volume contain some very important observations, to which we hope to recur in a future examination of his papers on the Island of Sky. But the remarkable novelty of the place,

—'in which,' says Dr Macculloch, 'the junction of the granite with the superincumbent rocks differs from all similar junctions formerly described, is that of the interference of granite and limestone;' and the effects of this interference are very remarkable.—'Where the marble is at the greatest distance from the granite, it differs little or nothing in hardness or composition from ordinary specimens of the substance. But wherever it approaches, or comes into contact with

* This term is justly preferred by Dr Macculloch, in the description of beds like those described in the text, to *subordinate*—a word that implies an inferiority or dependence, which are by no means universal.

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the granite, it becomes highly indurated, effervesces slowly with acids, and gives, on analysis, a larger portion of siliceous matter. In other respects, there is no obvious change at the planes of contact; and the union between the granite and limestone is so slight, that the action of the water separates them.' p. 275.

We recommend to our readers, in further illustration of the facts described in this paper, the perusal of a Memoir on the same subject in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (vol. VII. p. 303), drawn up by Lord Webb Seymour, from the joint observasions of his Lordship and Mr Playfair. The authors of that communication differ from Dr Macculloch, in denominating Syenite the compound which he calls Granite; and they appear to consider his quartz-rock as *gneiss*, a rock which he states not to exist at this place. But these differences of nomenclature are altogether unimportant as to the main object of the inquiry, which relates merely to the irregular interference of a subjacent mass with the strata that rest upon it. Having stated the facts in the language of Dr Macculloch, whose paper is confined to description, we shall add the theoretic deductions of Lord Webb Seymour, which are supported in detail by arguments of great force and ingenuity.

'The whole hypothesis may be briefly explained thus:—That the sienite, in a state of igneous fusion, was impelled from below by a violent force, against the strata; that it bent them, broke them, dispersed them, and filled up the intervals which it now occupies; that the fragments of the strata were in some degree softened by the heated sienite, so as to admit of a mutual action; that, while the whole intermixed mass was still soft, some further dislocation took place in it; and that all this occurred under a great confining pressure of incumbent matter.'

This hypothesis coincides, in the main, with that by which Dr Hutton himself explains the structure of Glen Tilt, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1790, (Edinb. Trans. Vol. III.); but differs widely from the speculative views, concerning the same phenomena, which have been more recently given by Mr Jameson and Dr M'Knight, (Mem. Wernerian Soc. I. p. 362, &c.) This variance of opinion, between authorities of so much weight, gives additional value to the luminous descriptions of the memoir we have just examined.

The geological publications of Dr M'Culloch have now become so voluminous, as to justify criticism upon their manner as well as their substance; and, in this view, we have two observations to make upon them. The author is too fond, we think, of animadverting upon the clumsiness and insufficiency of systematic geology; and he alludes occasionally to the doc-

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trines of Werner, in a tone too much like that of sarcasm. Whatever be the errors of Werner, or of his more zealous disciples, the school of Freyberg has produced, unquestionably, some of the most eminent geologists of the present day; and the opinions which proceed from it should always be discussed with respect. A second fault of this accomplished geologist, is, the extreme diffuseness of his papers, with a certain want of unity, in part arising from the introduction of two many collateral statements. The best style for publications, issued under the sanction of a learned Society, is surely that which gives, with clearness, the greatest quantity of information in the smallest compass. We have heard it remarked of the late Mr Tennant's papers,—that it was very difficult to abridge them: and could mention, among the productions of our remaining contemporaries, some admirable examples of the union of perspicuity with condensation. We expect, and have received so much from Dr M'Culloch, combining, as he does, the qualifications of a chemist, a draughtsman, and a geological observer of singular enterprise and activity, that he will forgive our pressing upon his attention a defect, which a little additional labour will very easily remove.

Sketch of the Geology of the South-Western Part of Somersetshire; By Leonard Horner, Esq. F. R. S.—An extensive tract, on the confines of Devonshire, and the west of Somersetshire, is divided into several ranges of hills, running nearly east and west, with lateral valleys, at right angles to their direction; to which the Quantock hills, a group of great beauty, is geologically related, though somewhat detached in position towards the east. The surface of this district is smooth, undulating, and rounded; but the cliffs on the sea-shore exhibit very well its geological structure. The highest point is Dunkery Beacon, 1668 feet above the sea; Will's Neck, the highest of the Quantock hills, is 1270 feet in height. The whole tract is composed apparently of one formation, to which Mr Horner gives the general name of Gray-Wacke; but he mentions, as precluding the connexion of any theoretic inferences with that term, that the compound to which he has applied it, is found to alternate with beds of quartz-rock, of clay-slate, and of limestone full of organic remains:—the clay-slate, in fact, cannot be distinguished from that of a primitive country. The curvatures of the slaty strata, on the shore near Minehead, are very remarkable, resembling those described and represented by Mr Conybeare, in the second volume of the Geological Transactions. The contorted beds, in general, are broken at the angles; but the strata seem, upon the whole, to have a line of bearing about east and

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west; and the dip, more generally, is towards the south. A mass of granite was observed in one place only,—at the south-east of the district; but Mr Horner supposes it to be a portion of a vein in the slaty rocks. The limestone of the beds above mentioned frequently occurs in masses, like those of ironstone, embedded in the slate; but there is a regular bed at Allercot, 30 feet in thickness. In some places, the limestone is excavated into miniature caverns; and it contains nests of copper ores, which have been found at Doddington in such abundance as to be worked for some time by mining.

The Grey-wacke district is surrounded by conglomerate and red sandstone, which occur in all the valleys, and constitute the whole of the great one on the western side of the Quantock hills; but the relative position of these compounds does not appear to be uniform. The greatest height at which they were found by Mr Horner, was near the summit of the Quantock group.—Besides these rocks, a red argillaceous sandstone, containing calcareous matter, but characterized principally by spots and strips of a greenish colour, belongs to this series. It is the same rock that, under the names of *Red ground*, *Red marl*, &c. covers a great portion of the midland counties of England, and which contains the gypsum of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, the salt mines of Cheshire, and the brine springs of Worcestershire. —Mr Horner states, that few of the English strata present a greater variety of aggregation, or have given rise to so many contradictory opinions: and he considers the determination of its relative place, as a point of great interest, not only to Geologists, but, in an economical view, from its intimate connexion with the coal formations. In the district under examination, this red marl appears to be connected, by insensible gradation, with the conglomerate and sandstone above mentioned, and here always occurs above the former; but this does not appear to be the case in any other part of England where it is found. It is most prominent in the district now under consideration, on the shore near Watchet, where there is great confusion in the stratification; and near the same place, it is found to contain gypsum in great abundance, in veins and detached masses,—but no rock-salt has been found there.

The rocky shore between Minehead and the mouth of the river Parret, is composed of the *lyas limestone* and the red marl; but the disturbances of the strata render it difficult to ascertain their relative position: Mr Horner is of opinion, however, that they do not alternate. The lyas limestone occurs here in very regular strata, seldom exceeding a foot, and often not more than four inches in thickness, which are separated by beds of slate-

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clay. It varies much, however, in its qualities: one variety, of a light blue colour, which is called by the quarriers *blue lyas* and *building lime*, yielding a lime remarkable for setting under water; the other principal variety, *black lyas* or *ground lime*, gives a fetid smell on being struck or burnt, and abounds in organic remains; among which Mr Horner found those of an ammonite, of a pecten or lima, a pentacrinite, terebratulites, a large shell of the genus Nautilus, and 'slight remains and traces of ' of some unknown pinnated vegetable converted into coal.' The fossils of the slate-clay beds appear to be the same; but the ammonites, which in the limestone preserve their usual form, appear to be flattened in the clay. The limestone strata are, in several places, formed of columnar concretions; and a similar structure has been observed in the red rock also. The appearances of disturbance in the strata are very remarkable in some places on the shore; but on the north of the Quantock hills, the lyas appears, in all distinct cases, to repose upon the red rock. The lyas strata are found in the vicinity of the quarries at East Lynch near Porlock; and this appears to be the most western point of England where they occur.

The south-western part of Somersetshire appears, therefore, to have furnished the following rocks. 1. Granite, probably in a vein; 2. The grey-wacke formation, containing beds of limestone; 3. & 4. Conglomerate and sandstone, of doubtful relations; 5. Red marl; 6. Lyas: But the relative position of all the beds above the grey-wacke appears still to demand investigation. Mr Horner mentions the detached hills of conglomerate at Torweston, and those near Tone and Vellow, as deserving of particular examination; and is of opinion, that the obscure relations of the lyas and red marl may be very well investigated on the Somersetshire coast.—In the eastern part of the district, near the river Parret, there is an insulated hill, called Coanington Park, 230 feet above the sea, which is totally different in structure from all that has been described. It is composed of highly crystallized limestone, of a pearl grey colour, and very close grain; and is entirely destitute of organized remains. The mass is evidently stratified, but exceedingly shattered: the beds, however, seem to be nearly vertical, and to run from north to south.

One of the most remarkable features of this coast occurs about three miles west of the Parret, where the remains of a forest, considerably below the level of the sea, are visible at low water. They continue for three quarters of a mile along the shore; and, after an interruption of two miles, are resumed again for a short space.

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'Here there are seen, at intervals, patches of various dimensions, raised six or eight inches above the sand; and upon digging into these, they are found to consist of a dark brown matter, resembling peat, or decayed vegetable substances, mixed with a plant, in which the structure is entire, with twigs and small branches of wood, in a soft state, and containing here and there a few nuts. This brown matter rests upon a light-blue very stiff and unctuous clay, and is of various thickness, in general from a foot to eighteen inches; but in one place I observed it two feet and a half, without coming to the blue clay. Trunks of trees, of a very large size, (some of them supposed to be oak and yew), are found at different intervals, surrounded by the brown matter, and with them roots diverging as they grew, and fixed in the blue clay. The smaller twigs and branches in the brown matter, which look like the roots of underwood, also penetrate the blue clay; and the clay contains a great deal of that particular plant which appears the least decayed in the brown matter. In order to ascertain whether the species of any of the plants contained in the brown matter could be made out, I sent specimens of it to my friend Mr Brown, of the Linnean Society, whose eminent skill in Botany is so well known, requesting him to examine them. He informs me, that the plant which was best preserved was the only one 'upon which he could pronounce with any degree of probability, the rest being too much decayed. It resembles the common *Sea Grasswrack;* but the leaves are so much broader, that he considers it more probably the *Zostera Oceanica* of Linnæus.' (Caulinia Oceanica of De Candolle). 'It is worthy of remark, that Dr Smith, in his Flora Britannica, when speaking of this plant, says, 'Zostera oceanica Linnæi, sui generis planta, nostras nunquam oras attigit.' p. 380, 381.

There is an evident resemblance between the submarine forest here described, and that on the coast of Lincolnshire, observed by Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Correa De Serra. (Phil. Trans. 1799.) The trunks, however, at the latter place, were flattened, which Mr Horner did not find to be the case in Somersetshire. We also have observed similar remains on the shore between the town of Swansea and the Mumbles Point, where the roots of trees are visible beneath low-water mark in a bed of stiff blue clay; and similar remains, we believe, are found in several other places on the coast of Wales and of Lancashire. The most obvious cause of these phenomena is the encroachment of the sea; but Mr Horner mentions several circumstances, which render it not improbable that, in Somersetshire, the land itself may have subsided.

We regret that we have not space for an abstract of the two remaining papers on the Geology of England.—*Outlines of the Geology of Cambridgeshire*, by the Reverend J. Hailstone, Wood-

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wardian professor in the University of Cambridge,—and *a sketch of the Lincolnshire Wolds*, by Mr Edward Bogg; both forming valuable contributions to the history of the English Strata. The papers on foreign Geology are *some Remarks upon the Structure of Barbadoes*, an island in which the rocks are stated to consist principally of fossil madrepores, by Dr Skey; and *On the Salt Mines of Cardona in Spain*, by Dr T. S. Traill. These mines occupy the head of a small valley, about half a mile in length, the north-west side of which is bounded by a very steep ridge; the opposite boundary is lower, but both are much higher than the salt. The summits of these ridges consist of coarse yellowish-grey sandstone, charged with scales of mica; and no other rock is visible in the immediate neighbourhood, nor is any gypsum found there. The sides and bottom are formed of a thick bed of reddish brown clay, exactly resembling that of the Cheshire salt district; 'from which, here and 'there, large imbedded masses of rock-salt project in the man-'ner of more ordinary rocks.'—'On entering the valley, the 'attention is arrested by a bold cliff of a greyish white colour, 'which consists of one vast mass of salt.' The great body forms a rugged precipice, between 400 and 500 feet in height, and of unknown depth; which Dr Traill supposes to be 'a mass 'or bed filling up a valley.' It seems to be but little acted on by the elements. It is wrought, as an open quarry, by the Spanish government—but very languidly; and is so pure, as to be fitted for domestic use by merely grinding it to powder;—in which state it is sold to the peasantry at the rate of 7s. 6d. British, for 116 pounds avoirdupois.

The *Description of a Clinometer*, by Lord Webb Seymour, is an account, excellently drawn up, of a very well contrived instrument for ascertaining by one observation the range and inclination of strata;—which, however, it would be difficult to render intelligible without the plates. Our only doubt with respect to the practical value of this, or any similar contrivance, arises from the great irregularity of position commonly exhibited by *small* portions of the surfaces of rocks; which is such as to render the sort of average afforded by a very simple apparatus, probably as just a measure of their positions as any that can be obtained. Where very precise determinations are desired, and are attainable, nothing can answer the purpose better than this beautiful instrument; in the use of which, it may, in some cases, be necessary to attend to the magnetic influence of the rocks to which it is applied.

The Mineralogical papers in the volume consist of one *On the Oxide of Uranium, the production of Cornwall, together with*

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a series of its crystalline forms, by Mr W. Phillips;—*A Description of a new ore of Tellurium*, by Professor Esmark of Christiania;—*An Account of the Swedish Corundum, from Gellivara in Lapland*, by Mr. Swedenstierna of Stockholm, containing a short notice of the iron mines of Gellivara, where an entire mountain, about 5200 yards in length, from 2000 to 3200 in breadth, and of unknown depth, may be considered as one vast deposite of iron ore.—And *On the Tremolite of Cornwall*, by the late Rev. W. Gregor, whose recent death will be deplored by all who have had the happiness of his acquaintance. This paper is a very short one; but it is marked with the simplicity and correctness which have distinguished the publications, not less than the social character of that excellent man.

We shall conclude this article by mentioning, what has long appeared to us to be a great desideratum in the department of inquiry to which the volume that we have just examined relates —a good book on the Elements of Geology. The notion that we have of such a work is, that the style should be plain and popular, without departing from the precision necessary to a philosophical treatise; and the language freed as much as possible from mere technical phraseology, by adopting the terms of the other branches of physical science, so far as they are applicable to this one. The questions to which the book should be an answer, would be, *First*, Is there any certain order of succession in the rock formations?—and, *Secondly*, What is the series? The analytical investigations necessary to the solution of these questions, would form, we well know, a task of no small labour, and would demand a very strict attention to the principles of correct induction. The evidence also, admissible after being thus strictly canvassed, would, upon many points, be scanty; but this deficiency would indicate the chasms which geologists would labour to fill up. In unfolding the results obtained by this previous analysis, the author should consider the relations of each member in the series of rock formations, not as dogmas to be asserted, but as propositions to be proved; giving at every step a detailed account of those relations, in some one instance, with a more general reference to others of clear and evident similarity;—and these detailed examples should be taken, as far as possible, from the British Islands. A few simple plates might be added, for the purpose of illustration; and a short introduction to each article, giving as it were the history of the several rocks, and of the points of theory connected with them, after the manner of Dr Thomson's admirable System of Chemistry, would relieve the dryness of continued

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description, and convey much entertainment as well as valuable information. The total result would be a work, less amusing perhaps, but we have no doubt, far more instructive, and, in every aspect of good taste, more interesting, than any of those farragos of loose description, rambling hypothesis, and florid quotation, about mines and caverns, the ascent of mountains, and eruptions of volcanoes, which have sometimes been entitled Elements of Geology.

When we consider the progress which Chemistry and Mineralogy have recently made, and the various circumstances that combine, at present, to bring the latter study into fashion, in all parts of the British dominions,—the lectureships in Mineralogy at the two English Universities, and at the Dublin Society,—the professorship of Natural History at Edinburgh, and that more recently established in the University of Dublin,—and call to mind the qualifications of the persons who fill these several stations, we have no doubt that, in such hands, a good book of Geological Elements, would give a powerful impulse to the pursuit, and be amply productive of reputation and emolument to the parties concerned in its publication: And, from our knowledge of the various acquirements and ability of several of the Members of the Geological Society in London and at Oxford, we are convinced that such a work, from either of these quarters, would accomplish every thing that could be desired.

ART. V. *The Identity of Junius with a distinguished Living Character established.* 8vo. pp. 373. London, Taylor & Hesse, 1816.

A Supplement to Junius Identified: Consisting of fac-similes of Handwriting and other Illustrations. 8vo. pp. 36. Taylor & Hesse, 1817.

THE question respecting the author of Junius's Letters, is thought, we believe, by philosophers, to be one of more curiosity than importance. We are very far from pretending that the happiness of mankind is materially interested in its determination; or that it involves any great and fundamental scientific truths. But it must be viewed as a point of literary history; and, among discussions of this description, it ranks very high. After all, are there many points of civil or military history really more interesting to persons living in the present times? Is the

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guilt of Queen Mary—the character of Richard III.—or the story of the Man in the Iron Mask, very nearly connected with the welfare of the existing generation? Indeed, we would rather caution, even the most profound of philosophers, against making too nice an inquiry into the practical importance of scientific truths; for assuredly there are numberless propositions, of which the curiosity is more easily descried than the utility, in all the branches of science, and especially in the severer ones—the professors of which are the most prone to deride an inquiry like that about Junius. That the community has long taken an extraordinary interest in this question; that a great and universal curiosity has been felt to know who wrote the Letters; seems quite sufficient to justify a good deal of pains in the research, and satisfaction in the discovery. He who should find out the longitude would, no doubt, more substantially benefit the world; yet we dare to assert, that, for one who really profited by the discovery, a thousand would derive nothing beyond the mere gratification of curiosity; and the inventor's fame would depend chiefly on their voice. Is any man much the better for knowing how the alkalies are composed? In his circumstances, no one—but, in his scientific capacity, every one who regards the gratification of a learned curiosity. Let us not be too curious in settling the relative importance of literary labour, or even of scientific pursuits. It is a good thing to find out the truth, at all events; and the pleasure of knowing what was before unknown, forms, perhaps in all cases, the greater proportion of the value derived from the inquiry.

During the last two or three years, a number of tracts have appeared upon this much agitated question. One ascribes the Letters to Glover, the author of Leonidas; another, to some obscure person, whose name we have forgotten. By far the most ridiculous, however, is a series of letters, to show that Junius was none other than the late Duke of Portland,—upon the sole ground that the letters betray an interest in the famous question respecting the honour of Inglewood Forest, which occupied at that time every man who talked or wrote upon politicks, and without the shadow of proof that his Grace ever wrote a sentence, either elegant or forcible, in his life. We ought perhaps to observe, that a more absurd doctrine than even this, was once seriously maintained; for some one was found to contend, in a printed book, that Delolme was Junius,—his pretensions to the name being grounded, probably, upon the admitted facts of his being a foreigner, an extremely feeble writer, and one unconscionably ignorant of most constitutional points; and of his having, for the

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first time, come to England the winter that Junius began his Letters. *

To urge any thing against such claims as these, would be wasting the time of the reader. But it may be well to remind him, before proceeding further, that the various hypotheses, which have ascribed the Letters to men of great genius and fame—to Lord Chatham, Dunning, ‡ Burke,—as well as those which have given them to inferior persons, but of considerable talents, Hamilton, Boyd, and others,—are now deservedly exploded. The publication of Woodfall, some years ago, seems to have set this matter at rest; and to have shown that there were insurmountable reasons, founded upon external evidence, against believing that any of those personages was Junius. We are half inclined to think, however, that the real author is at length detected; and we shall proceed to lay before the reader the grounds of this opinion. The merit of the discovery, if the truth is indeed found out, belongs entirely to the author of the work before us. Sir Philip Francis had never, as far as we know, been suspected. The book is written in a way abundantly creditable to the author; especially if, as we suspect, he is not a professed literary man. It does not certainly make the most of the evidence; it is somewhat too prolix; frequently dwells upon trifles; and is not always very distinct in its statements. But it contains every thing necessary for determining the question; and is written without affectation. That it proves Sir Philip to be Junius, we will not affirm; but this we can safely assert, that

* Other Letters, indeed, of the same author, had been published under different signatures, two years before this time. The praise of Delolme's superficial book, contained in the Preface to Junius, is only a new example of the rashness with which men engaged in controversy will bestow commendations upon a work containing doctrines of which they wish to avail themselves. Burke's praises of Vattel may be given as another instance; and they have greatly added to the undue reputation enjoyed by that popular work.

‡ The legal expressions sometimes used by Junius, where he is not discussing any point of law, have been held by many as an evidence of his belonging to the learned profession, notwithstanding his own repeated denial. Thus, '*savouring of the realty*," &c. But in some cases he uses law language with a degree of inaccuracy which we should never have found in one of his habits of distinct and correct thinking, had he been a lawyer. Thus, in the Dedication, he makes a confusion between the *quantity* and the *species* of an estate; where he says, that the Legislature is the *trustee*, not the *owner*; the *fee-simple* is in the people.

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it accumulates such a mass of circumstantial evidence, as renders it extremely difficult to believe he is not; and that, if so many coincidences shall be found to have misled us in this case, our faith in all conclusions drawn from proofs of a similar kind may henceforth be shaken.

We must premise, as this is in some sort a personal question, that we have undertaken to state the argument, without the slightest feeling of disrespect towards the distinguished individual who forms the subject of it. We may add, that we are equally uninfluenced by any idea of doing him honour. If there be any thing in the Letters of Junius which Sir Philip Francis would now wish unwritten, or if he conceives any imputation to be flung upon his conduct in very early life, by the assumption that he was the author, surely the most stern moralist may well be appeased, by the lapse of half a century spent in the undeviating pursuit of the publick good, and the virtuous sacrifice of all personal interests; while, on the other hand, the high rank in which those services have placed him among the patriots of his age, and the almost unbounded praise which his talents have called forth from those judges to whom a wise man would chiefly look, render it a matter of indifference to his fame, whether or not he enjoys the more general, and perhaps vulgar, celebrity which belongs to the name of Junius.

To the greater number of readers, the first question that presents itself is, Whether Sir Philip Francis has ever shown the eminent talents displayed in Junius's Letters? However high his reputation may be in the political world, there is no one avowed production of his which has attracted much popular, or permanent notice, or is at present familiar to public recollection; and he has therefore shared the fate of many able men whose time has been devoted to the business of the world, and whose labour, chiefly bestowed upon subjects connected with their pursuits, has left no lasting monuments of their skill in composition. So it has fared with Sir Philip Francis. His contemporaries well knew him to be one of the best writers of the age; but his writings consisted chiefly of minutes, protests, speeches and pamphlets, which have long since ceased to interest the world at large, and are only known to political men, or curious inquirers into the details of modern history. We shall therefore begin the argument, by presenting a few specimens of his composition, sufficient to justify the assertion, that the author of Junius, whoever he may be, was not a person of greater talents than Sir Philip Francis. The proof drawn from similarity of expressions will be further strengthened in the se-

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quel by particular instances. All that we desire the reader, in this stage of the discussion, to consider, is the general ability displayed in the composition. We take all the examples from his speeches, carefully written and published by himself. The first shall be from his attack upon the Lawyers in the House of Commons.

'It belongs to the learning of these gentlemen to involve, and to their prudence not to decide.

'In the name of God and common sense, what have we gained by consulting these learned persons! It is really a strange thing, but it is certainly true, that the learned gentlemen on that side of the House, let the subject be what it may, always begin their speeches with a panegyric on their own integrity. You expect learning, and they give you morals; you expect law, and they give you ethics; you ask them for bread, and they give you a stone. In point of honour and morality, they are undoubtedly on a level with the rest of mankind. But why should they pretend to more? Why should they insist on taking the lead in morality? Why should they so perpetually insist upon their integrity, as if that were the objection *in limine;* as if that were the point in question; as if that were the distinguishing characteristic, the prominent feature of the profession? Equality is their right. I allow it. But that they have any just pretensions to a superior morality, to a pure and elevated probity, to a frank, plain, simple, candid, unrefined integrity, beyond other men, is what I am not convinced of, and never will admit.

'On my principles, however, the damage we have suffered is not very great. In attending to this learned gentleman, we have lost nothing but our time; we have wasted nothing but our patience. The question before us may easily, and can only be determined by ourselves.' p. 175, 176.

The following passage is from a speech delivered in 1796.

'If I could personify the House of Commons, it would be my interest as well as my duty to approach so great a person with the utmost respect. But respect does not exclude firmness, and should not restrain me from saying, that it is the function of your greatness, as well as of your office, to listen to truth, especially when it arraigns a proceeding of your own. I am not here to admire your consistency, or to applaud the conduct which I am endeavouring to correct. These topics do not furnish any subject for applause. You have nothing like praise to expect from me; unless you feel, as I do, that a compliment of the highest order is included in the confidence which appeals to your justice against your inclination.' p. 247.

The following attack upon Lord Thurlow has been much and justly admired.

'It was well known that a gross and public insult had been offered to the memory of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, by a person of high rank in this country. He was happy when he heard that

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his name was included in it with theirs. So highly did he respect the character of those men, that he deemed it an honour to share in the injustice it had suffered. It was in compliance with the forms of the House, and not to shelter himself, or out of tenderness to the party, that he forbore to name him. He meant to describe him so exactly, that he could not be mistaken. He declared in his place in a great assembly, and in the course of a grave deliberation, " that it would have been happy for this country if General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr Francis, had been drowned in their passage to India." If this poor and spiteful invective had been uttered by a man of no consequence or repute, by any light, trifling, inconsiderate person, by a lord of the bed-chamber, for example, or any of the other silken barons of modern days, he should have heard it with indifference. But when it was seriously urged and deliberately insisted on by a grave lord of Parliament—by a judge—by a man of ability and eminence in his profession, whose personal disposition was serious, who carried gravity to sternness, and sternness to ferocity, it could not be received with indifference, or answered without resentment. Such a man would be thought to have inquired before he pronounced. From his mouth, a reproach was a sentence, an invective was a judgment. The accidents of life, and not any original distinction that he knew of, had placed him too high, and himself at too great a distance from him, to admit of any other answer than a public defiance, for General Clavering, for Colonel Monson, and for himself. This was not a party question, nor should it be left to so feeble an advocate as he was, to support it. The friends and fellow-soldiers of General Clavering and Colonel Monson would assist him in defending their memory. He demanded and expected the support of every man of honour in that House, and in the kingdom. What character was safe, if slander was permitted to attack the reputation of two of the most honourable and virtuous men that ever were employed, or ever perished in the service of their country? He knew that the authority of this man was not without weight; but he had an infinitely higher authority to oppose to it. He had the happiness of hearing the merits of General Clavering and Colonel Monson acknowledged and applauded in terms to which he was not at liberty to do more than to allude: they were rapid and expressive. He must not venture to repeat, lest he should do them injustice, or violate the forms of respect, where essentially he owed and felt the most. But he was sufficiently understood. The generous sensations that animate the royal mind, were easily distinguished from those which rankled in the heart of that person who was supposed to be the keeper of the royal conscience.' p. 182—184.

These, though extracted from Speeches, are really specimens of Sir Philip Francis's manner of *writing*; since they were all printed from his own manuscript. We shall add, however, one passage from a letter or discourse, sent, like those of Junius, to

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a public paper, and subscribed by his own name. It is dated so late as 1811, and relates to the great question of restriction on the Regency, then in contemplation. The author was then far advanced in years;—but the reader, we think, will be of opinion, that, both in spirit and in style, it bears a more striking resemblance to the papers written by Junius forty years before, than any thing else that could be referred to during that long period.

'Who is there so ignorant, as not to know that the prerogatives of the Crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to insure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men to strip the Crown of those prerogatives, or even to qualify or impair them? Show it if you can, and produce your evidence. In a case of such importance, I will not submit to authority, and, least of all, to the authority of a party, which perhaps means or expects to benefit by the decision. They, who can wholly refuse, may grant upon conditions. The Lords may say, you shall make no more Peers. The Commons may say, you shall have no power to dissolve us. The Ministers of course will not submit to be dispossessed; and *this* is the executive government, which they are willing to establish in the prince's hands. Before they decide, let them make the case their own. Do they mean to admit that the king, uniting with a convention of the peers, could abolish the House of Commons, or even divest them of any one of their privileges? Could the King and the Commons, I will not say *abolish* the House of Lords, but could they take away their jurisdiction in the last resort, or in trials by impeachment?' &c.—'I am not talking of desperate or extreme cases. Necessity, unavoidable and irresistible, must be left to provide for itself. True wisdom even then will do nothing beyond what the instant exigency requires, and will return as soon as possible to its regular established courses. Neither do I deny the *power* of the people to do what they will. Undoubtedly they may tear down their temples and tribunals, and murder their teachers and their magistrates. They have a physical force to abolish their laws, and to trample on the institutions of their forefathers. But, remember; the man who pulled down the building, and buried himself in its ruins, was blind as well as strong. The quality of an immoral act is not altered, the guilt of an enormous crime is not diminished, by the numbers that concur in it. The moment the people did these things, they would cease to be a nation. To destroy their constitution is beyond their competence. It is the inheritance of the unborn as well as theirs. What we received from our ancestors, we are morally and religiously bound, as well as by our laws, to transmit to our posterity. Of such enormous violence on the part of the people, I know there is no danger. Will they suffer any other power to do that in their name, which they cannot and ought not to do for themselves? I heard it from Lord Chatham, 'that power without right is the

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most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is at once *res detestabilis et caduca.*' Let who will assume such power, it ought to be resisted. Brave men meet their fate; cowards take flight, and die for fear of death.' p. 218—222.

Now, we humbly conceive, that the most careless reader must be struck, not only with the general ability and eloquence of all these passages, but with their extraordinary coincidence with the Letters of Junius, in all their most remarkable characteristics. The boldness, and even fierceness of the tone—the studied force and energy of the diction—the pointed and epigrammatic cast of the style—the concise and frequent metaphors—and the mixture of the language of business and affairs, with a certain scholastic elegance and elaborate sarcasm.

These, however, are general indications, and could lead to no positive conclusion: But there are many particular circumstances of a personal and historical nature, that go much further to make out the proposition contended for. The first of these is the exactness with which the dates of the Letters tally with Sir Philip Francis's residence in this country, and his going abroad. In Biographical Memoirs, understood to have been drawn up by a person connected with him, it is stated, that Sir Philip spent the greatest part of the year 1772 on the Continent. Now, the last letter of Junius in that year is dated May 12th, and was received by Woodfall two days before. Sir Philip's dismissal from the War Office is announced in one of the Letters of Veteran, (a name under which Woodfall has shown that Junius then wrote), dated March 23d; and some time must naturally have elapsed before he set out. A letter of Junius, dated in May, mentions his having been out of town; and, in point of fact, he wrote nothing from March 23d to May 4th. Sir Philip's father was then ill at Bath; and it is most probable that he went to see him before going abroad. From the above mentioned notice in the Memoirs, it appears that he must have returned at the end of 1772, or early in 1773, provided we are satisfied that he went abroad in May: for it is there stated, that 'about half a year after his return' he was recommended as one of the new council at Fortwilliam: Now, the act appointing the council passed in June 1773;—which tallies with the supposition of his arrival having been in the month of December or January preceding. Keeping these facts in view, it is very important to remark, that the first letter received by Woodfall from Junius, after the letter of May 1772, is dated January 19th, 1773. This, too, was also the last letter which he ever wrote. The appointment of Sir Philip Francis to India was, either then or soon after, in agitation; for it was finally arranged before June. Now, the sup-

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position that he was the author of Junius, presumes that the prospect of being sent to India put a period to his labours.

It is known that Sir Philip was a clerk in the War-Office from 1763 to 1772; and Junius evinces a peculiar acquaintance with, and interest in, the business and the persons of that department. As some of those persons are obscure individuals compared with the distinguished objects of his ordinary attacks, a very strong presumption arises from hence, that the anonymous writer was himself connected with the Office; and the familiar tone in which they are mentioned, greatly strengthens the conclusion. We shall principally advert to what he says of Mr Bradshaw, Mr Chamier, and Mr D'Oyley. Junius, in the 36th letter of the common edition, dwells at some length upon Bradshaw's pension, and speaks of him in terms indicative of considerable personal animosity. In a note, he says, 'he was too cunning to trust Irish security.' He gives a sketch of his history, tracing him from his beginning, as a 'clerk to a contractor for forage,'—to his being 'exalted to a petty post in the War-office,'—and sarcastically remarking, that, upon his subsequent promotion, he thought it necessary to take the great house in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where the Lord Chancellor Worthington had resided. In the 57th letter, he is called the Duke of Grafton's 'cream-coloured parasite;' and in the letters signed Domitian and Veteran, published by Woodfall, he is familiarly mentioned as 'Tommy Bradshaw,' 'the cream-coloured Mercury,' whose sister, 'Miss Polly, like the moon, lives upon the light of her brother's countenance, and robs him of no small part of his lustre.'* In a letter, also written by Junius, but under another name, Bradshaw is said to observe, that the writer has 'drawn his intelligence from the first source, and not the common falsities of the day;'† and of this, he says Bradshaw cannot be ignorant. But although it is clear that Junius's prejudice against this gentleman was of long standing, and connected with his more obscure station in the War-office, it is also true, that, at the time of the attacks upon him, he filled a considerable station, and was more in the public eye. This, however, can hardly be said of Mr Chamier, upon whom a far more incessant fire is kept up. He is termed, 'that well-educated genteel young broker, Mr Chamier.' A scene is figured between Lord Barrington his patron, and a general officer, in which every kind of ridicule is thrown upon Chamier. He is called 'Tony Shammy'—'Little Shammy'—'a tight active little fellow'—'a little gambling broker'—'Little Wad-

* Woodfall's Junius, III. 406—424. † *Ib.* p. 273.

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dlewell'—'my duckling'—'little three per cents. reduced'—'a mere scrip of a secretary'—'an omnium of all that's genteel'—with many other coarse and scurrilous appellations. No less than four letters are addressed to Lord Barrington in the bitterest tone of invective, in consequence of Chamier's promotion; and it appears that his relationship with Bradshaw is one of the chief grounds of attack upon the latter; and whoever reads the following, which comes after these, will be at no loss to divine the cause of all the hostility, upon the supposition that they are written by Sir P. Francis.

'I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr D'Oyly out of the War-office, has at last contrived to expel Mr FRANCIS. His lordship will never rest till he has cleared his office of every gentleman who can either be serviceable to the public, or whose honour and integrity are a check upon his own dark proceedings. Men, who do their duty with credit and ability, are not proper instruments for Lord Barrington to work with. He must have a broker from 'Change Alley for his deputy, and some raw, ignorant boy for his first clerk. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr D'Oyly and Mr FRANCIS to declare their reasons for quitting the War-office. Men of their unblemished character do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen has always been approved of; and I know that they stand as well in the esteem of the army, as any persons in their station ever did. What then can be the cause that the public and the army should be deprived of their service? There must certainly be something about Lord Barrington which every honest man dreads and detests. Or is it that they cannot be brought to connive at his jobs and underhand dealings? They have too much honour, I suppose, to do some certain business by *commission*. They have not been educated in the conversation of Jews and gamblers;—they have had no experience at Jonathan's;—they know nothing of the stocks; and therefore Lord Barrington drives them out of the War-office. The army indeed is come to a fine pass, with a gambling broker at the head of it!—What signifies ability, or integrity, or practice, or experience in business? Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him. He wants nothing in his office but ignorance, impudence, pertness, and servility. Of these commodities he has laid in a plentiful stock, that ought to last him as long as he is Secretary at War. Again, I wish that Mr FRANCIS and Mr D'Oyly would give the public some account of what is going forward in the War-office. I think these events so remarkable, that some notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons. When the public loses the service of two able and honest servants, it is but reasonable that the wretch, who drives such men out of a public office, should be compelled to give some account of himself and his proceedings.' p. 86, 87.

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It is to be observed, that Junius took care not to write this letter, nor any of those upon Chamier's promotion, under his usual signature, because this would at once have directed the suspicions of the publick towards the War-office, as the quarter in which he lurked, and even towards the individuals chiefly interested in the questions respecting Chamier. For the same reason we find him urging Woodfall to conceal his being the author of those attacks upon Lord Barrington. 'Keep the 'author a secret,' says he, (*Woodfall*, I. 255)—that is, keep the secret that Junius, Veteran, Nemesis, &c. are the same person; for he knew no other author than Junius. It is, however, not at all improbable, that the clue to the discovery of Sir P. Francis was furnished by these letters on the War-office; for they are the last ever written by Junius, except the private letter to Woodfall in January 1773; so that he seems, on being detected, probably by Lord Barrington, to have given over writing; and he was soon after appointed to the Council in Calcutta.

Junius shows an uncommon acquaintance with, and interest in, the transactions of the Foreign Department as well as the War-office; and the period to which his knowledge refers, precedes the death of Lord Egremont in 1763. Thus, he says, in the 23d letter, referring to the negotiations of 1763, 'Even 'the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed; he saw and 'felt his own disgrace in corresponding with you (the Duke of 'Bedford); and there certainly was a moment at which he meant 'to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his 'faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.' In a note, he adds, 'This man (Lord Egremont), notwithstanding his pride and Tory principles, had some English stuff in 'him.' Upon an official letter to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke 'desired to be recalled; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Bute could appease him.' In a private letter to Woodfall (I. 200), he says, 'that he can threaten him 'privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even 'in his grave.' Now Sir Philip Francis was appointed a clerk in the Foreign Office in 1756; and having afterwards gone to St Cas as General Bligh's secretary in 1758, and to Lisbon in 1760, with Lord Kinnoul, he returned to the Foreign Office between October 1761 and August 1763; for, in his speech in the House of Commons, already referred to (Parl. Deb. xxii. 97.), he says, that he possessed Lord Egremont's favour in the Secretary of State's Office; and that nobleman came into it, October 1761, and died August 1763. The negotiations of the Duke of Bedford were carried on between the beginning of September and the beginning of November, 1762.

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The manner in which Junius always treats Lord Chatham, coincides exactly with the expressions of Sir Philip in his speeches and writings; and is such as might naturally be expected to result from the kindness he had received from that great man, as well as from his known principles. But the high admiration of Lord Chatham which Junius has shown, seems not easily reconciled with his kindness towards his antagonist Lord Holland. 'I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour,' says he in a letter to Woodfall (I. 174.); and when he suspected Mr Fox of attacking him anonymously in the newspapers, instead of retaliating, as he did in the letters already noticed against Lord Barrington, and at once charging Lord Holland or his son with having been the writers of this attack, as he did Lord Barry and others in similar cases, he says that 'he designedly spares Lord Holland and his family;' but adds, that it is worthy of their consideration, 'whether Lord Holland 'be invulnerable, or whether Junius should be wantonly pro-'voked.' (III. 410.) He shows this manifest forbearance towards the Fox family, not under his usual signature of Junius, but under another, assumed for the obvious purpose of concealing it, and yet of keeping them from forcing him into a contest with them. The history of Sir Philip at once explains all this. His father was Lord Holland's domestic chaplain, lived on intimate terms with him, and dedicated his Translation of Demosthenes to him, as the patron to whom he owed his church preferment. Sir Philip himself received from Lord Holland his first place in the Foreign Office. These circumstances must have overcome the natural inducement which Junius had to join in the attacks upon Lord Holland, for a conduct which, whether justly or not, was made the constant topic of invective by all who took the side of Lord Chatham.

It is clear, from his private correspondence, that Junius, whoever he was, bore a great personal good-will towards Woodfall. 'The spirit of your letter,' says he, 'convinces me that 'you are a much better writer than most of those whose works 'you publish.' (I. 196.) 'For the matter of money, be as-'sured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of 'mine, you shall not want it. My own works you shall con-'stantly have; and, in point of money, be assured you shall 'never suffer.' (*ib.*) Again—'You must not write to me a-'gain; but be assured I will never desert you. If your affair 'should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will 'then let me know what expense falls particularly on your-'self, for I understand you are engaged with other proprie-'tors;—some way or other *you* shall be reimbursed.' (I. 208.)

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'For my own part, I can very truly assure you, that nothing 'would affect me more than to have drawn you into a per-'sonal danger, because it admits of no recompense.' (I. 221.) 'You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own 'safety.' (I. 235.) 'I have the greatest reason to be pleased 'with your care and attention; and wish it were in my power 'to render you some essential service.' (I. 246.) In a letter to Wilkes, he expresses the same anxiety about Woodfall's safety; says that the danger to which he is exposed afflicts and distresses him; and plainly insinuates, that he has spared Lord Mansfield for Woodfall's sake (I. 326.) But, for other publishers, he seems to have felt no such tenderness; for he frequently tells Woodfall, if he is afraid himself, that he may send such and such letters to other printers, whom he names. (see I. 224. 226. 214.) Now, it appears from Nichols's Biographical Anecdotes, that Woodfall was only a year older than Sir Philip Francis, and that he was educated at St Paul's School, where the latter is known to have been bred; and it is asserted in the Tract before us, that Woodfall's son speaks of the acquaintance formed there between Sir Philip and his father, as having given rise to a mutual kindness during their after lives, although they rarely met. It must be admitted that this tallies peculiarly well with a suspicion expressed by Junius at one part of the correspondence, that Woodfall might know him. He says, 'I beg you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect 'who I am.' (I. 171.)

There is reason also to believe, that Junius was known to Garrick. He expresses himself much alarmed by the inquiries of the latter, and was afraid lest Woodfall might have told him the place where the letters were sent, which he desires him to change. He writes a note, to be sent to Garrick, with the view of intimidating him, and thus preventing his meddling, and endeavouring to trace the secret; and he desires Woodfall to copy it in his own hand. Sir Francis has told us, in the preface to the play of Eugenia, that he enjoyed the 'friendship and esteem' of Garrick.

It appears, from various passages in Junius, that the author used to attend the debates in Parliament, and that he frequently took notes of the more important speeches: That he did so more especially in the years 1770 and 1771, is clearly proved, by his quoting Lord Chatham's speeches from reports not then made public, and by his frequently referring to debates at which he was present. Sir Philip Francis is known to have been an occasional attendant upon the debates during the same period, —for he cites Lord Chatham's speeches at that time as having

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heard them; and there seems no reason to doubt that he is the member of Parliament described by Almon in his life of Lord Chatham, as having furnished him with notes of those speeches, taken by him when he was not in Parliament. But there is a more remarkable coincidence than this between Junius and Sir Philip. Lord Chatham's speech, at the opening of the session in January 1770, was reported by Sir Philip, and communicated first to Almon, who published it in 1791, and then to the Parliamentary History, (xvi. 647.) The publisher of the latter work informed the author of the tract before us, that he received it from Sir Philip, who was present at the debate. Now, a comparison of this speech with some of Junius's letters, proves very satisfactorily, that Junius must either have heard the speech, and taken notes of it, or received notes from somebody who was present; and not only so, but that the notes which he took or received were nearly the same with those taken by Sir P. Francis. We shall cite some examples of this coincidence.

Sir P. Francis's Report.—'That on this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he knew was not strictly legal; but he had recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.' p. 262.

Junius, (Woodfall II. 365.)—'Instead of inserting that the proclamation was legal, he (Lord Camden) should have said, "My Lords, I know the proclamation was illegal, but I advised it, because it was indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine; and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country." p. 262–3.

Sir P. Francis's Report.—'He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for those excesses. That they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart.' p. 265.

Junius, (Woodfall, II. 153. *I.* 311.)—"No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart."

———"I shall only say, give me a healthy vigorous constitution, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my skin." p. 265.

Sir P. Francis's Report.—'That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.' p. 268.

Junius, (Woodfall, II. 77.)—"They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert." p. 268.

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There are many other expressions in this speech, and in others of Lord Chatham, reported by Sir Philip, which appear to be favourite expressions of Junius. Thus, '*false fact*'—'*I am a plain man*'—'*ipso facto the law of the land*'—'*simplicity of common sense*,' &c.

There are many favourite expressions in the avowed original works of Sir Philip, which Junius also indulges habitually. '*Of his side*'—'*so far forth*'—'*I* mean *the public service*' (for, *I would promote*). There is, moreover, in the general manner of writing, a resemblance extremely striking, especially where the author is off his guard, and permits his natural temper to appear. Sir Philip's later works resemble, in this respect, the private notes to Woodfall so strikingly, that we need scarcely give any examples. There is, for instance, a short note of Sir P. in this publication in the following terms. '*Pray* never mind anything I say, I '*slave* myself to death, and write and speak on instant impression.—*So* I am very sorry if I have offended you.' The very same tone, and almost the same words, occur in two notes of Junius, printed by Woodfall;—one of which begins, '*Pray* 'tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with 'you;' and ends, 'and *so* I wish you goodnight:'—And another runs thus, 'Make yourself easy about me—I know you are 'an honest man—and I am never angry—I am overcome with 'the *slavery* of writing.' We have not room to add other instances; but we have heard, that among those persons in London who have lived in his society, and are acquainted with his mode of expression, the conviction of his being the author of the Letters, is exceedingly strengthened by this likeness.

That the tempers of Junius and Sir Philip somewhat resemble each other, we have their own authority. Junius says to Woodfall—'Surely you have misjudged it very much about 'the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you 'could protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of 'singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation. At a certain point of time the appetite palls. I fear you 'have already lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the 'greatest part of the effect I expected from it. But I have done.' (p. 157.) And again, to Wilkes, 'You at least, Mr Wilkes, 'should have shown more temper and prudence, and a better 'knowledge of mankind. No personal respects whatsoever should 'have persuaded you to concur in these ridiculous resolutions. 'But my own zeal, I perceive, betrays me: I will endeavour to 'keep a better guard upon my temper, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language.' (*ib.*) Sir Philip, in his Speech (Parl. Debates, xxvii. 240,), says, most charac-

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teristically, 'It was his purpose on this occasion to say things 'strong, severe, and personal; and if he should be thought to 'exceed the bounds of moderation, he desired it might not be 'imputed to a hasty impatience of temper, to which he was sup- 'posed to be more subject than other men; for he said them 'coolly and deliberately, and after having maturely reflected 'on their cause, and on their consequences.' (p. 158.) And again, in his Speech, February 26, 1788, 'Much has been said of my 'character, much of my temper. I have by one learned gen- 'tleman, not now present (the Master of the Rolls), been ac- 'cused of comparing myself with him, and with others of his 'profession. Such a comparison I never presumed to make. 'Arrogance is one thing; passion is another. Passion I have 'ever conceived to be an honest, open, and manly emotion of 'the mind: arrogance, on the contrary, I take to be a cold, 'deliberate, thoughtful thing. I may have made use of warm 'or passionate language perhaps, but I was never guilty of the 'presumption and arrogance which has been imputed to me.' (p. 158–9.)

There are some other considerations of a more general nature, which deserve notice in this argument. Sir Philip Francis is still living; and that of itself furnishes a ground of presumption. The improbability is great, that the real Junius should have died, and left no trace by which to detect him. That he should have wished to be for ever unknown, is not likely; that he should have been able to elude all discovery, after his decease, is still less so. The curiously bound set of Letters which he had from Woodfall by his own directions, at once afforded a reason for believing that he intended to retain the means of proving his title, at a distant period, and exposed him to detection after his death, if he allowed that event to happen before he declared himself. Sir Philip's appointment to India is also extremely well accounted for, by the supposition that he was the author of Junius's Letters. That a clerk in the War-office should, without having done any thing to make him known, be sent out at once as a member of the Supreme Council, to which, for the first time, the powers of Government were about to be entrusted, seems at any rate sufficiently strange to require an explanation. He was not connected by family with any man of weight in the ministry; he was wholly unknown at the India House; he was equally obscure in the publick eye; nor does it appear that he had any patron who interested himself in his promotion, previously to spring 1772, since, at that time, he was turned out of the Office, to make way for a favourite of the minister in whose department he served. The next thing we hear of after this dismissal, is his mis-

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sion to India as a satrap, in very critical circumstances. But there is nothing surprising in the appointment, if we suppose that he either suffered himself to be known, or was detected as Junius after his removal from the War-office; and that the minister, now made aware of his extraordinary talents, and of the risk to which they might expose him, recommended a step, justified by the qualifications of Sir Philip, and counselled by his own apprehensions. If the secret was only communicated to one man—if Sir Philip knew this, and made that one man personally responsible for its being kept—there was no doubt that it would be so. Nothing but an idle love of talking could lead to its being divulged. There was something in the nature of the transaction which imposed silence upon both the parties; and Sir Philip, who had the chief interest in its concealment, was ready, during the whole lifetime of the other party, to watch over his fulfilment of the compact.

If it is demanded why Sir Philip should have persisted so long in the concealment, a satisfactory answer may be given, without having recourse to evidence drawn from the character and habits of the individual. Some of the principal personages attacked by Junius, have only been dead a very few years; the nearest relatives of many of them are still alive. The invectives of Junius against persons officially connected with Sir Philip, must have differed extremely from the letters which passed between them in the course of business, or in the intercourse of society. The circumstance of his appointment to India, the consequent silence of Junius, we may easily imagine to be a strong reason for reluctance to avow himself as the author. But if to these considerations we add, that Sir Philip has been, by the steady and honest course of his political life, thrown into habits of intimacy with the families of those whom Junius most unsparingly attacked, for their personal, as well as public conduct, in life, we shall be convinced that the discovery would at any time have been productive of far more pain than the gratification of vanity could compensate, even admitting the reputation of Junius to be much higher than that of Sir Philip, which we are not very sure that he is likely to think it, and are still less of opinion that he ought. He has long, in his proper person, possessed the admiration of all who have a due regard for unblemished publick virtue, great talents and accomplishments. He might well afford to forego the applause of the multitude, which could only be purchased by a sacrifice, certainly, of the tranquillity so invaluable in the decline of life, possibly of the good-will of some whose approbation he prefers to that of the crowd. Justice to this gentleman, as well as to the argument

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which we are now bringing to a close, requires the insertion of the powerful testimonies borne to his rare merits, by the unanimous voice of the Managers of the Impeachment. The following is a part of the letter which they addressed to him, when the House of Commons, on account of his personal quarrel with Mr Hastings, had excluded him from the Committee.

" We have perused, as our duty has often led us to do, with great attention, the records of the Company, during the time in which you executed the important office committed to you by Parliament; and our good opinion of you has grown in exact proportion to the minuteness and accuracy of our researches. We have found that, as far as in you lay, you fully answered the ends of your arduous allegation. An exact obedience to the authority placed over you by the laws of your country, wise and steady principles of government, an inflexible integrity in yourself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practice in others, crowned by an uniform benevolent attention to to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives (the grand leading object in your appointment), appear eminently throughout those records. Such a conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demands our fullest confidence.

" These, Sir, are the qualities, and this is the conduct, on your part, on which we ground our *wishes* for your assistance. On what we are to ground our *right* to make any demand upon you, we are more at a loss to suggest. Our sole titles, we are sensible, are to be found in the public exigencies, and in your public spirit. Permit us, Sir, to call for this further service in the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished, and in support of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers." p. 23, 24.

This letter was written by the Chairman, Mr Burke, and signed by himself and his colleagues; among whom we find the names of Fox, Sheridan, Windham, North, and Fitzpatrick. Mr Burke, in one of his speeches upon the India Bills, has thus described him.

" This man, whose deep reach of thought, whose large legislative conceptions, and whose grand plans of policy, make the most shining part of our reports, from whence we have learned all our lessons, if we have learned any good ones; this man, from whose materials those gentlemen, who have least acknowledged it, have yet spoken as from a brief; this man, driven from his employment, discountenanced by the Directors, has had no other reward, and no other distinction, but that inward ' sunshine of the soul ' which a good conscience can always bestow on itself." p. 25, 26.

Having shown that all the evidence which can be drawn from a comparison of Junius's Letters and Sir Philip Francis's Life and Writings, points him out as the author—that there is no

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circumstance which does not tally with this conclusion, and no difficulty which it does not explain—we shall now very briefly advert to one or two particulars of evidence more strictly external than any which has yet been considered.

From several parts of the correspondence with Woodfall, it should seem that Junius frequently delivered the letters himself. When he employed another hand, we may be well assured it was that of a porter or other ordinary messenger, as was ascertained, in one instance, by Wilkes, who examined the person, and learnt that he received the packet from a gentleman. That he should entrust any body with his secret, for the mere purpose of conveying the letters, appears highly improbable; and to have given a packet for Woodfall to a friend to carry, would have been telling him the whole. Now, it seems that a gentleman of respectability, Mr Jackson of Ipswich, was in Woodfall's employment at the period of the Letters;—and he states, 'that he once saw a *tall* gentleman, dressed in a light coat, 'with bag and sword, throw into the office-door, opening in 'Ivy Lane, a letter of Junius's, which he picked up, and im-'mediately followed the bearer of it into St Paul's Church-'yard, where he got into a hackney-coach, and drove off.'—(*Woodfall*, I. 43.) The author of the work before us states, that the figure and appearance of Sir Philip answers to this description as far as it goes.

There are various peculiarities of spelling which occur uniformly in both writers; and neither of them has any such peculiarity that is not common to both. Thus, they both write 'practise' with an *s*; 'compleatly' instead of 'completely;' '*in*gross,' *in*tire, *in*trust, and many other such words, which are usually begun with an *e*—endeav*or* without an *u*—sk*r*een with a *k*, and several others. There may not be much in any of these instances taken singly; but when we find that *all* the peculiarities that belong to either writer are common to both, it is impossible not to receive them as ingredients in the mass of evidence.

It is stated by a person who examined, with Wilkes, the form and folding of the letters received by him, that they both agreed in 'thinking they could see marks of the writer's habit 'of folding and directing official letters.'

Last of all, a careful examination has been instituted of the handwriting of Junius; and the specimens published by Woodfall have been diligently compared with letters of Sir Philip Francis. Those of Junius are known to be all written in a feigned hand; but its general character agrees well with that of Sir Philip's. Wherever, in the hurry of writing, (for example, where

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a word is interlined), the natural hand, or something near it, breaks out, the resemblance is more complete; and certain peculiarities, preserved in the feigned hand, occur also in Sir Philip's. We cannot follow the comparison through its minute details; but we are confident that it must go far towards satisfying those whom the rest of the argument may have failed to convince. Some of the more remarkable coincidences are as follows.

When Sir P. F. signs with his initials, he draws a short strong line above and below them. The very same lines are uniformly drawn under and over the initials with which Junius signs his private letters to Woodfall. In correcting the press, they both use, instead of the ordinary sign of deletion, a different and very peculiar sign, exactly the same in both. They both place the asterisk or star of reference to a foot-note, at the *beginning*, and not at the *end* of the passage to which it belongs—contrary to what may be termed the invariable usage of other writers. They both write the words *you* and *yours*, in all cases, with a large Y, the form of which is strikingly alike in both authors. They also use a half large *c* at the beginning of a word,—of a peculiar and characteristic formation. Their ciphers or numerals are all formed exactly on the same plan; as are most of their compound letters. Instead of a round dot over the *i*, they both invariably use an oblique stroke, sloping in the opposite direction to that of the general writing; and they mark their quotations, not by inverted commas, but by short perpendicular lines. They are both uniformly correct and systematic in the punctuation of their MS. Both write a distinct little *a* over &c.; and connect words divided at the end of a line, not by a hyphen, but a colon, which is repeated, contrary to general usage, at the beginning of the second line, as well as the end of the first. *

Before concluding this article, we must repeat, that the diligence of the author, whose work furnishes the materials of this argument, is very praiseworthy, and that the merit of the investigation belongs entirely to him. We cannot, however, avoid remarking, that he has frequently overloaded his book with useless and irrelevant quotations;—for example, much of the Speeches of Lord Chatham, and of Sir Philip Francis's pamphlets; that he many times draws conclusions from such trivial resemblances in expression as prove nothing,—*e. g.* p. 236, 237,

* We understand that it is confidently stated in London, that still more precise evidence exists of the similarity of the hands, drawn from Sir Philip's earlier penmanship.

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235, 238—beside a variety of other instances; and that, in some places, he seems to lose himself, and goes on quoting and reasoning, without recollecting the point to be proved—as, where he compares a Report of Lord Chatham's Speeches, admitted to be made by Sir Philip, with the avowed productions of the latter, (p. 266, B. 25.)

ART. VI. *Speech of* ROBERT, LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY, *in the House of Peers, Friday, May* 16. 1817, *on the Motion of the Earl of Donoughmore, relating to the Roman Catholic Claims.* 1817. Stockdale.

2. *Speech of* LESLIE FORBES, Esq., *in the House of Commons, May* 9. 1817, *on the Motion of Mr Grattan.*

3. *Speech of the Right Honourable* ROBERT PEEL, *on the same Subject.*

THOSE who have attended to the progress of any discussion on subjects connected with our passions, as well as our interests, must have observed, that the difficulty of bringing the parties to an agreement, arises, not so much from any insuperable variance respecting assertions or principles, as from the rapidity with which they who are in the wrong usually contrive to change the ground of the argument. When the conclusion will no longer suit their premises, they suit the premises to the conclusion. In this change of position, the youngest and most active of the combatants always take the lead; and while the effective forces are thus moving off to stations, from which they cannot be dislodged without new manœuvres on the part of their adversaries, the invalids linger round their old watchfires, and make a merit of their tardiness.

In the debates on the Catholic Question, we have a striking example of this evasive system of warfare. The main argument by which the claims of the Catholics were for a long time resisted, was founded on the assertion, that they were the passive instruments of a foreign potentate,—a potentate, too, who was not only Anti-Christ himself, but in alliance with our mortal and still more Anti-Christian enemy. Time has destroyed a part of this argument; and the exclusionists have at length abandoned the rest: But they are just as far from being convinced as ever; and, from the groundlessness of their former pleas, they have actually raised up a new danger, and a new argument in support of their cause. The Catholics offer a plan of domestic nomination, which would secure us against that influence of the

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Pope over the King's subjects, which was said to be incompatible with their loyalty. But the enemies of emancipation now turn on them, and say, that the Pope never exercised any power in the nomination of Bishops in Ireland; that, to provide against his interference, is but to mock the Protestants with a security against an unreal danger; that they fear not the Pope, but the Bishops themselves; not the subjection of the Catholic Clergy, but their independence. It is true, there are yet some who talk of the overwhelming power of the Pope—who circulate the Book of Martyrs in two-penny numbers—and who maintain, that the Coronation oath forbids the King to secure the peace and welfare of his Protestant subjects, if it should be attended with some collateral advantages to the Catholics. It is impossible to go about to light up the dark crannies of every man's understanding. We shall leave these intolerants of the old school to be answered by its younger disciples. We cannot, however, help sympathizing with the Bishop of Ossory, who, in the 27th page of his Speech, says, that if we want a proof of the meddling overbearing spirit of aggrandizement of the Catholic clergy,

—'a *very* SIGNAL instance might be found *in a kind of pastoral letter*, (signed by the Archbishop of Mecklin, and I believe all his suffragans, except two), which was' (—what does the reader think?—read in the churches? No; but) '*thrust under the doors* of the shopkeepers of Brussels a few days prior to the inauguration of the King of the Netherlands; in which the Catholics were told, that they could not, as good Catholics, take an oath of fealty and allegiance to a Protestant Prince:—and, what is still more extraordinary, this curious production could not be obtained *two days* after it had been so dispersed, although very great pains was taken to procure a copy, and much money offered for one.'

We congratulate ourselves that the Right Reverend Prelate's productions do not disappear so rapidly; and proceed to Mr Foster, one of the ablest opponents of the cause of emancipation.

In speaking of the offer to secure domestic nomination, he says,—

'It proposes nothing new; it proposes merely that the Bishops should be appointed for the future in the same manner as they have, in fact, been appointed hitherto. The nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishops has been, for a long time, as practically domestic as any possible arrangement can now render it. When a see is vacant, a recommendation is forwarded to Rome from Ireland, of the individual who is to be appointed; and I understand that, within the time of memory, there have not occurred more than two or three instances of any difficulty in confirming the choice of this domestic no-

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mination. The persons who thus nominate to Rome, are, as I understand, a certain number of the Roman Catholic Bishops. How they are selected I do not pretend to know:—latterly, it is said, that, by mutual courtesy, they recommend, as of course, the coadjutor of the deceased Bishop. This coadjutor is selected by the Bishop in his lifetime. The transmission of the Episcopal rank in the Irish Roman Catholic church is therefore, in practice, a mere matter of testamentary bequest, every Bishop taking his office under the will of his immediate predecessor in the see..... A more complete system of domestic nomination, however, cannot be proposed, than that which exists at present. You can vary its form; but more domestic you cannot render it.'

Mr Foster having thus shown us how groundless were the fears once so loudly professed by his own party, of foreign interference in the nomination of the Catholic clergy, goes on to show what, in his opinion, the real danger is.

'The Protestant sees, with apprehension, four millions of our people still mainly dependent for their habits and opinions, and more particularly for their impressions of the religion and government of England, on a great body of ecclesiastics, whom the fatal and mistaken policy of our ancestors had treated in such a manner, that it was not in human nature to expect that those ecclesiastics should make their flocks very much attached to the government from which that treatment proceeded. The Protestant sees that body of ecclesiastics, who, till lately, were under absolute proscription, still an insulated and an unacknowledged, but most formidable power, within the country; totally unconnected with the state; studiously independent of it; unattached to it by any of the ordinary motives of human conduct; but acting all the while on the education, the morals, the habits, the opinions and conduct of the greater part of our population, more extensively than the legislative and executive powers united..... The Protestant sees, further, this great ecclesiastical community, so powerful in command, itself submitted with unlimited devotion to the orders of a comparatively small portion of their own body; I mean their Bishops; and these again acting with an unanimity and steadiness in asserting their authority, and extending the common interest of their order, not inferior to any thing in the example of papal Rome itself.' p. 307.

He then describes the corporation spirit of the bishops, their periodical meetings at Maynooth, and the declarations of their synods, and the hostility of the people of Ireland to British laws.

'The Protestant,' he observes, 'sees our people in too many districts acting in avowed defiance of the law, subverting the very foundations of society; and he sees them, when finally overtaken by justice, heroically ready to meet their fate, firmly convinced that

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they are dying in a good cause: while their associates, instead of regarding their punishment as a sacrifice to the offended laws, view it rather in the light of the ordinary operations of a campaign; and, while their superiors are hoping that the examples of so many executions may strike a salutary terror into the guilty, they are no less congratulating themselves that the cause has lost only so few of its supporters.' p. 308.

We should have expected Mr Foster to tell us, that under the present laws of exclusion, for the continuance of which, at least for a time, he is an advocate, the amount of Catholic wealth and numbers, and the sphere of Catholic influence, were declining; and that the Protestant population and government, though at present exposed to some danger, had, by means of the laws which they alone have made and administered, a tolerable prospect for the future;—quite the reverse.

'The Protestant sees, further, in too many districts, an increasing proscription of himself and of his creed; he sees the Protestant tradesman systematically and simultaneously deserted by his Catholic customers; he sees the Protestant farmer menaced in his habitation, and waylaid in his journeys, until he seeks his peace in emigration, or buys it by his conversion; he sees a wide-spreading system of intermarriage of Protestants and Catholics, above all things encouraged by their priesthood, ending very generally in the conversion of the husband or wife, and securing almost universally the Catholicism of the children. He sees, *everywhere*, from these concurrent causes, *the diminution of Protestant numbers*—the increasing insecurity of Protestant property—the steady career, the unbending intolerance, of Catholic aggrandizement.'

Such is Mr Foster's account of the relative situations of the Protestants and Catholics in Ireland; and he is not so absurd as to say, that some change in such a state of things is not desireable. He looks about for safeguards against the Catholics:—Domestic nomination is 'delusive,' and the Veto is 'nugatory;'—'an object of Protestant ridicule, and of Catholic abhorrence.' He tells us, that he 'scarcely ever met with an Irish Protestant 'who saw in it (the Veto) any security whatever—and for this 'reason, that the attachment of the great mass of the Irish 'Roman Catholic population *to the English laws*, and their de-'sire to maintain the political connexion of the British islands, 'is, in his view, the only real security against an increase of 'Catholic power.' But he has a nostrum of his own;—a provision must be made by the Government for the priesthood, and the Crown must have the power of appointing the bishops, or at least translating to the sees of the greatest rank, value and importance, with other regulations, which would make the King as much the head of the Catholic, as he is of the Protestant

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Church. There is, however, one quality in this nostrum, which renders unnecessary the task of considering its efficacy; and that is—that it cannot be administered: For he tells us, 'every 'objection which the Catholics now feel to the *Veto*, they would 'apply with tenfold exasperation to a project which they would 'consider as a mere purchase of the liberties of their church:' —and, indeed, in what other light they could consider it, we cannot at present imagine. Mr Foster thus finding that the securities offered by the Catholics are delusive, and that his own securities will not be adopted, thinks it best to abstain from proceeding at all, till the minds of the Catholics are prepared for the reception of his prescriptions:—he thinks it best to wait, while Protestant numbers are diminishing, while Protestant property is everywhere becoming more insecure, till the Catholics become less confident because more numerous, less arrogant because more wealthy, and submit to the terms which may be dictated to them in their strength, but which in their weakness they reject with indignation. This, Mr Foster thinks, is wise and cautious, and statesman-like; and a great party follow Mr Foster.

But, when this learned gentleman was looking round him for securities, for something to establish or extend 'the attachment 'of the great mass of the Irish Roman Catholic population to 'English laws, and their desire to maintain the political con-'nexion of the British Islands,' did it never occur to him, that in the measure of emancipation itself, some such security was to be found? If it be true that you cannot prevent the priests from giving their flocks disadvantageous impressions of British laws and British connexions, is it not something at least to render the members of these congregations less fit subjects for the priests to operate upon? If it be from the discourses of the priests, and not from their own natural feelings, that the dissatisfaction of the Catholics of Ireland towards their present state of exclusion arises, we say it is not the less advisable, as a matter of policy, to deprive these orators of a topic calculated more than any other to make an impression on their auditors. If they represent to the Irish Catholics, that they are excluded from a fair share in making or administering the laws by which they are governed, the representation, we humbly conceive, is not the less likely to gain credit because it is the plain and simple truth. The offices from which the Catholics are excluded, the opponents of emancipation tell us, are few. They are too few, if exclusion be meant as a security; but quite enough, if it be meant to disgust and irritate the Catholics. They are invited to draw in a lottery, from all the

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great prizes of which they are excluded, and are called upon to pay as much for their tickets as the other adventurers. To console them for this, an arithmetical calculation is set before them, to show that, upon reckoning the pounds, shillings and pence, the sum total of the small prizes is much larger than that of the great ones. The most imaginative people—the votaries of the most imaginative religion in the world, are desired not to be led away by their imagination. Mr Foster tells us, that the hostile influence of the Catholic clergy is a great cause of the dissatisfaction of the mass of the people. And what is his immediate practical remedy? He tells the young Catholic barrister that he shall never be a Judge—he tells the young landed proprietor that he shall never be a member of Parliament—he tells every young Catholic of ambition and talents, that he shall never reach any of those offices which men of ambition and of talents alone look forward to as desirable. Having told them this, which they must be dull indeed not to feel—having fixed deeply in them feelings of discontent, at the time when the mind acquires the character which it carries through life,—they are sent forth—they, who, above all others, exercise an influence on society—to counteract the machinations of a disaffected clergy!

It is curious to observe the arguments by which Mr Foster justifies to his mind this hopeful course of policy—though they are arguments which have not been peculiar to himself. He chooses to consider the Legislature as driving a bargain with the Catholics of Ireland; and his ruling fear is, that the body of which he himself is a member may be overreached. He says, that the proposition of domestic nomination 'is distinctly this, 'that the Protestants and Catholics, having each much to re'quire, and much to give up, the Protestants are to cede every 'thing that remains, and the Catholics are to make the single 'concession of remaining exactly as they are.' Now, Mr Foster's ideas of bargain-making seem, in a case of this kind, a little unreasonable. The Catholics have been excluded, by special penal acts of the Legislature, from rights common to the other subjects of the State. When the reasons for their exclusion are at an end, it is not fair to ask them what price they will now pay for their admission. If the exclusion of the Catholics were a benefit to the Protestants, this demand might be equally unjust; but it would not be equally foolish. Mr Foster, however, tells us, that while the system of exclusion is in its vigour, Protestant numbers are diminishing, and Protestant property is becoming more insecure. He then exhorts the Protestants of Ireland to persevere, like the dog in the manger; and, rather than confer an unbought benefit on their neigh-

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bours, to hold fast, to the last gasp, a power which is so fatal to themselves. He exhorts Great Britain, rather than abandon the proposal of insulting provisos, to continue a system, by which the population of Ireland must become universally Catholic, and universally discontented.

But this is not the only scheme that has been devised for the redress of these growing evils. Mr Foster is for offering the Catholics terms which he knows they cannot accept. Mr Peel is the advocate of another party, which would offer them no terms at all. If they be admitted into the Constitution, he says, 'I have heard of no securities, nor can I 'devise any, which will allay the apprehension I entertain.' Mr Peel is one of those speakers who are fair and candid in their statements, but rash in their arguments; who, on the strength of exhibiting a question clearly and impartially, think themselves at liberty to give it any answer they please; and, after having made doubly clear that which was sufficiently intelligible before, leave us quite in the dark as to those points on which we wish to be satisfied. He labours unnecessarily to show, that if the Catholics are made eligible to offices by law, we should calculate on their admission to those offices in the proportion to which their numbers and talents entitle them. He says that they will not naturally see with pleasure an 'intrusive Church' in possession of the temporalities which have been wrested from their own clergy;—but, after these premises, without fairly considering whether they will, with their numbers and dispositions, be more formidable when admitted into Parliament than when excluded, he drops the argument, and leaves us to puzzle out the question as we may.

'We are, for the present, assured,' he says, 'that the number of Roman Catholics who will be returned to Parliament will be very limited. "True, there may be danger, but then it will not be very great! You will not have more than ten Roman Catholics in the House of Commons; and the Roman Catholics cannot overturn your Establishment!" And are these the clumsy securities which are offered to us?—these, so little in unison with the spirit of that Constitution which we profess to maintain, but which, in truth, we are about to abandon? If the Roman Catholics entertain no principles and no views hostile to the establishments of the State, admit them to privilege, without reference to the numbers to be admitted: if they entertain such, exclude them, not because their numbers will be limited, but, fairly and openly, because you cannot confide in them.'

If we had not diligently perused Mr Peel's Speech, we should have imagined that we had mistaken the page of the Parliamentary Debates in which we read the reprint of it, and fallen upon a part of a treatise delivered upon the same subject by Mr

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WEBBER, who says, that 'the mysterious and sublimed union 'of Church and State is a sacred subject, that soars above the 'ken of worldly policy. It is an ethereal essence, that sancti-'fies and gives a character of perpetuity to your State, while it 'draws from that support which repays to it worldly stability and 'effect.' But if Mr Peel is not a believer in the new alchemy, and condescends to make his process clear to the ken of worldly reason, he should have proceeded to draw a comparison between the danger to be apprehended from the state of Ireland under its present system of laws, and that which can reasonably be expected to result from the laws which it is proposed to enact. To say that we cannot confide in the Catholics, is not a sufficient reason for their exclusion, unless it can be shown that, in their excluded state, they are less dangerous. The Constitution is not an idle word, nor a collection of unmeaning ceremonies, without reference to human welfare or misery. We must be allowed to have some regard to the four millions of Catholics—we must be allowed to have some consideration for the safety of Great Britain:—But, if the laws must have regard to the comfort or pride of a million of Irish Protestants only, let us see by what means the destruction of Protestantism may take place in Ireland, and how far the probability of such an event is increased by the proposed measure of emancipation.

As for the Protestant laity of Ireland, according to Mr Foster, they are daily diminishing; the farmers are way-laid, the shopkeepers are combined against. If the measure of emancipation were adopted, we cannot suppose that these lawless proceedings would continue, at least to the same extent. We cannot suppose, that, if Protestants and Catholics were equal in the eye of the law, that one sect would have a peculiar enmity to the rules which were intended for their common protection. But all this, to such reasoners as Mr Peel, is nothing. Though every Protestant farmer in Ireland was murdered, and every Protestant shopkeeper starved, this might be a lamentable fact; but if it were necessary to the support of the Protestant Church in Ireland as the religion of the state,—as 'the favoured religion,'—he could take no steps to prevent it.

'We find Ireland, then,' he says, 'circumstanced as I have described, united by an inviolable compact to Great Britain; and we find it an essential article of that compact, that the Protestant religion—the religion of the small minority in point of number, shall be the established and favoured religion of the State. We cannot make a constitution *de novo*; it is needless to resolve what would be the best system of law under another state of circumstances. We must modify and adapt our theories to that national compact which we cannot infringe.'

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Well, thus we are bound up; though every sentient being in Great Britain and Ireland cursed the compact and all its articles, they must, 'to the last syllable of recorded time,' be bound together by this contract between two metaphysical entities. But be it so:—No one proposes to infringe upon this contract, or to dissolve it. As we must leave the laity, even of the favoured religion, out of the question, let us look to the manner in which the Protestant ecclesiastical establishment may be destroyed. There are but two ways, we think, in which this can be done—by a deliberate act of the Legislature, or by a rebellion of the Catholics, and a separation from England; for, if the body of Ireland were once lost, that 'ethereal essence,' of which Mr Webber speaks in so sublime a strain, would be lost with it. Now, by the emancipation of the Catholics, we contend, that the danger of the destruction of Protestantism by an act of the Legislature is not increased, and its danger of destruction by rebellion is infinitely diminished.

If the Catholics are admitted into Parliament in the greatest proportion which their numbers and importance will warrant, they must still form a small minority. If they entertain designs hostile to the Protestant establishment, they will immediately be discovered;—as it is quite impossible that they should at the same time keep themselves concealed, and be busy in making proselytes. If they do take measures, therefore, to increase their own consequence, they will be looked on with the same jealousy with which all other innovators are regarded;—they will be shut out from the share they would otherwise have in the employments and honours of the State:—and all this for what? That their clergy might be more rich and more idle; that the religious offices might be more negligently administered; and that the interests of Catholicism, as a sect, might be in the main injured. They would have to carry on this *Bellum Episcopale* without any prospect of success; and, after the forfeiture of their political hopes, would be as far from the attainment of their religious end as ever. The continuance of such a contest does not seem much to be apprehended from the known principles of human nature. All men could not be alike under the domination of the priests; and those would be least subject to this domination who would be best qualified to advance a political cause. In proportion as they become men of the world—in proportion to the variety of their knowledge, and to the earnestness with which they enter into political pursuits—they must get rid of something of the bigot. What reason have we to expect, that, when the Catholics of Ireland shall be put on the same footing with the Catholics of other countries, they will be less

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susceptible to the influence of education, and the practical lessons of toleration to be derived from an intercourse with other sects? Though at present persons of all opinions, except the Catholics, are admitted into the House of Commons, there can be no assembly of men in which the difference of religious opinions is more rarely discoverable in the words or actions of its members. So far, therefore, from a possibility of success, a proposal for a transfer of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland would scarcely obtain a thought as a Parliamentary measure. That 50 cannot be equal to 500, is a position to which few persons can be blind, in a question affecting their own interests and reputation.

There remains the alternative of rebellion and separation from Great Britain. Let us see how far the probability of such an occurrence would be increased or diminished by the admission of the Catholics to the privileges which they claim. At present, the Catholics of wealth and consequence possess all the means of influencing the people which any Aristocracy can possess. It is in the space between this Aristocracy and the Government, that the chain of connexion is broken. They have this additional claim to respect, this peculiar source of power over the other members of their religion, that they have suffered, and continue to suffer, privations in a common cause. As they have so much power of doing mischief, it is proposed to give them an additional motive not to turn this power against the interests of the State. They may be told, indeed, that they have already sufficient protection for their persons and property. If man had only to fatten himself like an ox in a stall—if he had no desire of fame, or power, or action—no emulation nor envy—the argument might have weight. But let us see how it stands, as human nature is actually constituted. The Catholics have protection in the enjoyment of their property, however considerable; therefore they should be contented, without any share of the political power. Such is the argument of the advocates of exclusion. The Catholics have protection for their persons and property, therefore they are not contented without a share of political power;—such is the way in which the nature of man answers that argument. It is precisely because they are not harassed and plundered, that other wants and desires spring up in their minds, and that these wants lead to dangerous aspirations and endeavours. The question, we must recollect, is not between the Protestants and the Catholics as to the meaning of words, but is a question discussed by the Protestants among themselves, as to the security of their empire. If we could exenterate the Catholics—deprive them of passions and preju-

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dices, and stuff them, as Burke expressed it, like birds in a museum, with paltry sheets of blurred paper, with Mr Peel's speeches, and Dr Duigenan's pamphlets, and Bishop Fowler's charges—we might have the matter quietly settled by nice distinctions between the right to protection and the right to power. But as we cannot do this, these questions of right are frivolous. The question we must solve is,—whether the Catholic gentleman will for ever labour to make those, over whom he has any influence, well affected to a government that excludes him from the means of honour and power, to which his Protestant neighbour is admitted;—whether he will shed his blood freely to prevent a separation, by which alone he can hope to enjoy advantages to which he at least must imagine he has a just title? The admission of the Catholics of Ireland into the Parliament of the United Kingdom, would not only sooth the feelings of the whole body, but it would afford a security against rebellion worth all the oaths of allegiance and ecclesiastical arrangements. During the American contest, when the hope of subduing the colonies by force began to fail, it was proposed, by Adam Smith, to offer the privilege of returning a certain number of representatives to the British Parliament to each of the States which would detach itself from the Confederacy. By this expedient, he observed, 'a new method of acquiring 'importance—a new and more dazzling object of ambition—'would be presented to the leading men of each colony. Instead of piddling for the little prizes which are to be found in 'what may be called the paltry raffle of colony faction, they 'might then hope, from the presumption which men naturally 'have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw some of 'the great prizes which sometimes come from the wheel of the 'great state lottery of British politics.'† There might have been some difficulty in the application to the case of America; but the principle is inexpugnable. Men, in politics, as in all other games of chance, like to play for high stakes; and, when they have once adventured for these, cannot reduce themselves to play for small ones. If the men of wealth and talents among the Irish Catholics, with the more numerous class of those who think they have talent, and expect to have wealth, were once permitted to have a fair chance of obtaining a share in the power of the British empire, besides the disinclination which all men have to hazard their lives and properties in violent revolutions, they would be reluctant to narrow the sphere of their importance. When they once had taken part in directing or mo-

† Wealth of Nations, Book iv. Chap. 7.

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difying the exertions of a great united empire in four quarters of the world, it appears to us most unlikely that they should ever give up this distinction, for the chance of establishing a second-rate power, and a more exclusive domination over their bogs or dairy land.

'Could they on this fair mountain leave to feed,'—

to gratify the natural predilection of the hierarchy for tithes and manors, they would soon become identified with British feelings, and incorporated in British parties;—the power which they possess, in comparison with that of the priests, would, in the ordinary progress of society, become daily more considerable, and would soon outweigh that of the disaffected ecclesiastics. By the measure of emancipation too, it must be remembered that the Government is not precluded from any future arrangement by which the Catholic clergy may be prevailed on to give up a portion of their independence for pecuniary advantages. The opponents of the Catholic claims have remarked, that it is proposed, in all the measures which have been suggested, to bestow advantages on the laity or aristocracy, and to demand concessions from the clergy; and they predict, from this circumstance, that these measures will not be satisfactory. There is some appearance of reason in this remark; but if, as we have attempted to show, the emancipation of the Catholics be, even without any of the proposed securities, likely to render the empire more tranquil and less vulnerable, a *concordat* with the Catholic clergy may be well reserved for discussion hereafter.

When the power of a disaffected clergy to render the people disaffected is spoken of, it must be recollected, that, in the present state of the Catholics of Ireland, there is a reciprocal action of this sort. Dr Stock, who was Protestant Bishop of Killala when the French landed there in 1798, and who, from his constant residence in the country, had the best opportunity of making himself acquainted with the character of the people, in his Narrative of what passed on that trying occasion, (p. 91), attributes the disaffection of the priests to the necessity which they felt of following the inclination of their flocks. 'Voluntary contribution,' he observes, 'the main resource of the priest, must depend upon his popularity. Live with me, and live as I do. Oppress me not with superior learning or refinement. Take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed and conduct. Such, when translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest.' Mr Wakefield, in his account of Galway, observes, that if the priests, in their sermons, exhort their parish-

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ioners to be loyal and obedient subjects, they are suspected of being in the pay of Government. †

Mr Peel begs the House of Commons to reflect how difficult it is to predict the consequences of much less important alterations than those proposed. He desires every man who is yet undecided, to weigh 'the substantial blessings which he knows to 'have been derived from the Government that is, against all 'the speculative advantages which is promised from the Go-'vernment that is to be.' This commonplace is rarely misapplied; for, according to the very statements of those who have opposed emancipation—that of Mr Foster, for instance—is it not just as difficult to predict the consequences of the present system, if it be persevered in? Is it not more difficult to imagine that they should prove otherwise than fatal? Yet the substantial blessings of the present system should make us hesitate to change it!—What, in the name of heaven, are these boasted blessings? In any country of Europe, is life and property more insecure than in Ireland? Is there any country in which so large a class feels itself degraded, and in which the favoured class stands in such fear of those above whom it is elevated? To prevent such a state of things—to prevent robbery and murder, and heartburnings and terror—is deemed the principal end of government. Yet Mr Peel trembles to expose Ireland to a change.—We recollect a speech ascribed to this gentleman not long ago by the Parliamentary Reports. It seems he gave a description of the state of Ireland. He affirmed that committees of assassination sat in judgment on obnoxious individuals. He related an instance of the execution of this sentence. A magistrate—according to Mr Peel a benevolent and respectable magistrate—was shot by a band of ruffians at a place through which he had to pass, and which was previously marked out as the scene of the death; and as the guns were fired, and the victim fell, numbers of people who had assembled on the tops of houses or turf stacks to witness the event, shouted in approbation. Can it be conceived, that people who could applaud such a crime as this, do not feel themselves degraded, and imagine that the law was made for a favoured caste, and not for them?

Mr Wakefield, in the work above mentioned, says—'Some 'persons assert that the Catholics are not degraded; but the 'circumstances which might be produced to prove the contrary, 'are too striking and too numerous to admit of any doubt.

† Account of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 610.

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'Were a stranger, passing through Essex, to announce, at 'every village, that, on a certain night, a party, no matter of 'what religious persuasion, intended to spread desolation a-'round them, by burning the houses and massacring all the in-'habitants; such a threat would excite only a smile. But let 'us suppose, that, instead of a stranger, I, who am known 'in that county, should propagate a similar report, what would 'be the consequence? It would no doubt be concluded, that I 'had lost my senses. In the year 1798, a rumour of this kind 'was spread in various parts of Ireland:—the people were threat-'ened, that, on a certain night, the Orangemen would burn 'their houses, ravish their wives, and make a general massacre 'of the inhabitants. The story was implicitly believed; and 'the consequence was, that the people deserted their houses, 'and fled to the bogs and the mountains. But it will be said, 'this was during the period of rebellion; the inhabitants were 'in arms; and the country was on the eve of being involved in 'all the horrors of a civil war. This I will readily admit; but 'I am sorry to say, that I saw numbers lying out of doors, in 'the neighbourhood of Ross, *in the year* 1809, in consequence 'of such a report being spread *by a stranger*; and I am con-'vinced that, at this moment, any one in the least known, who 'might spread such alarm, would cause the Catholic inhabitants 'of whole districts to desert their houses. Is not this a proof 'that the poor live in continual apprehension, and have no con-'fidence in their own situation? They are haunted with the 'terror of persecution; they feel that they are without protec-'tors; they are alive to the least alarm: and this must be the 'case, until they see the aristocracy of their own faith partici-'pating equally with the Protestants in the political power of 'the country.' Vol. II. p. 568.

This fact speaks volumes as to the sense the Irish people have of their situation; and, after all, they are the best judges. But the proceedings which preceded and accompanied the Rebellion of 1798, are, in themselves, a sufficient proof, that the ruling party in that country holds itself quite absolved from all the principles on which governments, even those which are in form despotic, profess to act towards their subjects. The rebellion was a formidable one; and it is not our purpose here to inquire, whether it was made more formidable by the means which were employed to suppress it. The practices which were avowedly used for the discovery and suppression of it, could not have existed but in a country so divided into two castes, between which no sympathy exists. As, in the West Indies, the white planter never fears that any cruelty practised upon the slave will form a

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precedent for the infliction of similar punishment on himself—as he thinks that even unjust or superfluous punishments are beneficial, because they render him more secure by the terrors they inspire;—so the Orangemen seemed to have felt, that, towards the mass of the Irish people, no infliction of pain or terror could be misplaced. Before the rebellion openly broke out, the use of torture was openly acknowledged and defended by the Earl of Clare, the Lord Chancellor in the Irish House of Lords. When we speak of torture, we do not mean the *punishments* of flogging, or picketting, or half-hanging, inflicted in consequence of the sentence of military courts, or without any authority at all, on rebels found in arms; but the application of this and other sorts of intolerable pain to persons not convicted, for the purpose of extorting information. On the 19th of February 1798, on a motion of the Earl of Moira, the Earl of Clare said—'The next story is that of a blacksmith, who was 'picketed. What was the case? Information was given a-'gainst that man that he had manufactured a large quantity of 'pikes; and, when a party was sent to search for those pikes, 'he denied any knowledge whatever of them. The soldiers, by 'way of terrifying him into confession, did certainly put a rope 'about his neck, and threaten him with hanging; but they 'proceeded no further. He was taken to Downpatrick; *and* '*there, by a Colonel of Fencibles, who is since dead, he was put* '*upon the picket.* He gave information then, and not till then, 'of the pikes; and more than one hundred of them were seiz-'ed the next day in consequence. It might be a serious ques-'tion, whether the number of murders prevented by the sei-'zure of pikes did not much overbalance the sufferings of the 'blacksmith.' * (p. 29.) This was not spoken in a corner; it was not even delivered in extenuation of an offender brought to trial. The criminal was dead; the act of the Colonel of Fencibles might have been disavowed and condemned. But the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland chose to justify the act, and to print his speech at full length; so that this defence of torture might go forth with the sign of its authenticity in its title-page, to encourage every self-constituted judge throughout the country to proceed in this summary way to obtain information. To have established a temporary Inquisition in Ireland, in which dispassionate and experienced judges might, at their discretion, apply

* The Speech of the Right Honourable John Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, in the House of Lords of Ireland, Monday, February 19, 1798, &c.—*(Printed by Authority.)*—Dublin printed: London, reprinted for J. Wright, Piccadilly, 1798.

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torture, would have been in the proportion of one to ten thousand less terrible in its effects, than such an encouragement to so many thousand inquisitors, who often took no evidence but that of their malignant passions. The case of Mr Judkin Fitzgerald remains a memorable example of the manner in which they exercised the power which was so liberally conferred upon them. This man, in his petition presented to the Irish House of Commons on the 6th of April 1799, prays to be indemnified

—' for certain acts done by him in suppression of the late rebellion, not justifiable in common law; ' stating that he was, in the year 1798, High Sheriff of the county of Tipperary; and that ' finding it impossible to stop the progress of rebellion there, as in many other parts of the kingdom, *or to discover the various and horrid plans* intended by traitors for the destruction of his Majesty's liege subjects, he had been reduced to the necessity, in many instances, under the advice of several most respectable magistrates and gentlemen of the county, when all offer of pardon and pecuniary reward had failed, to order corporal punishment of whipping to many persons, of whose guilt he had secret information from persons whose names he could not publicly disclose, as many persons, both before and since, had been murdered for giving such information; and therefore, in order to encourage persons to give such information, the magistrates were publicly sworn to keep secret the names of informants..... That two actions had lately been had at the assizes of Clonmel, (in both of which, verdicts had been obtained against petitioner); one for words spoken; and the other for corporal punishment inflicted publicly on the 29th of May in the town of Clonmel, which was to have been attacked two days afterwards by 8000 rebels. The learned Judge, who presided at said trials, being of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information, on oath, of the ground on which he acted, his case could not fall within the provisions of the Indemnity Act passed last Session; but that the petitioner, not feeling himself justifiable to disclose, in a public court of justice, the nature of the information on which he had acted; and knowing that many of the informations on which he had acted, were in the possession of several generals and other officers, who had since been ordered out of the kingdom; that some of the persons who gave such information had since been banished to foreign parts; and feeling he should be guilty of a breach of faith and duty in disclosing the names of his informants remaining in the kingdom, on whose informations, secretly and confidentially given, he was induced to act as aforesaid—he did decline such exposure.'—In answer to this statement, ' the Honourable Mr YELVERTON said, he should be one of the last men to refuse indemnity and protection to any deserving magistrate or loyal man, for acts warranted by justice or necessity,

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in putting down conspiracy or rebellion; but he could not sit silent and hear the falsehood attempted to be palmed on the House by this almighty Sheriff, in the petition now on the table. The petition stated, that the judges who presided at that trial, who were Mr Justice CHAMBERLAIN and Lord YELVERTON, had given this opinion,—that unless Mr Fitzgerald could produce the information, on oath, on which he could justify his flagellation of the plaintiff Wright, he could not come under the provisions of the Indemnity Act. No such thing was ever said by either of the judges. He was present at the trial; and not a single tittle of evidence had come out in defence of Mr Fitzgerald; nor was even a pretence pleaded that could found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff Wright, to justify those unparalleled cruelties exercised upon him, for which the jury, a most respectable one, awarded 500*l.* damages, and which the learned judges declared ought to have been considerably more than the sum claimed. With the permission of the House, he would shortly state the facts as they appeared in evidence of several most respectable witnesses; and, from these facts, he would appeal to the House, whether such sanguinary, wanton and unparalleled cruelties, were entitled to their sanction and indemnity? The action brought by Mr Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood. Mr Wright had heard that Mr Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him; and, with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial. He went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr Fitzgerald; and, being shown into his presence, explained the purpose of his coming; when Mr Fitzgerald drawing his sword, said—"Down on your knees you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence." In vain did the poor man protest his innocence—in vain did he implore trial on his knees. Mr Fitzgerald sentenced him, first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys to have his papers searched; and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify: But no—this was not agreeable to Mr Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction:—his mode was first to sentence, then to punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was—"What, you *Carmelite rascal*, do you dare to speak after sentence!"—and then struck him, and ordered him to prison.

'Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmel Street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer, with his hat before his face. Mr Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to

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the earth, kicked him and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.—Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr F. the cause.—Mr F. handed the Major a note written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish; but he (Major Rial) would find in that letter what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.—Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed for the victim—translated in these words—

" Sir, I am extremely sorry, I cannot wait on you at the hour ap-
" pointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Lawrence Parsons.
" Yours, BARON DE CLUES."

' Notwithstanding this translation, which Major Rial read to Mr Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate! the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed, and working through his wounds! Mr Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of the cat-o-nine-tails on that part, without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down, and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark small room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days without medical assistance.' *

The fact most indicative of the state of feeling in the country at that time is, that the actor in this scene of cruelty, than which nothing more disgusting ever passed between slavemasters and slaves, not only obtained a bill of indemnity, a title and a pension, (for these things are conceivable enough), but found defenders in the House of Commons, who justified the general spirit of his proceedings, and who derided any concern at the sufferings of the innocent man. Mr Holmes praised the conduct of the petitioner, and said there was scarcely a man *on whom corporal punishment had been inflicted to extort confession*, who did not acknowledge guilt, and discover wide extended accompliceship in treason. † Mr Ormsby severely censured the honourable member (Mr Yelverton) ' who had endeavoured to excite the feelings and commiseration of the House for *the sore back of a fellow*, who he believed would be found, on inquiry,

* Plowden's Historical Review of the State of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 955. † p. 953.

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to have very well deserved what he got; it was *at least* well known that he had many *bad connexions*, and associated with men of such principles, as fully warranted the suspicion of his own.' (p. 956). It is not difficult to imagine what Mr Ormsby meant. Colonel Bagwell, the member for Tipperary, declared, that not the slightest shade of suspicion attached to the character of Mr Wright, from the result of the investigation at which he was present; and his general character in point of morality, religion and politics, was most unexceptionable. (p. 957). The fact is, the poor man was A CATHOLIC—'a Carmelite scoundrel,' and had necessarily connexions among persons of that religion; and this was enough to induce a small and infuriated and favoured party, who thought their security and the oppression of their fellow-subjects were synonymous, to justify these atrocious proceedings; to esteem it nothing, that an innocent man should be subjected to the worst punishment which human nature could endure; to be cast, lacerated as he was, into a dungeon, to die wretchedly, or still more wretchedly to live. What was the 'sore back' of one Catholic? It was little indeed, in the wholesale distribution of vengeance and crime which took place during that unhappy period.—But every such act of injustice and cruelty snapped asunder the bonds by which Ireland is connected with this country—it alienated the affections of the Irish people—and we can never hope to regain them till we show more sympathy with their sufferings, and cease to rely for safety on the system which has given rise to them.

The instance we have related is one of sheer brutality; it would dignify it too much to call it either torture or punishment; but it shows into what hands the power of administering torture fell. This power, which no wise man has ever wished to possess, which requires temperance and discretion more than human, was often exercised by the most ignorant men, who, with characteristic confidence, pronounced every thing which they did not understand to be a sign of guilt, and who applied torture as a sure remedy for every defect of their industry or sagacity. It was not in the distant counties alone that torture was employed, as Mr Holmes expresses it, 'to extort confession,' or, to use a gentler expression, to obtain information. It was just as frequently used in the metropolis itself. We have here the testimony of Sir Richard Musgrave, to whom, even from the violence of his prejudices, attention is due on such a subject. He is the beau-ideal of a Protestant ascendancy man. He is an enemy to all kind of concession and compromise with the Catholics. He carefully brings together all the acts of atrocity committed by the rebels, but glosses over the excesses of the

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Orangemen in the most 'holiday and lady terms;' and laments that such worthy men and discreet magistrates as Judkin Fitzgerald were not to be found in all parts of the kingdom. In his 'Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland,' Vol. I. p. 264, he gives an account of the apprehension, on the 23d May 1798, of a man of the name of Murphy (by Sir John Macartney and a party of the Attorneys' Corps in Greek Street, Dublin), on whom some pike-heads were found, and of a man named Ryan, between whom and Murphy some connexion was supposed to exist, from the confession of the latter. We shall give Sir Richard's words.

'On examining this man at the guard-house, he said his name was Ryan, and that he was a stone-cutter; but declared that he was perfectly ignorant of Murphy: that he knew nothing of pikes or pike-heads, and that he fled into the churchyard merely to avoid the firing. And Murphy, on being confronted with Ryan, pretended that he was unacquainted with him; but on receiving a few lashes of a cat-and-nine-tails, their recollection being restored, they acknowledged that Murphy was sergeant in a company of united Irishmen,' &c. - - - - '*On the information* of Ryan and Murphy, *they apprehended many united Irishmen*, and seized arms of various descriptions.'

In another part of his work, he incidentally tells the following story.

'It was observable, that for some days previous and subsequent to the intended insurrection, the disaffected tradesmen, among whom the butchers were very conspicuous, would not take bank-notes. Though it had been defeated on the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels were so confident of succeeding in another effort, that fellows were at different times employed in marking the doors of the loyalists, and particularly those of the yeomen. Seven men were detected and seized on the thirtieth of May, in the act of doing so; *and on being whipped* by a party of the Attorney's Corps *in the Old Exchange*, they acknowledged that they belonged to a committee of fifteen employed in that service.' (Vol. I. p. 357.)

At p. 355 of the same volume, he says, speaking generally of the transactions at Dublin—'Information was obtained from some notorious traitors, *by whipping them*, of the extent and malignity of the plot.' At page 281, and 319, Vol. I., he mentions instances of confessions obtained by flogging in other parts of the country. Mr Moore, a gentleman who is a staunch opposer of Parliamentary Reform, and rather indifferent to Catholic emancipation, in a pamphlet in favour of the Union, published when that measure was in agitation, speaks of the torture in Dublin as a matter of notoriety.

'I read,' he says, 'some resolutions in the papers, entered into

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by the gentlemen of that persuasion (Roman Catholic) inhabiting the city of Dublin, stating, that the proposed incorporate union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland is, in fact, an extinction of the liberty of this country. I am very glad they find themselves so free and comfortable. But if I am not misinformed, they felt themselves a little disturbed in the enjoyment of this boasted liberty, when, about eighteen months ago, the stripes of flagellation, and the shrieks of torture, resounded in their ears.' (*Moore's Observations on the Union, &c. 2d edit.* 1800, *p.* 85.)

It was not merely by the application of torture to obtain information, but by summary modes of punishment on persons merely suspected, that the spirit of loyalty was displayed at this time. In April 1798, the North Cork militia appeared in Wexford, and brought the Orange system into that county. Mr Hay, in his History of the Rebellion, there gives the following account of its proceedings.

'It is said that the North Cork militia were also the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers, of pitch-cap torture, into the county of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, (and therefore called a croppy, by which appellation the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen, or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head; and, when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the acclamations of his merciless torturers, and to the view of vast numbers of people who generally crowded about the guard-house door, attracted by the afflicted cries of the tormented. Many of those persecuted in this manner, experienced additional anguish, from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their yells of exultation on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable upon being turned out; for in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the hands of these more than savage barbarians, the blinded victims frequently fell, or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging this pitched cap from the head must be next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots; and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded and blistered as to adhere, and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A sergeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new modes of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair, cut close, and then set a-fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears, were com-

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pletely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practised, without the least reserve, in the open day; and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this strange mode of quieting the people.' *

At this time, it will be remembered, there was a law which enabled magistrates to sentence to transportation persons convicted before them. Mr A. H. Jacob, one of the magistrates, paraded the country in the neighbourhood of Guniscorthy, with the yeomen cavalry, having in their train a regular executioner completely appointed, with his implements, a hanging rope and cat-o-nine-tails. Some of the persons, condemned at the Petty sessions, appealed to the General Quarter sessions at Wexford, held on the 23d of May 1798; and, as Mr Hay says,

—'in the course of the trials on these appeals, in the public courthouse of Wexford, Mr A. H. Jacob appeared as evidence against the prisoners, and publicly avowed the happy discoveries he had made in consequence of inflicting the torture. Many instances of whipping and strangulation he particularly detailed, with a degree of self-approbation and complacency, that clearly demonstrated how highly he was pleased to rate the merits of his own great and loyal services.' p. 72.

Mr Gordon, a Protestant clergyman of the same county, gives an instance of the terror which the infliction of this torture produced.

'On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Denis Macdaniel, came to my house, with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me, that he had taken the United Irishman's oath, and had paid for a pike, with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen pence halfpenny, to one Kilty, a smith, who had administered the oath to him, and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate, and make his confession: but this he positively refused, saying, that he should, in that case, *be lashed, to produce the pike, which he had not*, and to confess what *he knew not*. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising, that, if he should be convicted on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice; but the fear of arrest and lashing had so taken possession of his thoughts, that he could neither eat nor sleep; and on the morning of the 25th, he fell on his

* History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford, A. D. 1798, by Edward Hay, Esq. Member of the Royal Irish Academy p. 57, 58.

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face, *and expired* in a little grove near my house.' *Gordon's History of the Rebellion*, p. 87, 88.

Mr Alexander, also a Protestant inhabitant of Ross, in his account of the Rebellion, p. 28, speaks of a man of the name of Driscol, who had been strangled three times, and flogged four times, during a confinement, on suspicion, because two Catholic prayer-books had been found on him; yet he was finally discharged, as no guilt could be proved to attach to him. In this same county of Wexford, all houses in which arms were found, or of which the owners were absent at night, were burnt; and as the inhabitants often fled from their houses, for fear of the military parties, and of being proceeded against in the new forms of trial which they practised, they had often an opportunity of inflicting this punishment on the contumacious. At Carnew, on the confines of that county and Wicklow, Mr Hay tells us, (p. 76), that, besides burning and torturing in all shapes, twenty-eight prisoners, some of whom were confined on suspicion, were shot, in a ball-alley, by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia; and Major Fitzgerald, an officer, who, by his activity, greatly contributed to the suppression of the rebellion in Wexford, bears testimony to the impartiality and veracity of Mr Hay.

All these atrocities were perpetrated previously to the breaking out of the rebellion in that county; they were not, therefore, acts of retaliation, but made up part of the system acted upon throughout Ireland. Indeed, the magistrates of Wexford fall under the censure of Sir Richard Musgrave, as too backward in the use of the cat-o-nine-tails and the halter. In his praise of 'the spirited and reasonable exertions' of Mr, afterwards Sir Judkin Fitzgerald, he says—'a man of his sagacity and courage would have saved the county of Wexford from desolation and indelible disgrace.' (Vol. II. p. 282.) He then gives a specimen of the ingenuity of a friend of his, a Mr Otway, who, after Sir Judkin, was the most meritorious man in the county of Tipperary, who flogged a man of whom he had suspicion, but not being able to make him confess at that time, tied him up next day, 'when his skin was tender from the preceding whipping;' which proceeding was, according to his account, attended with the happiest effects. Indeed it is evident, as Lord Clare might have proved, that the operation could not fail to be successful, if it was continued long enough. Guilty or innocent, the man must confess—or die;—and, in neither case, could he complain of the infliction. Certainly the system, so far as it was carried, was not successful in the county of Wexford: The inhabitants did not all die with terror like M'Daniel; they

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rose in arms, in numbers which cannot be believed by those who take the ordinary proportion of fighting men to the population; and the result of the half-hanging, and flogging, and burning, was a dreadful massacre of the loyalists.

It was not merely among the inferior magistrates, and the non-commissioned officers that this contempt of legal proceedings was manifested in Ireland. As early as 1795, the Commander-in-Chief, in a progress through some disturbed counties, finding numbers of suspected persons in the prisons, against whom proper evidence could not be procured, having, in concert with some gentlemen, examined them, sent them, by his own authority, aboard a tender, to serve in the Army, without any other form of trial. * Sir Richard Musgrave, as usual, praises the zeal and spirit manifested in this operation. It is only to be lamented, that it was not displayed, in a more unexceptionable form, and within his own province. While such illegal measures were pursued against the people, so remissly was the legitimate authority over the Army exercised, that the humane and gallant ABERCROMBIE, upon succeeding to the command, described it, in his general orders, to be 'in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable—to every one but the enemy.'

It is for the reader to imagine the consequences of this system; the existence of which, writers of all parties have acknowledged, but the effects of which they describe according to the colouring of their prejudices or opinions. Sir Richard Musgrave, and some speakers of the same faction in the Irish House of Commons, would have us believe that the Magistrates and soldiery in Ireland possessed an unerring faculty of judgement; and that, by virtue of the omniscience which they received with their unlimited power, they never tortured any but the guilty, and such of the guilty as would confess. According to them, these men, out of whose mouths all law proceeded, from Lord Clare to Tom the Devil and Sir Judkin, were personifications of temperance and discretion. This licentious soldiery, which Abercrombie thus described, and the command of which he resigned in disgust, who were sent to live at free quarters on the inhabitants in many districts, were guided, we are assured, by the tenderest feelings of benevolence, and had a nice regard to the persons and property of loyal subjects. Luckily we have some facts which enable us to ascertain the meaning of these general eulogies. Sir Judkin Fitzgerald was the mildest of the mild: He was selected, for the peculiar propriety of his conduct, as a fit subject for honour

* Musgrave's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 175.

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and reward. To suppose him selected because he was violent and cruel, would be to cast a reproach upon those who rewarded him, which we would not affix to any set of men. It would suppose that they were lovers of cruelty and violence in the abstract, or that they were utterly indifferent to right or wrong. This loyal Magistrate, worthy of indemnity and pension and honour, when, as we have seen, he had, without a hearing, sentenced a man to death, accompanied by unnecessary pain; dragged to the earth his victim, who was preparing for his dissolution by prayer, kicked him and hacked him with his sword. He could not bear that this innocent man should withdraw for a moment, in the act of his devotion, his eyes from the sight of the instruments of torture, or raise his imagination above the death of pain and disgrace which he believed awaited him. In passing sentence, too, upon the man, he insulted his religion. If, in the history of any country, we find a parallel to such a scene as this, we shall know whether the system itself was mitigated in its effects, by passing through the hands of such men as this Sheriff.

Our countrymen may imagine how often private malice, and political or religious hatred, would creep into the minds of these irresponsible judges or executioners, and how much more often they were blinded by the rage which any disappointment of their expectations excited; how frequently the perseverance of innocence served only to increase the fury of the tormentor; and they will shudder to think, that, in any part of the British dominions, their fellow-subjects have been taught loyalty by such expedients. To suppose that it could have taken place in this island is impossible; and its existence in Ireland can only have been attributed to the existence of such a feeling towards the people as we have before attempted to describe. In no other country does any class exist, which imagines that the laws were made for themselves alone, and that they may violate with impunity the statutes which they invoke against rebels and traitors. In no other country do any men dare avow that they will act according to law as long as it is convenient to them so to do, and no longer. All the defences of the system of torture proceed on the existence of such a feeling. Lord Clare, in his speech which we have quoted, said, 'if rebellion is to be met by the slow operation of the law, there will soon be no law at all;' § and this, too, at a time when he had the power of obtaining any power he demanded of the Legislature, and had an army of 80,000 men to enforce obedience. The rule on which legal proceedings are ordinarily conducted, was inverted. Every

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man was supposed guilty, till he could prove his innocence; and punishment was scattered at random, because there were many chances that it would fall on the enemies of the Government. 'What difference,' asks Sir R. Musgrave, 'is there between the rebellious inhabitants of a parish, and the mutinous crew of a ship?'* As if the Protestants had an inherent right of command over the Catholics, the whole of whom he affects to consider tainted with rebellion. He describes, with exultation, the effect which was at last produced upon them by the terror of Mr Fitzgerald's name in Tipperary. He tells us that he has ordered a congregation round 'a Popish chapel,' to fall on their knees, and that they have complied; and that the members of their associations have come forward at his command; and this, instead of feeling for the degradation of his fellow-subjects, he considers a proper state of discipline, to which Sir Judkin had reduced the mutinous papists.¶ Sir Richard, of course, overlooks the fact, that the crew of a ship enter into a contract with their officers, and know the consequences of a breach of it; but that those who torture, on their part first break the law, and then subject themselves to the consequences of retaliation. Such was the event. During Lord Cambden's vice-royalty, the people became more dissatisfied as the measures adopted towards them became more violent; and they passed through different stages, from a state of tolerable tranquillity, to open insurrection and rebellion.

If we need a condemnation of torture, we may have it from those who at the time took no steps to prevent the practice. They would now fain shuffle off their share of the obloquy. Lord Castlereagh, in the last Session, said, 'that he went along with the honourable gentleman (Mr Bennet) in considering the use of flogging, to extract evidence from men, as most wicked and unjustifiable torture.' *Parl. Debates, Vol. XXXVI. p.* 1421. Yet in April 1798, Lord Castlereagh went into office with the Earl of Clare, who, a short time before, published a justification of torture for the guidance of the Magistrates, whom, by virtue of his office, he had to appoint or dismiss. Lord Clare never retracted his words, or renounced his opinions;‖ he maintained them to his death. During Lord Castlereagh's administration, those instances of torture which Sir R. Musgrave relates, took place in Dublin, under the very eyes, and in the hearing of the Government. During his ad-

* Musgrave's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 480. ¶ Ditto, p. 280.

‖ He reasserted them in the British House of Lords, March 23, 1801.

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ministration, according to Plowden, 'in Beresford's riding-house, Sandys's Prevot, the Old Custom-house, the Royal Exchange, some of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly, notorious exhibitions of these torturings.' ‡ During his administration, Sir Judkin had his indemnity bill; and, if we mistake not, his title and his pension. We know of no speech or document in which, at that day, he reprobated the doctrine of his colleague. Yet even he now condemns torture; and he does not tell us that this is a new opinion.

The enemy of torture in 1798, is a friend of Catholic emancipation now. He hated torture then, but he hated exclusion from office more. He is a friend to the Catholics, but he is more friendly to his Secretaryship. As he went into office with the defender of a practice which he condemned as wicked and unjustifiable, * so he stays in office with Lord Eldon, who says, that the measures proposed in favour of the Catholics, 'go to the very vitals of the constitution of this Protestant country.' (*Lords' Debates, May* 12, 1817).

But though these fellow-ministers do not quarrel about this question, it is sufficiently important to merit all the attention of this nation. There is no time so fit for settling it as the present; and we have the words of all parties, of friends and enemies to emancipation, that until it be finally set at rest, the Empire will never be at peace. We have seen the present system—we know it by its fruits. Shall we pass the sentence of perpetual exclusion on a people growing in numbers and relative wealth, and wait till we are plunged into another war with such a drawback from our power, or till we have tried the fortune of another rebellion? Even at this time, the Government of Ireland deems it necessary to its security, to have a law by which persons absent from their homes in proclaimed districts, between sun-set and sun-rise, may be transported by a

‡ Plowden, Vol. II. p. 695.

* We do not know whether Lord Castlereagh makes the same reservations as Sir R. Musgrave, who says, 'Many severe animadversions have been made on a practice which took place in Ireland a short time previous to and during the rebellion, of whipping persons notoriously disaffected, for the purpose of extorting evidence from them. Whoever considers it abstractedly, must of course condemn it as *obviously repugnant* to the letter *of the law, the benign principles of our constitution, and those of justice and humanity*; BUT I am convinced that such persons as dispassionately consider the *existing circumstances*, &c. will readily admit them to be, if not *an excuse*, at least an ample *extenuation* of that practice.' Vol. II. p. 478.

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bench of magistrates, without jury trial. Are laws like this, and the discontents which give rise to them, the 'substantial blessings' which the people of Ireland are to enjoy for ever?—Shall we madly attempt to render permanent a system which, while it degrades and exasperates the many, is dangerous even to the few; which contains the principle of self-destruction in its cruelty,—'*invidiosum—imbecillum—detestabile—caducum?*' ‡

ART. VII. *Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanscrit of* BRAHMEGUPTA *and* BHASCARA. Translated by HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq. F. R. S. &c. London, Murray, Albemarle Street, 1817.

AMONG the fragments of Eastern science, with which the learning and zeal of our countrymen in India have enriched the literature of the West, none perhaps were ever more deserving of attention than those in the volume just announced, namely, four different treatises, in *Sanscrit Verse*, on the Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, of Hindostan. Two of these, the *Lilavati* and *Vija Ganita*, are the works of BHASCARA ACHARYA; the first on Arithmetic, the second on Algebra. The other two books are still more antient, and were composed by a mathematician of the name of BRAHMEGUPTA. These, like most of the mathematical writings of the Hindus, make parts of systems of astronomy; the first two being the introduction to the *Sidd'hanta Sirómani* of BHASCARA, and the other two forming the twelfth and eighteenth chapters of the *Brahma-Sidd'hánta*, an astronomical work by BRAHMEGUPTA.

Beside these original pieces, the volume contains a dissertation by the translator, full of learned and judicious research, on the early History of Algebra, so far as it can be traced in

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‡ There were frequent allusions made in the debate on Mr Brougham's motion, at the close of last Session, to a trial, in which Judkin Fitzgerald was a party, and defended himself in person, by avowing the practice of torture, and glorying in it: But we have not been able to procure a perusal of the report; and the debate is not fully given in the Parliamentary Register.—For the same reason, we have been prevented from referring to the various affidavits read by different members in that debate; and sworn to by men who had been tortured themselves, and had seen others tortured. One of these is said in the reports to have been first flogged, and then rubbed with gunpowder to make the wounds smart, and then flogged again before the excruciating torment of the rubbing had subsided.

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India, Arabia and Greece. From the ample store of scientific and literary information which he appears to combine in a singular degree, he has also added some notes on a collateral subject, the introduction and progress of Algebra among the Italians; and if this digression be a departure from the rules of strict method, it is one for which, on account of the valuable information it affords, we feel very grateful to the author.

The time when BHASCARA wrote is fixed with great precision, by his own testimony, and by corresponding circumstances, to a date that answers to about the year 1150 of the Christian era. The age of BRAHMEGUPTA is considerably more remote, and his works are extremely rare. The industry and zeal of the translator have, however, put him in possession of a copy of them, in some respects imperfect, but in which the two chapters just quoted are fortunately complete. The age in which he lived, is fixed, with great probability, from a variety of concurring circumstances, and particularly from the position which he assigns, in his Astronomy, to the solstitial points, to the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, and antecedent, therefore, to the first dawn of the sciences in Arabia. At the same time, it is observed, that even BRAHMEGUPTA's treatise is not by any means the earliest work known to have been written in India on the subject of Algebra. GANESA, the most eminent of the scholiasts of BHASCARA, quotes a passage from ARYA-BHATTA on the subject of Algebra, containing the very refined artifice for the solution of indeterminate problems, which is known in Sanscrit by the name of *Cuttaca*. ARYA-BHATTA is indeed regarded by the Indians as the most antient uninspired writer on the science of Astronomy; and, by a variety of arguments, which Mr COLEBROOKE's intimate acquaintance with the literature and the history of that country has furnished, he makes it appear, that this algebraist wrote as far back as the fifth century of the Christian era, and perhaps in an earlier age. Hence it follows, that he is nearly as antient as the Grecian algebraist DIOPHANTUS, supposed, on the authority of ABULFARAJ, to have flourished in the time of the Emperor JULIAN, or about the year 360 P. C. Mr COLEBROOKE goes on to remark, that, admitting the Hindu and Alexandrian authors to be nearly equally antient, it must be conceded, in favour of the former, that he was the more advanced in the science, since he appears to have been in possession of the resolution of equations involving several unknown quantities, which it is not clear, nor fairly presumable, that DIOPHANTUS knew; and also of a general method of resolving

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indeterminate problems of at least the first degree, to the knowledge of which it is certain that the Greek algebraist had not attained.

Mr Colebrooke seems willing to stop here, without carrying back the origin of the Algebra of the Hindus to a more remote period. We must observe, however, that though no precise, or even traditionary knowledge, concerning that science, can be carried to a more remote age, it is impossible to doubt of its having existed long before, and having passed by many steps to the condition it had then attained. It is very generally acknowledged, that Diophantus cannot have been himself the inventor of all the rules and methods which he delivers. Much less is Aryabhatta to be held the sole inventor of a system that was still more perfect than that of Diophantus. Indeed, before an author could think of embodying a treatise of Algebra in the heart of a system of Astronomy, and turning the researches of the one science to the purposes of the other, both must be in such a state of advancement, as the lapse of several ages, and many repeated efforts of invention, were required to produce.

The genuineness of the text from which these translations are made, is established with the greatest certainty by numerous commentaries in Sanscrit, besides a Persian version. These commentaries comprise a perpetual gloss, in which every passage of the original is noticed and interpreted. A careful collation of several of them, with three copies of the original work, has been made by the learned translator: The differences are mentioned in the notes, and appear to be of little importance. The series of commentators or scholiasts who have illustrated these four works by their annotations, goes back to a considerable distance, and comes down to a period much later than the common opinions or prejudices concerning Hindu literature would incline us to believe. Mr Colebrooke tells us, that the oldest commentary of an ascertained date that has come into his hands, appears, from an astronomical computation which it contains, to have been written about the year 1420 of our era. The next to this, in antiquity and importance, is dated in 1460, 1463 *Saca*; that is, A. D. 1538, 1541. Ganesa, a distinguished astronomer, is the author of a commentary on the *Sidd'hanta Siromani*, of which the *Lilavati* is a part; and his work bears a date that corresponds to A. D. 1545. It comprises a copious exposition of the text, with demonstrations of the rules, and has been used, Mr Colebrooke tells us, throughout the translation, as the best interpreter of the original. A commentary on the *Vija Ganita*, bearing the date of 1602, contains a full exposition of the sense, with complete demonstrations

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of the rules, much in the manner of GANESA; and there is a scholiast of a still later date, who appears to have flourished about the year 1621. If, therefore, it be true, that the Hindus of the present time understand nothing of their scientific books, the decline of knowledge among them must have been very rapid, as it is plain that, at the distance of less than two centuries from the present time, the light of science was shining in India with considerable lustre.

The correctness of the text has not only been ascertained by a comparison with the different commentaries just mentioned, but has since been further verified, as far as respects the *Lilavati*, by a circumstance unknown even to the translator. Another translation of the Lilavati, made by DR TAYLOR of Bombay, was printed there in the course of last year; and several copies of it arrived in Europe just about the time when MR COLEBROOKE'S translation was published; and its agreement with this last, is a proof of the accuracy of both. The only difference is in the language, and in the subdivisions of the work; but in what is most material, the rules and the examples, there is no variation of any amount. The translations of DR TAYLOR seems the more literal; that of MR COLEBROOKE more paraphrastic, so far as one ignorant of the original may presume to judge. The former has accompanied his translation with notes from the Indian commentators, and with many very useful observations of his own, in which he sometimes gives the investigations in the language of European Algebra. His translation appears to have been presented to the Literary Society at Calcutta in 1815, and to have been printed by the order, and at the expense of the Society. ‡

Mr Colebrooke proceeds to make a comparison between the Grecian, Hindu, and Arabian Algebras, as they existed at the earliest periods to which they can now be traced; and, for this, his knowledge both of the history and the principles of the mathematical sciences, render him fully qualified. Here the Notation, or Algorithm, as it is called, is the first thing to be taken notice of. The Hindu algebraists use for their symbols abbreviations and initials of words: they distinguish negative quantities by a dot set over the letter or letters that denote the quantity; but they have no mark for a positive quantity, except the absence of the negative sign. They have no symbol

‡ It is entitled *Lilawati*, or a Treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry, by BHASCARA ACHARYA. Translated from the original Sanscrit by JOHN TAYLOR M.D. of the Honourable East India Company's Bombay medical establishment. Printed at Bombay, 1816.

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that expresses addition, * nor any that either signifies equality, or the relation of greater and less. A product of two quantities is denoted by the initial syllable of the word *multiplication* subjoined to those quantities, or sometimes by a dot interposed between them. A fraction is denoted by placing the divisor under the dividend, but without a line of separation. The two sides of an equation are ordered in the same manner, one under another; and thus it is by position, and not by a particular character, that equality is expressed; but as this method of arranging quantities is also used for other purposes, the context is necessary to enable us to determine exactly the import of the algebraic expression. The symbols of unknown quantity are not confined to a single one, but extend to any number; and the characters used are the initial syllables of the names of colours, excepting the first, which is expressed by the initials of the word *yavat-tavat*, (how much, or as much as), synonymous with *tanto*, as used for the same purpose by BOMBELLI and some of the early algebraists of Italy. We ventured, in our analysis of Mr STRACHEY's extracts from the *Bija Ganita*, † to offer what seemed an explanation of this singular use of the names of the colours; referring it to the state in which algebra may have employed palpable symbols, or counters, to denote the quantities that were to be subjected to computation. Characters also are here employed, not only for unknown, but for variable quantities, of which the value may be arbitrarily assumed; and in demonstrations, for both given and sought quantities. Initials of the terms *square* and *solid*, denote the 2d and 3d powers respectively; and are combined, not according to their sums, but according to their products, to indicate the higher powers. An initial syllable or letter is in like manner used to denote the root.

The terms of a compound quantity are written in a line, ordered according to the powers of one of the letters; and the absolute number always comes last, being distinguished by the initial syllable *ru*, the mark of a known quantity. Numeral coefficients are employed, including unity, and comprehending fractions, and are always written after the symbol of the unknown quantity; the dot which denotes *minus* being put over

* In our review of Mr Strachey's extracts from the Bija or Vija Ganita, we made the mistake of saying that the Hindu algebra contained an expression of addition and of equality. The fact is as above stated.

† Edinburgh Review, July 1813.

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the coefficient, and not over the literal part of the term. In stating an equation, the usual practice is to repeat every term which occurs on the one side, on the other also; setting down 0 for the coefficient of those that are in reality wanting. So, if it were required to state, according to the Hindu notation, that five times the cube of the quantity sought, diminished by three times its square, and augmented by four times the quantity itself, is equal to 90, or that $5x^3 - 3x^2 + 4x = 90$, it might be done thus;

yagh 5 *yav* 3 *ya* 4 *ru* 0
yagh 0 *yav* 0 *ya* 0 *ru* 90. ‖

This algorithm is sufficiently distinct and precise, but it is prolix; and, though imperfect compared with ours in Europe, is greatly superior to those of DIOPHANTUS, and of the Arabians. It has abundant resources for the mere expression of quantities; but is deficient in the means of denoting the operations to be performed on them.

Mr COLEBROOKE observes,

'The notation which has just been described, is essentially different from that of Diophantus, as well as from that of the Arabian algebraists, and their early disciples in Europe. Diophantus employs the inverted medial of ἔλλειψις, defect or want, (opposed to ὑπαρξις, substance or abundance), to indicate a negative quantity; and prefixes the mark ↑ to such quantities. He calls the unknown quantity ἀριθμος, representing it by the final ς, which he doubles for the plural. The Arabians, again, apply the term *number* to the constant or given term; and the Hindus, on the other hand, apply the numerical character to the coefficient. Diophantus denotes unity, or the Monad, by μ^{o}, and marks the powers by their initials; thus, δ^{υ} is power simply, or the square; κ^{υ} is the cube; $\delta\delta^{\upsilon}$ is the biquadrate; $\delta\kappa^{\upsilon}$ the 5th power, &c.

'The Arabian algebraists are almost entirely destitute of symbols. They have no marks, either arbitrary or abbreviated, for quantities known or unknown, positive or negative, or for the steps of an algebraic process, but express every thing by words at full length.'

Their European scholars introduced a few abbreviations, such as *p* and *m* for *plus* and *minus*; c^{o}, c^{e}, c^{u} for the three first powers, &c.; from which, in time, has been produced the present language of algebra, the most perfect instrument of thought which has yet been contrived.

But we must take a nearer view of the Hindu treatises themselves.

The *Lilavati*, the first of them, treats of Arithmetic; and con-

‖ *g h* denotes the cube.

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tains not only the common rules of that science (there reckoned eight), but the application of those rules to a variety of questions on interest, barter, mixtures, combinations and permutations, the sums of progressions, indeterminate problems; and, lastly, the mensuration of surfaces and solids. All this is done in verse; and the language, even when it is the most technical, seems often to be highly figurative. The question is usually propounded with enigmatical conciseness; the rule for the computation is next given, in terms somewhat less obscure; but it is not till the example which comes in the third place has been studied, that all ambiguity is removed. No demonstration nor reasoning, either analytical or synthetical, is subjoined; but, on examination, the rules are not only found to be exact, but to be nearly as simple as they can be made, even in the present state of analytical investigation. * The numerical results are readily deduced; and, if we compare them with the earliest specimens of calculation that have come to us even from Greece itself, the advantages of the decimal notation, and the algorithm arising from it, will be placed in a striking light.

But the peculiar character of the book, and of the Oriental style which often unites so ill with the severity of arithmetical computation, will be best understood by a few extracts from the work itself. It begins thus;

'Having bowed to the Deity, whose head is like an elephant's, whose feet are adored by gods; who, when called to mind, restores his votaries from embarrassment, and bestows happiness on his worshippers; I propound this easy process of computation, delightful by its elegance, perspicuous with words concise, soft and correct, and pleasant to the learned.'

From this lofty and pious exordium, the author immediately descends to the common business of calculation, and enters on the explanation of such terms as are naturally placed at the beginning of a book of practical arithmetic, viz. the names of numbers, tables of coins, weights, measures, &c. In the table of measures, we remark the same attempt to fix on a natural standard of linear extent that was antiently made in our own country. Eight breadths of a barley-corn are said to make a finger or an inch; and it is added, in the commentary of Ga-

* Though we have said that the *Lilavati* contains no demonstrations, this is true only of the text. The commentators, in their annotations, have supplied this defect in many instances; and their corrections and amendments are to be found in the notes with which this translation is accompanied.

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NESA, that the length of three grains of rice is held to be equal to the breadth of eight grains of barley. Much refinement, indeed, was not necessary to perceive the value of a standard which the highest improvements both in art and in science have been found necessary to construct. The definitions are given in form of an introduction, and are followed by an invocation, 'Salutation to GANESA, resplendent as a blue and spotless lotus, and delighting in the tremulous motion of the dark serpent which is continually twining within his throat.' The rules of arithmetic are then delivered in verse, and addressed to *Lilavati*, a young and charming female, who appears to be receiving the instructions of the author, and to whom the examples of the rules are usually proposed, as questions to be resolved. After the elementary * operations have been taught, the author proceeds to things less common. A section, consisting of several articles, is devoted to the subject *Cipher*, or the character which denotes *Nothing*, and to the effect of it when it enters into an arithmetical computation as a multiplier or a divisor. We meet here with a remark that is not very old even among the mathematicians of Europe. The text says, a definite quantity, divided by cipher, is a fraction having the definite quantity for the numerator and cipher for the denominator. This, however, is nothing but an identical proposition. The commentator GANESA gives the true answer, viz. that the said fraction or quotient is an infinite quantity; and the reason is also very rightly assigned, that while the numerator of a fraction remains constant, and the denominator diminishes, the quotient increases; and therefore cipher being in the utmost degree small, the quotient, when cipher becomes the denominator, must be in the utmost degree great, that is to say, *infinite*. This reasoning is perfectly sound; but involves in it ideas so considerably refined, that the conclusion from it was not recognised by the algebraists of modern Europe, till the new analysis had made them familiar with the notions of variable quantity,—of the law of continuity, and of infinity, as an extreme case of both.

In the beginning of a new chapter, the third, an operation is treated of, which is called *Inversion*; and nothing can be more unlike the scientific language of Europe, than the terms in which this rule is delivered.

'To investigate a quantity, one being given, make the divisor a multiplier and the multiplier a divisor; the square a root, and the

* The rules explained as elementary are, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, squaring of numbers, cubing of numbers, extraction of the square root, extraction of the cube root.

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root a square: turn the negative into positive and the positive into negative. If a quantity was diminished by its own proportional part, let the denominator, being increased or diminished by its numerator, become the denominator, and the numerator remain unchanged, and then proceed with the other operations of inversion, as above directed.'

From all that is here said, one can hardly guess either at what is required, or what is directed to be done. We learn something more precise, however, from the question that the instructor proposes to his fair pupil.

'Pretty girl with tremulous eyes, if thou know the correct method of *inversion*, tell me what is the number which, multiplied by 3, and added to three quarters of the product, and divided by 7, and reduced by subtraction of a third part of the quotient, and then multiplied into itself, and having 52 subtracted from the product, and the square root of the remainder extracted, and 8 added, and the sum divided by 10, yields 2?'

The numerical statement is next given, but not with much precision; and it is added, that, by applying the rule, 28 will be found to be the number sought. This is true; and if we put the question into an equation, according to the preceding enunciation, we will find a pure quadratic, from which the number sought comes out equal to 28; the steps of the calculation being nearly the same that are enjoined in the preceding rule. *

The next section relates to what is called *Supposition*, and is in fact the same with our rule of False Position. A number is assumed at pleasure, and is treated as specified in the question proposed, so that a numerical result is obtained; then the given number in the question being multiplied by the assumed number, and divided by the result before mentioned, yields the number sought. This is exactly our rule. In a note subjoined to Dr Taylor's translation from one of the commentators on the *Lilavati*, it appears that they were aware, that when the question involved the square, or any higher power of the unknown

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* If x be the unknown quantity, then $3x + \frac{3.3x}{4} = \frac{21x}{4}$; and this divided by 7, is $\frac{3x}{4}$. Now, $\frac{3x}{4} - \frac{x}{4} = \frac{x}{2}$. The square of this last, *minus* 52, is $\frac{x^2}{4} - 52$; and therefore $\frac{\left(\frac{x^2}{4} - 52\right)^{\frac{1}{2}} + 8}{10} = 2$, or $\left(\frac{x^2}{4} - 52\right)^{\frac{1}{2}} = 12$. Whence $\frac{x^2}{4} - 52 = 144$, $\frac{x^2}{4} = 196$, $\frac{x}{2} = 14$, and $x = 28$.

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quantity, this method of assumption could not be applied. The following question is resolved in this way.

'Out of a swarm of bees one-fifth part settled on a blossom of *Cadamba*, and one third on a flower of the *Silind'hri*; three times the difference of these numbers flew to the bloom of the *Cutaja*: one bee which remained hovered about in the air, allured by the fragrance of the *Jasmin* and *Pandanus*;—Tell me, charming woman, the number of bees?'

The lady is supposed to assume 30 for the number of bees; and the value of the absolute number deduced from that supposition is 2. Had the supposition been right, the result would have been 1; therefore, $\frac{30 \times 1}{2}$, or 15, is the true number.

This question reminds us, that though the abstractions of one mathematician may very much resemble those of another, they acquire a wonderful diversity of form when embodied in the material substances most familiar to the imagination of their authors. A question concerning a number, of which the 3d and the 5th part, added to three times the difference of those parts, and to 1, may be equal to the number itself, might occur to two arithmeticians of any age or of any country; but the circumstances of the bees, the blossoms of the Cadamba, the Silind'hri, and the Cutaja, were likely to come into the mind only of an inhabitant of India.

After this, the rule of proportion is treated of at considerable length, and applied to questions of interest, barter, mixture, &c. nearly in the same manner as with us. The author seems fully sensible of the value of the doctrine he delivers under this head; and considers every problem that can be resolved by multiplication and division alone, as belonging to the Rule of Three. He introduces his remark with that mixture of poetry and metaphysicks that belongs so much to the Oriental genius.

'As the Being, who relieves the minds of his worshippers from suffering, and who is the sole cause of the production of this universe, pervades the whole, and does so with his various manifestations, as worlds, paradises, mountains, rivers, gods, dæmons, men, trees, and cities, so is all this collection of instructions for computation pervaded by the rule of Three Terms.'—'Whatever is computed, either in algebra or in arithmetic, may be comprehended by the sagacious learned as belonging to this rule.' p. 111.

Under the head of *Combinations*, we find rules given that are almost exactly the same with those which we employ, and deduce from the coefficients of the Binomial theorem. Thus, a palace being supposed to have eight sides, and a door in each side, it is required to tell how many ways the palace may be open-

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ed, taking the doors one and one, two and two, three and three, &c. The rule is exactly the same that we use, setting down the numbers in their natural order, beginning with 8, and placing under them the same progression in the reverse order, thus, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, and
again, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Then $\frac{8}{1}$, or 8, is the number of ways of opening one door only; $\frac{8 \times 7}{1 \times 2} = 28$, is the number of ways in which the doors may be opened by twos; $28 \times \frac{6}{3} = 56$, is that in which they may be opened by threes; $56 \times \frac{5}{4}$, that in which they may be opened by fours, &c.; the total number of changes, or the sum of all these numbers, being 246. This problem seems to be well known in India; it was mentioned long ago by Mr Burrows, who did not fail to remark the very curious coincidence between the Indian and the European process of calculation.

But in the midst of these curious results, there is a subject of regret that almost continually presents itself. When such rules are laid down as the preceding, they are usually given without any analysis whatever, and even without any synthetic demonstration, so that the means by which the knowledge was obtained, remains quite unknown. Analysis is indeed not to be looked for in the *Lilavati*, which professes only to be a body of arithmetical precepts and examples. But, even in the *Vija Ganita*, where the analytical investigation of unknown quantities is the object proposed, the rules which are most general, and most difficult to be discovered, are accompanied with no analysis. In consequence of this, a mystery still hangs over the mathematical knowledge of the East; and it is much to be feared that the means of removing it no longer exist.

All these observations are exemplified in the *Cuttaca*, or, as it is here translated the *Pulveriser*, a process which makes a great figure both in the Algebra and Arithmetic of the Hindu Astronomers. It is a general rule for the resolution of indeterminate Problems of the first degree; and by its universal application, and the simple and easy calculus to which it leads, very well merits all the eulogies which the Indian Algebraists are inclined to bestow on it. It will be regarded as no small confirmation of those eulogies, to observe, that a method of the same extent and import was not known in Europe till it was published by *Bachet de Meziriac* about the year 1624, and that the pro-

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cess for resolving those problems given by BHASCARA and BRAHMEGUPTA, are virtually the same that is explained in EULER's Algebra, Vol. II. chap. 1st. But we must explain the rule and the Sanscrit name, which, it seems, is literally translated by the word Pulveriser, a term that we might expect to find in mechanicks, but hardly in such sciences as Arithmetic and Algebra. The verb *cutt*, in Sanscrit, we are informed, signifies to grind or pulverise, also to multiply; all verbs importing tendency to destruction, also signifying multiplication. This is stated on the authority of GANESA; and indeed the thing sought for by the rule of the pulveriser, is a multiplier having the property, that, when it multiplies a certain given number, and when another given number is added to the product, the sum may be divisible by a number which is also given. Thus, if the question be to find x, so that $\frac{17x+5}{15}$ may be an integer, the number x is the pulveriser; or the method by which x is found is called pulveriser; for we confess that we are not certain which of the two is the fact. This rule is treated of by BHASCARA both in the Lilavati and the Vija Ganita, and by the more ancient author BRAHMEGUPTA, in a distinct treatise; and in all these the *pulveriser* is found nearly in the same way. The computation is easy; though it requires consideration to apply the general rule, which, in the text, is given with too much conciseness and too little precision. We have not room to enter on it here; but must recommend to those who would make themselves masters of it, to look into the notes in Dr Taylor's translation, p. 114, 115, where the whole process of calculation is distinctly explained and exemplified.

This species of indeterminate problems appears to have been particularly interesting to the astronomers of the East, from its connexion with those cycles, or periodic revolutions, by which they endeavoured to represent the motions of the heavenly bodies. Their application to such cycles often leads to unexpected results, of which DR TAYLOR has given an example, page 132, *note*.

"Suppose that in a certain unknown period of years, a planet has performed a certain number of revolutions, with a certain number of signs, degrees, minutes, seconds, all unknown, with 10-13th parts of a second over and above. From the fraction $\frac{10}{13}$, all the rest may be found; that is, the number of revolutions, the signs, degrees, &c. As $\frac{10}{13}$ is a fraction of a second, therefore $60x - 10$ is divisible by

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13, or $\frac{60x-10}{13}$ is a whole number; hence x' is found $= 11$, and the seconds, or $\frac{60x-10}{13} = 50''$. Therefore, again $\frac{60x'-11}{13}$ is a whole number, and equal to the minutes passed over; which are thus found to be 13, and x' to be 3. Proceeding in the same way, the whole number of degrees is found $= 9$, and the fraction of a sign $\frac{4}{13}$. Hence the number of signs is 8, and lastly, of revolutions, 1; so that the whole collected together is 1 Rev. 8^s. 9°. 13′. 50″. $\frac{10}{13}$."

The possibility of ascending in this manner to all the quotients in succession, is by no means obvious. The Indian astronomers seem to have been particularly pleased with the subtlety of the investigation.

On the subject of Indeterminate Problems, we must remark, that the Indian algebraists had gone much further than this, and had resolved those of the 2d degree, or such as are properly called Diophantine, where the question is how to render a certain quantity rational, either in fractions or in integers. Diophantus resolved this problem in certain cases, or with certain restrictions in the *data* of the problem, beyond which his solutions did not extend. After the revival of science in Europe, the same class of problems became an object of attention with some of the first mathematicians of the 17th century. Among these, the most distinguished were Brounker, Fermat and Wallis, who extended their investigations far beyond those of the Greek Mathematician, though still subject to great limitations; and it is not a little remarkable that we find, as Mr Colebrooke has observed, that one of the solutions of this Problem given by Bhascara (Vija Ganita 380, 81) is exactly the same that Lord Brounker devised to answer a question proposed as a kind of challenge by Fermat in 1657. This is a fact which we think cannot be controverted, and one that we strongly recommend to the attention of those mathematicians who see nothing commendable or original in the science of the East. This is not all. Bhascara's solution just referred to, is not general, but restricted to certain cases, as every solution of the same problem was in Europe before the publication of an Essay on that subject by La Grange, in the Berlin Memoirs for 1767. Even Euler, with a genius so powerful and inventive as hardly to be paralleled in the history of mathematical science, though he had treated this question with great success, yet had not been able to remove all limitation. Now, a solution that appears quite general, is given in the most antient of the treatises un-

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der consideration, that of BRAHMEGUPTA, the last in the volume. Mr Colebrooke considers it as quite general: we have not had the leisure necessary for assuring ourselves that it is without all exception, and subject to no other limitations but such as are fixed by the nature of things, not the imperfection of our knowledge. We rely, however, with perfect confidence on the judgment of the very learned and intelligent person just named. The solution then of a very difficult problem given by an Indian Algebraist, more than 1200 years ago, is such as can vie with those of two of the mathematicians the most distinguished for genius and invention which Europe could boast of ever having seen, at the end of the eighteenth century. There are inquiries where chance and accident have great influence, and where a man of very inferior genius and knowledge may make great discoveries. But the subject we are treating of here, is not of that number; it is one where no one *finds*, who does not know how to *search*; and where there is no reward but for intense thought, and patient inquiry.

The remark, however, that was made before, in speaking of Cuttaca, is applicable here, and tends, if possible, to make the origin of all this more obscure. There is no investigation that accompanies the rule of BRAHMEGUPTA; so that we know not whether the discovery was the fruit of a regular analysis, or of an extensive induction from particular instances. We are inclined to the latter opinion, though it is by no means without difficulty.

The subject last mentioned, that of indeterminate problems, is common to the *Lilavati* and *Vija Ganita*, and is also found in one of the treatises of BRAHMEGUPTA. We have now to consider the *Vija Ganita* more particularly. It is natural to expect, in an algebraic work, more information than can be found in one that is merely a collection of arithmetical precepts and examples, without any analysis or investigation. It is indeed true, as already remarked, that the great and distinguishing process of the Cuttaca or Pulveriser, and the solution of indeterminate equations of the second degree, are not accompanied with an analysis in any of the treatises. Many other of the solutions, however, are, in the *Vija Ganita*, treated analytically or algebraically. That work, indeed, professes to be analytical, and to be purposely directed to the investigation of *unknown quantities*.

'Since the arithmetic of *apparent* (known) quantity which has already been propounded, is founded on that of *unapparent* (unknown) quantity, and since questions to be solved can hardly be understood by any, and not at all by such as have dull apprehensions, without the

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application of *unapparent* quantity, therefore I now propound the operations of analysis.'

It is evident, from this beginning, that the author had a very correct notion of the effect of the symbolical language he was going to explain. The employment of a symbol to denote unknown quantity, he evidently considers as the circumstance that distinguishes algebra from arithmetic; and the effect of using such a symbol he conceives to be, that those relations of quantity, which the most clear understandings can hardly comprehend, and which ordinary understandings cannot comprehend at all when viewed abstractly, are rendered the objects of clear and satisfactory discussion, when indicated by sensible representations. It is impossible to take a juster view of the ends answered by algebraic notation.

We have already explained the language or notation of this algebra; and remarked, how much it excelled that of Diophantus, and of the Arabians. The distinction of positive and negative quantity which forces itself on the calculator, whenever he would subject any thing of which he does not know the magnitude to arithmetical operations, is accordingly laid down with great distinctness. *Kina* or *estraya* is *minus*, literally *Debt* or *Loss*. *D'hana* or *swa* is *plus*, and signifies literally Wealth or Property. The reason why a negative quantity, multiplied by a negative quantity, gives a positive product, is very well assigned; and, in treating the subject of negative quantity, CUSHNA BHATTA, one of the commentators of the *Vija Ganita*, takes a juster and more enlarged view of the subject than any algebraist in Europe would have done before the time of Descartes.

'Negation is contrariety, and is of three kinds, as to place, time, and things. When a segment of a line is negative, it is in a contrary direction. As the west is the contrary of east, and the south of north; so, of east and west, if one be taken as positive, the other is relatively negative. When motion to the east is assumed to be positive, if a planet's motion be westward, the number of degrees which measures the planet's motion is negative.' &c.

The commentator goes on to illustrate positive and negative as to time in the same manner; and, lastly, as to things, or as profit and loss. In laying down the elementary operations that follow, every one must be struck with the skill and precision shown in the arithmetic of surds, the extraction of roots from compound surds, &c.

After the rule of the Cuttaca or Pulveriser, to which we have already adverted, has been explained, the author proceeds, in the fifth chapter, to treat of the Solution of Quadratic Equations; and here the contrivance of completing the square, and

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extracting the root, is laid down and illustrated by a variety of examples. The arrangement followed in these books, it may be observed, is nowhere very systematic; so that easy and elementary processes often follow after those that are more refined and more difficult. The solution of indeterminate problems is more difficult than of determinate; and, in our treatises of algebra, always comes after. It is not so in the Hindu algebra; and, though no great inconvenience arises from this inversion, it is not so conformable to the natural progress of the mind in the acquisition of knowledge.

In some cases the cube is completed, where it can be done, by the addition or subtraction of a given quantity. Thus at § 137, a number is required, which, being multiplied by 12, and added to the cube of the number, shall be equal to six times the square added to 35. This question gives the equation $12x + x^3 = 6x^2 + 35$, or $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x = 35$. The terms to the left of the sign of equality become a perfect cube by subtracting 8 from them. If, therefore, 8 be taken from both sides, $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x - 8 = 27$, or $(x-2)^3 = 3^3$, so that $x = 5$.

In another instance, the method of reduction is less obvious. The equation derived from the problem is $x^4 - 2x^2 - 400x = 9499$. If $4x^2 + 400x + 1$, be added to both sides, $x^4 + 2x^2 + 1 = 4x^2 + 400x + 10000$, where both sides are perfect squares; and therefore $x^2 + 1 = 2(x + 50)$, or $x^2 - 2x + 1 = 100$, so that $x = 11$. Such contrivances are not reducible to a general rule; and the author therefore observes, that the application of the method in these cases must be left to the sagacity of the intelligent analyst.

In some of the questions which follow, we find both the roots of the quadratic equation employed; for the Hindu algebraists were perfectly aware that a square has always two roots, and that a negative quantity has no square root that can be assigned. Thus at § 139, this question is proposed; 'The eighth part of a troop of monkeys, squared, was skipping in a grove delighted with their sport; while twelve were seen on the side of the hill, amused with chattering to one another.' Here the number of monkeys is the *yávat-tavat*, or the unknown quantity; and writing the equation that arises from the question in the language of the Indian analysis,

$$ya\ va\ \frac{1}{64} \quad ya\ 0 \quad ru\ 12$$

$$ya\ va\ 0 \quad ya\ 1 \quad ru\ 0$$

reducing, completing the square, and extracting the root,

$$ya\ 1 \quad ru\ 32$$

$$ya\ 0 \quad ru\ 16.$$

Therefore *yávat-tavat*, or the number of monkeys, is equal either to 16 or 48. It appears from

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this and other examples, that the two roots are only taken when both come out affirmative numbers. One of the commentators of the *Vija Ganita* lays down this maxim, 'When the root of the absolute side is less than the known number on the other side, that number being negative, making the absolute root positive and negative, the value comes out twofold.'

With this imperfect sketch we must terminate our account of the Algebra of these extraordinary books. We have still to advert to the geometrical knowledge contained in them, which, though far less considerable than the algebraic, is yet such as to deserve attention. We are already acquainted with some of the propositions of which it consists. The Hindu demonstration of the celebrated theorem concerning the squares of the sides of a right-angled triangle, proceeding by the construction of a particular diagram, distinguished by the name of the *Bridal Chair*, has been long since brought from India, and is given by Dr Hutton in his Tracts.

This proposition, indeed, which is the main foundation of the application of arithmetic and algebra to the measurement of the sides and angles of geometrical figures, could not but interest greatly mathematicians who chiefly cultivated the two former sciences. Many of their indeterminate problems, resolved by the methods already mentioned, were suggested by this property of the right-angled triangle, and had it for their object to express the three sides of such a triangle in rational numbers, and in integers. Beside this proposition, we meet with several other properties of triangles, and of quadrilaterals. The demonstrations of these are but seldom given, though both geometrical demonstration and algebraic analysis appear to have been occasionally applied. The Sanscrit employs distinct terms for denoting geometrical and algebraic demonstration. (p. 59, *note.*)

The proposition, that twice the product of two quantities, added to the square of their difference, is equal to the sum of their squares, is a theorem of which they made frequent use in their inquiries about the right-angled triangle. We meet with several other propositions of the same kind concerning the section of lines, such as, that the product of the sum of two lines into their difference, is equal to the difference of their squares, &c.

It is to the commentators chiefly, and particularly to Ganesa, that we are indebted for the demonstrations of these, and most of the other theorems that occur. These demonstrations, however, are often obscure, from the want of reference to a figure; for, though the figure be constructed on the margin, there is no reference to it by letters, so that every line, and every

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magnitude treated of in the demonstration, is described in words. The simple artifice of putting letters at the angular points of a figure, and referring to the parts of it by that means, seems never to have been adopted by the Hindu Geometers. The diagram on the margin has sometimes numbers placed along the lines, which are supposed to measure their length; and these are frequently referred to: But the obscurity is not always removed by that device.

We have sometimes great reason to admire the algebraic solution of geometrical questions. Thus, § 157, it is proposed having given the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle, and the sum of the sides, to determine the sides; and the solution that is given by the rule at § 156, is in reality the simplest of which the problem admits; and to arrive at it, the analysis (at least as we conduct it) must be instituted, not in the most obvious way, but according to one that, without considerable skill and experience, will not readily be resorted to.

This property of triangles, that the product of the sum and difference of the sides is equal to the product of the sum and difference of the segments into which the base is divided by the perpendicular, is found in the Lilavati, § 163, and also § 22, in the more antient work of BRAHMEGUPTA; but, at neither place, is it accompanied by any demonstration. The proposition is demonstrated and applied in our books of trigonometry. It was not, to the best of our recollection, a proposition in the antient geometry, though easily enough deducible from the Properties of the Circle in the Third Book of EUCLID.

One of the most remarkable properties of triangles is that which expresses the area in terms of the three sides. It is thus given by BRAHMEGUPTA, § 21.

'From half the sum of the sides of a triangle, subtract each side severally; multiply the three remainders into one another and into the half sum; extract the square root of the product, and it is the area of the triangle.'

This proposition is also found in the Lilavati, where most of the geometry is copied from BRAHMEGUPTA. One of the commentators on the Lilavati attempts a demonstration of it; but his reasoning is very obscure. The proposition is, in reality, of no inconsiderable difficulty; and we confess that we did not expect to find it in the Geometry of Hindostan. We believe that it was unknown to the Greek geometers, and was, if we mistake not, first published by CLAVIUS.

Further, with respect to this theorem, we must observe, that it is extended by BRAHMEGUPTA to quadrilaterals, which is an error, except the quadrilateral can be inscribed in a circle; in

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which case, the product of the four remainders, obtained as above, is the square of the area. BHASCARA, in the Lilavati, remarks the error of BRAHMEGUPTA, taking notice, very justly, that the four sides of a quadrilateral do not determine its area. He does not, however, take notice of the case where the quadrilateral is subjected to the condition of being inscribable in a circle, and in which case the sides do determine the area.

There is a like inattention to the due limitations of two other theorems concerning quadrilaterals. It is stated very rightly by BRAHMEGUPTA, § 27 (p. 299), that the product of the two sides of a triangle, divided by twice the perpendicular (on the third side), is equal to the radius of the circle described about the triangle. This proposition is true of triangles; but the Hindu geometer applies it also to quadrilateral figures, without taking notice, that all such figures are not capable of being inscribed in circles. When they are, the proposition is applicable to them also; and is, that the rectangle under two contiguous sides of the quadrilateral, divided by twice the perpendicular on the diagonal that joins those sides, is equal to the radius of the circle described about the quadrilateral. This indeed is the same with the former proposition.

Another theorem, by no means very easy to be demonstrated, is enunciated as true of all quadrilaterals; though, like the former, it holds only of those that can be inscribed in a circle. It is, that the sum of the products of the opposite sides of the quadrilateral is equal to the product of the diagonals. This proposition is remarkable, as having been demonstrated by PTOLEMY in his *Syntaxis*, and made the foundation of the construction of his Trigonometrical Tables. The rule for constructing the Indian Table of Sines, as MR DAVIS has given it in the Asiatic Researches, may have been deduced from the same theorem. However that be, it is certain that the knowledge of this and the propositions formerly mentioned, argues a very extensive knowledge of elementary geometry, and such as is by no means easily acquired. Unfortunately, we have not the original demonstrations.

To this we must add, that these Geometers knew the theorems from which the area of the circle is computed, and also the superficies and solidity of the cone and sphere. That the area of a circle is equal to the rectangle under the radius, and half the circumference of the circle, is demonstrated in a very ingenious and palpable manner, not altogether according to the rigour of the Greek geometry, but abundantly satisfactory to those who are pleased with an argument when it is sound, though it be not

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dressed exactly in the *costume* of science. The circle is supposed to be divided into two semicircles; and the circumference of each of these semicircles to be divided into a great number of equal parts. From the points of division in one of the semicircles, straight lines are then drawn to the centre, so as to cut the area into as many equal parts as there are divisions in the semicircumference. Then that semicircumference being straightened, or drawn out into a straight line, the triangular spaces into which the area is divided, will stand out from the circumference in the shape of small isosceles triangles, the whole figure resembling the teeth of a saw. The other semicircle, treated in the same manner, will afford the same result; and, if the two be made to approach, so that the one set of teeth shall fall into the intervals of the other, they will form a rectangular area, of which the length is the semicircumference, and the breadth the radius of the circle. Therefore, the areas of the two semicircles, or the whole area of the circle, is equal to a rectangle of which the length is half the circumference, and the breadth the radius. There is something very ingenious and simple in this reasoning, and such as might be readily admitted in a system of geometrical demonstration that was not very refined, or very scrupulous about introducing mechanical considerations.

The way of demonstrating that the superficies of the sphere is equal to four great circles of the sphere, is not pointed out. That the solidity is equal to the superficies multiplied into a third part of the radius, is derived from supposing the sphere to be made up of a great number of small pyramids, having their bases in the superficies, and their common vertex in the centre of the sphere. Such, we doubt not, has been, in all countries, the aspect under which this truth first appeared, and the original form in which it entered the mind of ARCHIMEDES as well as of BRAHMEGUPTA.

Among many subjects of wonder which the study of these ancient fragments cannot fail to suggest, it is not one of the least, that algebra has existed in India, and has been diligently cultivated, for more than twelve hundred years, without any signal improvement, or the addition of any material discovery. The works of the ancient teachers of science have been commented on, elucidated, and explained, with skill and learning; but no new methods have been invented, nor any new principle introduced. The methods of resolving indeterminate problems, that constitute the highest merit of their analytical science, were known to BRAHMEGUPTA, hardly less accurately than to BHASCARA;

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and they appear to have been understood even by Arya Bhatta, more ancient, by several centuries, than either. A long series of Scholiasts display, in their annotations, great acuteness, intelligence, and judgment; but they never pass far beyond the line drawn by their predecessors, which probably seemed, even to those learned and intelligent men, as the barrier within which the science was for ever to be confined. In India, indeed, every thing seems equally immoveable; and truth and error are equally assured of permanence in the situations they have once occupied. The politics, the laws, the religion, the science, the manners, seem all nearly the same, at this moment, as at the remotest period to which history extends. Is it because the power which brought about a certain degree of civilization, and advanced science to a certain height, has either ceased to act, or has met with such a resistance as it is barely able to balance, but not sufficient to overcome? Or, is it because the discoveries which the Hindus are in possession of, are an inheritance from some more inventive and more ancient people, of whom no memorial remains, but some of their attainments in science?

Whatever opinion be adopted on these points, we are persuaded, that the light in which the analytical science of the East has been placed by the researches of Mr COLEBROOKE, must materially affect the conclusions to be formed concerning the originality and antiquity of the astronomy of those countries. On this subject, opinion seems at present to be considerably divided. When the Astronomical Tables of India first became known in Europe, the extraordinary light which they appeared to cast on the history and antiquity of the East made everywhere a great impression; and men engaged with eagerness in a study, promising that mixture of historical and scientific research, which is, of all others, the most attractive. The ardour with which they entered on this pursuit, the novelty of the objects, and the surprise excited, may have led them further, in some instances, than the nature of the evidence, when scrupulously examined, authorized them to proceed. Among those who were perhaps in a certain degree under the influence of such fascination, was the illustrious Historian of Astronomy, whom his talents, his virtues, and his misfortunes, have all combined to immortalize. BAILLY, who, in his Inquiries into the Origin of Astronomy in the West, had constantly found himself stopped, and unable to proceed, on account of the impenetrable obscurity that involves the antiquities of that quarter of the world, was willing to indulge a hope, that the light which seemed now rising in the East, was to dispel the obscurity he had so often complained of, and to discover the secrets contained in the antient history of

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the most ancient of the sciences. He therefore entered with great ardour on the study of the Eastern astronomy; on the exposition of its principles, and on the examination and defence of its accuracy; displaying, in all this, the usual resources of his ingenuity, his knowledge, and his eloquence.

A more minute examination, however, instituted by our countrymen on the spot, led them to doubt of the pretensions to high antiquity that they found in the Astronomical Books of the Hindus, and enabled them to detect errors into which the French astronomer had been betrayed, sometimes from the want of local knowledge, oftener from too much confidence in his informers, and occasionally, no doubt, from that spirit of system from which the men of greatest ardour and genius find it most difficult to defend themselves. The tide of opinion now began to set the contrary way; the recentness, and the inaccuracy of the Indian tables, were maintained no less keenly, and by much more objectionable reasonings than their antiquity and correctness had formerly been.

Among those who have lately taken up this argument, one of the most learned and skilful astronomers in Europe, M. DELAMBRE, is particularly distinguished. In a work just published, ‡ he has made an elaborate attack on the facts, the reasonings, and the calculations of the *Astronomie Orientale*, and has treated the author with a severity and harshness to which, from a brother academician, the memory of BAILLY should hardly have been exposed. His main argument is drawn from this fact, that the *Data* are nowhere quoted, from which the Indian tables were computed, and that there is no record, nor even any tradition of regular astronomical observations having been made by the Hindus. The truth of this assertion, as far as our present information goes, cannot be denied, and is certainly not very easy to be reconciled with the supposition that the Indian astronomy is as original and as antient as it pretends to be. Yet, as to the originality, there is still something to be said; and it has the more weight, from the originality of the Indian Algebra being rendered so very evident by the facts that we have been considering. This analysis, from all the light that history affords, could not be derived from Greece; * at least it can have received from thence

‡ Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, Tom. I. p. 400, &c.

* Mr COLEBROOKE, after demonstrating the excellence of this algebra, and comparing its more perfect algorithm and its superior advancement with the Greek algebra, as explained in the work of Diophantus, seems nevertheless willing to admit, that some commu-

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none of the most improved and refined methods which it contains. In the earliest stage in which we discover it, it was already in possession of very high attainments, such as were not exceeded till very late in the history of European discovery. India itself, in the lapse of more than a thousand years, has added but very little to the perfection of this analysis. From whom then did that analysis derive its origin? If it be not an indigenous production of India, nothing remains but to conclude, agreeably to what we suggested, when much more imperfectly informed concerning the history of the Indian science, that what we now see is a fragment, or a derivation from a system that is lost—the remains of a light once more widely diffused, at the period when the Sanscrit was a *living* language, or when some parent language, still more ancient, sent forth those roots which have struck with more or less firmness into the dialects of so many and such remote nations, both of the East and of the West. † If this conclusion, to which we are almost unavoidably led, be admitted, it will serve to explain the history of the Eastern Astronomy and its existence, as a wreck which has survived the memory of its authors—of those who made the observations on which it is founded, and supplied perhaps by diligence and length of time, the imperfection of the instruments they employed.

Those who, like DELAMBRE, are disposed to think lightly of the Indian Algebra and Arithmetic, will not admit the probability of this result. That mathematician, however, when he treated this subject, knew only the *Lilavati*; and probably, after seeing the *Vija Ganita*, and the treatises of BRAHMEGUPTA in Mr COLEBROOKE's translation, he will think of the matter somewhat differently, and will acknowledge, that India possesses a large portion of mathematical science, which it has neither derived from Arabia nor Greece.

We cannot conclude these remarks, without again adverting

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nication about the time of the last mentioned author, may have come from Greece to India, on the subject of the Algebraic Analysis. Of this we are inclined to doubt; for this simple reason, that the Greeks had nothing to give on that subject which it was worth the while of the Indians to receive. Mr COLEBROOKE seems inclined to this concession, by the strength of a philological argument, of the force of which we are perhaps not sufficiently sensible. It seems however certain, that the facts in the history of Algebraic Analysis, taken by themselves, give no countenance to the supposition.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 376.

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to the great obligations under which Mr COLEBROOKE has laid the learned and scientific world by this translation, and the dissertations which accompany it. The translation, indeed, must itself be considered as a work of singular difficulty, being not only made from one language into another, so perfectly dissimilar in its genius and structure, but from scientific treatises written in verse, and attempting, therefore, to combine the two applications of speech the most distant from one another, and the most impossible to be united, without involving both in obscurity almost impenetrable. These difficulties have been most completely overcome, and no obscurity left, but such as is essential to the genius and style of Oriental science.

We are sure that, in the praise we now bestow, we are only anticipating a judgment which will be soon more emphatically pronounced. We would, at the same time, remind Mr COLEBROOKE, and others of our countrymen, who, like Dr TAYLOR, are in possession of the double key that can alone unlock the repositories of Eastern science, that though they have done much, there is something still that remains to be accomplished, and that a translation of the Suryah Sidd'hanta, or other of the astronomical works of the Hindus, would complete the series of valuable gifts which they have already presented to the learned world.

ART. VIII. *A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, in the Year* 1817. 8vo. pp. 223. London, Ridgeway, 1817.

THIS work is understood to be the production of Sir Robert Wilson; and as it contains very serious charges against the ministers of England, for their ignorance and improvidence in the management of her most important affairs, the first step taken by the adherents of the Treasury, upon its appearance, was to blacken the character of its supposed author, by every species of malignant abuse. He, whose former publications respecting Buonaparte, and the campaigns in Egypt and Poland, had made him the idol of those base creatures,—who had been exalted by their mercenary adoration far above his merit, eminent as it was,—no sooner became the witness and the historian of the misconduct of their employers,—no sooner found himself compelled to detail *unpleasing* truths, than all their venal throats were at once strained to revile and degrade him. Morning and evening, for weeks, the ministe-

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rial press poured forth the most atrocious calumnies against his reputation, trusting for safety to that contempt which publick men perhaps carry too far, especially those who maintain the right of unfettered discussion, and which, not being imitated by statesmen of another description, has almost given the friends of absolute power a monopoly of slander, and placed the characters of the community at the mercy of the Government, through the agency of its emissaries. By this attack upon the gallant general, two purposes were aimed at;—the destruction of a powerful adversary,—or, what was next thing to it, a justification for whatever might be done to crush him in his military career,—and such an injury to his character as might destroy the weight of his testimony against the misconduct of the ministers. In the mean time, the men whose agents disseminated the slanders, lurked secure in the back ground, ready to disavow all that was done, as soon as it might be exposed; and equally ready to profit by the effects which unhappily even the foulest slander scarcely ever fails to produce for a season. How strikingly does this passage in the history of our military affairs display the advantages which the Army derives from being administered by an Illustrious Personage, removed far above the grosser atmosphere of ministerial intrigue and cabal!

For our own parts, we have frequently had occasion to speak of Sir Robert Wilson; and, even when we felt obliged to express most strongly our dissent from his opinions, and indeed our disapprobation of some of his proceedings, * we were always ready to acknowledge his excellent qualities; to applaud his chivalrous zeal, and truly soldierlike frankness, and to join in the praises of that heroism—activity—skill—and fertility of resources, which all Europe has witnessed and admired, and which have obtained for him the fame of the most eminent partisan of the day. His merits, as an author, we were equally disposed to admit, with the large allowances which an author brought up in camps has always a right to expect. The opinion which we then entertained of him has not been materially changed, except in so far as time has given him new opportunities of increasing his fame, and of attracting admiration, by the singular generosity of his conduct in a peculiarly interesting and difficult situation. In consequence, however, of the tor-

* We allude to his publishing the statements respecting Buonaparte, at a time when he could not disclose the grounds of them.—Unexpected events have since proved that many of those statements were correct.

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rents of abuse to which he has lately been exposed, we shall preface our account of his work, now before us, with some notice of the testimonies borne to his military character by the very highest authorities.

Since the campaigns in Egypt and Poland, when we last had occasion to make mention of him, he has served in the Peninsular war, and in the memorable campaigns in Russia, Germany, and Italy, which led to the overthrow of Buonaparte's dynasty. To the extraordinary promptitude and success with which he raised and disciplined the Lusitanian legion, all the civil and military authorities in Portugal have borne ample testimony. The formation of this corps, and its gallant exploits under his command in Spain, laid the foundation of the important measure of arming the Portuguese, to which so much of the success in the war is justly ascribed. Of his movements with it in the field, the best account may be found in the intercepted despatches of the French commanders, who complain of its meeting them wherever they marched, and always speak of it as much more numerous than it ever was. But we pass on to the Russian campaign. By the documents which were given in evidence at his trial for the affair of Lavalette's escape, it is evident that no man in the British army ever acquired higher renown, among the warriors of all nations, than this truly gallant officer. Lord Cathcart, our embassador with the Emperor Alexander, describes him, in his despatches in November 1812, as having been in every action, 'and having seen every remarkable occurrence.' And in November 1813, he again says, that 'it has been the 'constant practice of the Major-General, (Sir Robert Wilson), 'throughout this and the last campaign, to accompany every 'attack of consequence that has taken place within his reach.'— 'On this occasion (adds his Lordship) he was with one of the 'storming parties; and in adverting to this circumstance, it is 'but justice to this officer to state, that the zeal, activity, and 'intrepidity which he has displayed on every occasion, have 'conciliated for him the esteem of all officers of every rank and 'nation who have been witnesses of them, and have certainly 'done great credit to his Majesty's service.' In a subsequent letter, his Lordship acknowledges the signal services rendered by Sir Robert in a political capacity; and ascribes, if we rightly understand the letter of January 1813, the failure of the negociations with the enemy in a great measure to his interposition. The following is the account given by Sir Charles (now Lord) Stewart, in his despatch to Lord Castlereagh, of the manner in which the Emperor Alexander expressed his approbation of Sir R. Wilson's services in presence of the Allied

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Army. 'I rode out in the suite of his Imperial Majesty, who 'went along the line, and was received with enthusiasm by the 'soldiers. The Emperor took a favourable moment, when he 'was surrounded by his General and Staff Officers in the front 'of the troops, to call Sir Robert Wilson to him, and to address to him a most flattering speech, in which his Imperial 'Majesty stated, that he appreciated his services, gallantry and 'zeal throughout the whole war as they deserved; that, in testimony of which, he had determined to confer on him the third 'class of the Order of St George, and that he was desirous of 'doing it in the most gratifying manner. He then directed 'General Angerauffsky to take his cross from his neck, and he 'delivered it to Sir Robert Wilson.' Lord Stewart then expresses, with the honesty of a brave soldier, 'the pride he felt at 'seeing a companion in arms thus decorated in front of the 'Allied Army.' The Emperor, in a letter written with his own hand, some months afterwards, referred to this occasion, in these words—'When I decorated you in the face of the army 'with the badge of St George, I did justice to the indefatigable 'zeal which, during the whole of the Campaign has constantly 'attached you to the advanced guards—to the brilliant valour 'and devotion of which I have been an eyewitness at the battle 'of Bautzen; and, finally, to the many other proofs of intrepidity, attested by all the brave warriors of the combined 'army.'—Similar testimonies to his distinguished merit were borne by the King of Prussia and Emperor of Austria. The former Monarch, beside conferring upon him his Order of the Red Eagle, granted the Cross of his Military Order of Merit to the Officers whom he recommended. The latter gave him the Grand Cross of Maria Teresa, an order of the highest distinction, and which has been kept invariably pure, being confined to cases of the most unquestionable services. Those services were indeed acknowledged by all the ministers and commanders in the campaign, and especially by the Prince Metternich and by Prince Schwartzenberg, who repeatedly expressed to the English Ambassador 'the obligations he lay under to Sir R. 'Wilson for the signal assistance rendered on many occasions, 'but most particularly at Leipsick, when he was so much in'debted to him for his able disposition of the Austrian cavalry, 'and his whole conduct on that day.'

It might have been thought, that the English Ministry would have seen the propriety of appointing this distinguished officer to a situation which might have retained him near the persons of those warriors whose confidence he had so fully gained, and those Monarchs whose favour he had won, not by the arts of court in-

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trigue, but by the most brilliant services in the field, performed under their own eyes. One ignorant of cabinet mysteries might even have imagined that the obvious advantage of the King's service would have recommended such a choice, should all considerations of justice be neglected. But *Dis aliter visum:* One of those divinities had a relative, whom it was deemed more fitting to place about the Allied Sovereigns during the remaining part of their progress towards the French capital. The regrets of their Majesties and their armies at Sir Robert's departure, were expressed in the warmest terms; and the Emperor Alexander conferred on him the first class of the order of St Anne, —while he assured him, that both he and his army 'could never 'cease to remember his courage and indefatigable exertions, to 'regret his absence, and to wish for his return.' Being sent to Italy, as military resident, instead of sharing in the triumphal entry into Paris, his conduct continued to excite the admiration and gratitude of the armies with whom he acted; and we only abstain from adducing further testimonials of his services, because we feel confident, that, after those already given, it would be superfluous to proceed with the subject.

During all this brilliant career of service, Sir Robert Wilson had been, if not applauded as he merited by his own Government, at least passed over without reproach. It is true that he received no marks of distinction at home; and that, while covered with orders from all the foreign Sovereigns who had been the eyewitnesses of his exploits, he never once received a simple knighthood from the dispensers of honours in his own country. But no attempts were yet made to vilify and degrade him; for although he had given some offence upon several occasions, by speaking unpalatable truths, and particularly by reprobating the practice of military flogging; yet it seemed as if such sins were covered by the grateful remembrance of his invective against Buonaparte. He had spoken what he deemed the truth of that personage, while in the fulness of his power and glory; but he refused to continue the abuse of him when he seemed fallen, and no longer an object of dread. Having fought against Philip, he probably thought he had a right to rail at him too. We never questioned this; we only denied that he took the proper method of bringing his charges forward. But that he did well in ceasing to pursue an adversary no longer formidable, every one must admit, except those who would have been the first to crouch before him had his fortunes unhappily prevailed over our's. With this class, Sir Robert Wilson soon incurred a still worse disgrace. He had seen so much of foreign courts—of the treatment of the

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people in countries subjected to the operations of political barter —of the anxiety with which all classes of men in those states looked to England for relief—of the miserable effects produced upon their welfare and our own reputation, by our deserting them;—that he generously gave vent to the sentiments which he had conceived in favour of popular rights—urged the expediency as well as virtue of publick faith—and even lamented that England should lend her aid abroad to crush all the principles of free government, which she used, in her better days, to cherish at home. This, to be sure, was altogether intolerable. A general officer doubting the sacred doctrines of legitimacy!—A soldier presuming to hold opinions hostile to the cause of arbitrary power!—No wonder that the whole pack of Treasury minions opened upon him full cry, and that he was hunted down by the underlings of underlings, as if a butt of sack, or 250*l. more salary*, in money, depended upon the chase. The generous gallantry of his conduct in Lavallette's affair—the sufferings to which it exposed him—the noble defence which he made for it, exalted his character and that of the English nation * in the eyes of all Europe, and threw such an illusion over the whole transaction, that the strictest political moralist might be excused for shutting his eyes to the unquestionable impropriety of some of its features. But the ministerial tools only redoubled their zeal after this remarkable event: And when they at length found him exposing the failures of the Government in its foreign policy, and tracing them to their source—the incapacity of its members; aware of the effects likely to be produced by this exposure, to lower his authority with the publick, they made him the standing object of unceasing falsehood and scurrility. Justice towards him, and the importance of ascertaining the character of a witness, before we listen to his testimony, led us into the details which have now been concluded. We shall now call the attention of the reader more particularly to the work before us, upon the literary merits of which, it is our duty to give a deliberate opinion, beside examining its statements and opinions; and this judgment, we venture to affirm,

* Whether from the peculiar nature of the case itself, from the unpopularity of the French and English Governments, or from the singularly captivating defence which they made, it is a most unquestionable fact, that the feelings of mankind have gone along with the cause of Messrs Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson, throughout the whole affair, and blinded them to several of the circumstances connected with it; nor can it be denied, that it is uniformly cited all over the Continent, as most honourable to the English character.

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will neither be swayed by the brilliant reputation of the author in his professional capacity, nor by the still more powerful influence which the calumnies of his adversaries are calculated to exert in his favour, upon all generous minds.

It is impossible not to regret that Sir Robert Wilson should have confined himself to a discussion of certain political and military questions, in the course of which he introduces, only incidentally, some of the information he possesses respecting the latter part of the war. Many other authors could have written better dissertations; perhaps no man alive was better calculated to give such an interesting account of the campaigns in which he bore so conspicuous a part. Other military historians, in modern times, have seen only small and detached portions of the operations which they described, with the exception of Frederick II., who wrote, with the strongest bias a man could have, on one side. Sir Robert Wilson may be said to have witnessed, in every stage of their progress, all the great events of the two most memorable campaigns recorded in history. He was present in the political as well as military part of the scene; he was in the confidence of those who planned—and he fought with those who executed; he was not stationary with a corps, or an army, or attached to one only of the Belligerent Powers, whose armed myriads covered all Europe as a vast field of battle;—wherever the combat raged, there he was found; his post was where most was doing in that immense chain of combined operations, the least of which would, in other times, have given renown to both its actors and historians. Nothing could have been more interesting than the simple narrative of such a partisan: And when we reflect on the striking representation which he gave, in his former work, of scenes far less important, we cannot avoid regretting that the tract before us is not of a more historical cast. We took leave, in describing that book, to point out the narrative as by far its most valuable portion: The remark applies with equal justice to this publication; and, unfortunately, the part most to be prized occupies a much smaller space. To this unlucky error in the plan, we shall not easily be reconciled, unless the author will allow us to indulge the hope of seeing him come forward in his own proper person, and give the world his detailed statement of what he saw. Men may form various opinions of his reasonings; but all must agree in desiring to read his Sketches of the Russian and German Campaigns; nor will any, but those who have reason to be ashamed of their conduct, dislike the addition of as much as he knows with certainty, of the political operations connected with those events.

The book must, however, be taken as it is; and we are by

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no means insensible to its value. The object which the author has in view is to throw out a number of statements and remarks, illustrative of the preponderance which recent events have given to Russia; and the entire neglect in our policy of all precautions against her further encroachments. There is nothing very distinct or systematick in the manner of bringing forward these illustrations; and the want of clearness in the arrangement, is frequently aggravated by the defects of a style neither simple nor perspicuous. The advice which we formerly gave Sir Robert on this head, has been very little attended to; indeed, some of the faults then complained of have been increased, by the usual carelessness of anonymous writing. It may seem indecorous to censure him by name for the composition of a pamphlet, published perhaps on the spur of the occasion, and not formally avowed by him: But having ventured to raise the veil of his *incognito*, that we might offer him the applause demanded by his actions, we cannot in justice suffer it to drop again, without expressing our opinion upon his writings.

The method pursued by the author, in order to illustrate the effective strength of Russia, and her actual preponderance on the Continent, is next to be considered. He does not give us a statistical dissertation upon the resources of that vast empire, or an argumentative discussion of what she is capable of performing; but he begins at once with a pretty full commentary upon the history of her military policy; and shows, *what* she has already performed, *how* she has accomplished her purposes, and *why* she has been prevented, at different times, from doing even more. We think this, on the whole, a very wise course of inquiry; because it meets the great objection which used formerly to be urged against those who contended for the preponderance of Russia, that she was strong only for defence, and never could move her numerous population to such distances as to make her formidable to the rest of Europe. We shall not advert to the rapid survey which he takes of the Russian history before the succession of Alexander. It may suffice to say, that, since the reign of Peter the Great, she has been constantly at war in some quarter of the world, and has never made peace without adding to her dominions.

The character of the present Emperor is sketched with a very impartial hand; but it presents to our view qualities eminently fitted for the administration of affairs. We shall only observe, that his temperate habits and indefatigable activity, directed unceasingly to one object—the improvement of his country, had materially changed the aspect which his great empire offered to the rest of Europe before the commencement of the late war. His

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principal objects were—the increase of his navy, as far as the want of sea-coast and harbours permitted—and the improvement of his army, to the progress of which nature seems to have scarcely set any limits. Buonaparte, according to his usual policy, (a policy by which ill formed coalitions must always be discomfited in ordinary circumstances, unless where the enemy meets first with the most powerful of the allies), attacked Prussia before the Russians could come up to their assistance, and in a few days dispersed an army of 240,000 men. Alexander was hasting to their assistance with 120,000. The resistance which they opposed to the French in the following winter, is well known; and the author considers the battle of Eylau as having fixed, in Buonaparte's mind, the highest opinion of the military capacity of Russia; that is, of the excellence of her soldiery, provided the military administration were improved. This campaign, although unfavourable to her, inasmuch as she was compelled to make peace, gave Russia an accession of territory in Poland, and the important addition of Finland, by an act of perfidy quite equal to the worst of Buonaparte's measures, or of those which his enemies and imitators have undertaken since his overthrow. But Alexander profited still more by the experience which he acquired; and peace gave him an opportunity, of which he was resolved to avail himself, for removing the principal defects in his military system. In the subsequent war between France and Austria, he acted as the auxiliary of Buonaparte, into whose arms he had been driven by our attack upon Copenhagen; and the price which he received for his cooperation, was the greater part of Austrian Poland, which, though he has now relinquished it for other considerations, he commands by his position as if it were a province of his own. The following is Sir Robert Wilson's sketch of the fruits which Alexder had derived from his unremitting care to improve his resources, previously to the French invasion of his dominions. It contains, likewise, his opinion of the motives which dictated that invasion.

'Napoleon, who had expected and hoped that the Turkish war would have exhausted the treasure and military resources of Russia, or at all events have prevented the growth of her disposable force, saw with astonishment and apprehension the result of Alexander's administrative measures.

'In three years Russia had lost, of her Moldavian armies, by climate rather than by the sword, *thirty-six* generals, and an *hundred and twenty thousand* men. Still an army of *sixty thousand* strong, better equipped, organized and disciplined, than Russia ever before had, and which equalled, perhaps *exceeded*, in general composition,

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any army in Europe, was stationed on the line of the Danube, and occasionally blockaded the Turkish army in Schumla (at the foot of the Balkan mountains) the rampart of Constantinople—a rampart, which a general like Napoleon would long since have prostrated by his genius and kindling spirit of enterprise.

'The Persian war had consumed annually from *ten* to *twenty thousand* men; but every year improved the Russian lines of communication, and gradually weakened the Persian frontier.

'Instead of one feeble army to guard the Niemen, *one hundred and eighty* thousand men were formed in three lines, to repel any attack, and *another* considerable body of troops was stationed in Finland. All the *arsenals* were full of stores—*fifteen hundred* pieces of cannon were in the field—*recruits* were training in every province—and a *militia* was instituted through the whole empire.

'Napoleon, who had never forgotten the battle of Eylau, and the martial qualities of a Russian army, saw the time was come when Russia was either to assume that attitude which was the object of *his* ambition, a settlement in Europe, which, from the *strategical* properties of her position and numerous population, assured her the command of the continent,—or that she was to be dislodged, broken, repelled, and reduced, until she became again little more than an Asiatic power. He selected that moment to commence his operation, because he feared Russia might prevail on the Turks to make peace, and that England would acquire more influence from her good offices on that occasion; perhaps, also, he had *good reason* to suspect, that the character of the protracted war in Spain was reviving the hostile feelings of unwilling allies, and connecting them in alliances of reciprocal resistance and support.

'In opposition to the advice of many of his best officers and statesmen, he refused to send *eighty thousand* more men to complete the conquest of the Peninsula, and disgust the English nation with continental wars, by a failure of hopes so highly excited, and so expensively supported. He always replied, that it was most judicious to leave the English army engaged in a country remote from one, where, in his view, they might more efficaciously contribute to the prejudice of his interests.

'At the head of a *confederate* army of above *four hundred thousand* men, Napoleon accused Alexander of a violation of treaties, and demanded their renewal.' p. 19—22.

It must be added, that our author admits Buonaparte to have overcome all the obstacles which were believed to be most insurmountable, notwithstanding the unexpected peace between Russia and Turkey, and the still more improbable event of Bernadotte declaring against him. The sudden and unlooked-for liberation of the two Russian armies destined to act in Moldavia and Finland, was not sufficient to impede his march; and, had he rested satisfied with occupying the line of the Dwina

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and Nniester, reestablishing Poland, and prosecuting his further operations next season, Sir Robert seems to consider his success as inevitable. The advance to Moscow he ascribes to the vanity of 'commemorating the glory of his conquest;' and he maintains, that even this movement 'could have been attended with no disaster, or even inconvenience, if political speculations had not induced a continuance in that capital beyond twenty days.' His remarks upon the conduct of both parties, during the retreat—so fatal to France, and so auspicious for the rest of mankind, had its consequences been improved for their happiness, upon the principles which ostensibly guided the allies,—are extremely important; and especially when we compare them with the evidence afforded in his former work, of the misconduct of all the departments in the Russian army. For although he now, as before, notices many very signal errors as having been committed, yet they are chiefly imputable to one or two officers of high distinction, and do not pervade the whole system; while the French themselves appear, upon several occasions, to have committed almost equal oversights. Nothing can more clearly evince the improvement of the Emperor's military establishment, than the comparison of the following observations with those of the same intelligent witness on the campaigns of 1806 and 1807.

'Never was there any campaign, in modern history, where each adversary had such frequent opportunities to obtain *certain victory*, and assure *total destruction* to the attacked, without any risk, and scarcely any loss to the aggressor.

'Fluctuation of councils, at the instant of operation, caused the evacuation of the expensive entrenched camp of Driessa, &c., and the relinquishment of the extensive country between the Niemen and Dnieper, or Boristhenes, almost without a conflict.

'After the battles of Smolensk (in which the Poles greatly distinguished themselves by their daring lodgment in the suburbs), and the *voluntary* evacuation of that city, on which the enemy had not made the *slightest* impression to *oblige* the surrender, nor any movement which *necessitated* the retreat of the supporting army, the Russian force, embarrassed in a cross road with *six hundred* pieces of cannon and the passage of a river, had not been able to gain the Moscow high road, and deploy out of a narrow defile, in which it was moving with difficulty, when a part of the French army, having already crossed the river, approached that point or outlet of the pass which alone permitted the debouchement of the Russian column. The Duke of Abrantes (Junot) paused, when within half a mile; afforded time to the Russians to bring up some scattered detachments to the point of danger, who maintained the position in spite of all succeeding efforts;

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and thus lost, as Napoleon truly said, " the most propitious moment of his (the Duke's, and, it may be added, of Napoleon's) life."

' At Borodino, as at Waterloo, lines were opposed to lines, man to man, and the appeal was made to each individual soldier's courage. The issue depended upon the exertion of power rather than the delicacy of manœuvre or the caprices of fortune; the example of the chiefs, the charge, the storm, the repulse, and the stand, were the only tactics; the cross fire of cannon the only operations of strategy. But after a retreat, necessitated by the loss of the battery which commanded the whole left and part of the centre of the position; after the capture of Moscow, accompanied with transactions and events of the deepest interest, of which the world is still ignorant, when for *twelve* days the Russian army was revolving round the smoking ruins of their capital, to regain the Kaluga road, disconnected in line of march, embarrassed with every possible incumbrance, and checked by every species of impediment: In this situation, the columns presented a *flank* to the concentrated French army, and offered them an infallible victory.' p. 25—28.

After mentioning another error of the same description on the part of the French, he turns to the mistakes of the Russians.

' On the other hand, at the battle of Tarrutina, prior to that of Marioslawitz, where Murat (as he stated in his report, under the presumption of a tacit suspension of hostilities) allowed himself to be surprised, not a man of his army could have escaped, if the operations under General Beningsen, who had pierced *five* points of his line of communication, had been supported *actively* by the *sixty thousand* men, moving in parade order, within cannon shot.

' At Weismar, where, for a long day, Mileradowitch, with *one* corps, encountered and finally obtained considerable success over *three* corps of the French army, whilst the main Russian army was *bivouaqued* within hearing even of the fire of the small arms, and not distant four hours' march for infantry—the French army might have been ruined.

' At Krasnow, where the Russian army, *one hundred and ten thousand* strong, was posted, with a powerful cavalry and artillery, drawn up in battle array, and remained quiet spectators of the French army filing along its front for twenty-four hours, until almost the rear of its rear guard was retiring—the war might have been terminated.

' Beningsen, Strogonoff, and Gallitzin, indeed, when they did commence the attack, did so because they would no longer abstain from the assault of a position, which had never been occupied but by an army without *cavalry* that could leave the road—an army without a *gun* that could be drawn, except with the aid of men, up the slightest ascent—and with an *infantry*, which, from want of ammunition, was unable to engage in a protracted combat; whose *limbs* were already *half frozen*, and whom *famine* had reduced so as to excite the expressive indignation of a Cossack—" Is it not a shame to see those skeletons walking away from their graves?"

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'At this memorable Krasnow, where, on the third day, Ney fought a combat which, from the fury of the attack, and the intrepidity of the defence, might be called "the combat of heroes"—from which field the same Marshall withdrew his gallant remnant, traversing an unknown country, passing the Boristhenes, and rejoining Napoleon, *notwithstanding the whole Russian army had been halted, and posted to resist his column and intercept his retreat*—a judicious disposition, without relinquishing the pursuit of Napoleon's army, would have rendered the capture of the *whole* corps inevitable.

'At the Berezina—where Napoleon, reinforced by Oudinot, found only a corps of *eighteen thousand* men under Tchichagow to guard a river line of *thirty* miles, until Wittgenstien arrived to contribute to the disasters which ensued, and join in an unremitting pursuit; where Tchichagow presented a force by *disobeying* instructions to proceed on Ingumen, under the conviction that Napoleon was moving in that direction; where *not one* soldier, of the grand Russian army arrived until *two days* after the passage had been effected; here again, as on former occasions, if proper use had been made of the advantages which superiority of the *total* force, positions, nature, the state of the enemy, and *the zeal and courage* of the Russian officers and soldiers offered, and which in many instances, fortunately for the honour of their arms, could not be restrained, not a *solitary* individual of the whole French army could have escaped.' p. 29—32.

Now, there are here many mistakes recorded, but not, as before, all on the side of the Russians; and they are not errors of the same gross description. In the campaign of 1807, their officers really showed the ignorance of barbarians, and the military administration of the army could hardly be said to have an existence. Before the battle of Friedland, no such thing had ever been seen in that service as dressing a wounded man upon the field; and on that day, 'it was remarked by an officer 'of high rank and most humane character, that a cannon ball 'was the best doctor for men without limbs.'—(*Sir R. Wilson's former work, p.* 53). There seems to have been nothing like a Commissariat at all in those campaigns; for, 'though Eylau 'was only twenty miles from Konigsberg, and had long been 'selected as the field of battle, and although it was notorious 'that the army would arrive there without food, not a loaf of 'bread was on the ground; so that they were starving and fighting from the 7th to the 9th; and the General and his Staff 'could get nothing to eat from the evening before till midnight 'after the battle, when they procured a bowl of potatoes.' (*Ibid. p.* 52.) The soldiers, too, he tells us, after a march, had to pass the night in prowling about to dig for the buried food of the peasantry, and thus had scarcely time to lie down, without shelter or covering except their rags. (*Ibid. p.* 94.) Nor will any one who

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reads the account of their military operations in that book, hesitate in admitting the accuracy of the remark, by which we endeavoured to describe their merits—'We always find the Russians on the worst, the French on the best ground;—the former exposed from head to foot, perhaps firing at random against an unseen enemy, confined in their movements, and not protected by either land or water,—the latter protected by the natural redoubts of wood and ground, or flanked by marshes and lakes and rivers.' (*Vol. XVIII. p.* 254). In the campaign of which we are now speaking, there are manifest symptoms of the Russians profiting by their defeats; and but for this improvement, the extraordinary accidents that attended the retreat of the enemy, would, in all probability, have been indecisive, and the opportunity of destroying him thrown away.

It is evident, however, from Sir Robert Wilson's account, both that by far the greatest losses of Buonaparte were owing to those accidents, and that the Russian army was in a condition little less desperate than his during the terrible march, which can hardly be called a pursuit. Their determination to make no general attack upon his line of march would, says Sir Robert, have certainly enabled him to regain, without serious injury, his position on the Dwina and Nieper, had not an intense frost suddenly set in, and the whole horses of the army been unprovided with fit horse-shoes, except his own, which were saved by Caulaincourt having taken this precaution. (p. 24.) The loss of the Russians was prodigious. They began the march with 120,000 effective men, and arrived on the frontiers of the Dutchy of Warsaw with only 35,000. Many companies were without a man, and many battalions with less than fifty. A reinforcement of 10,000 men, sent to Wilna, arrived only 1500 strong,—and half of these were next day in the hospitals. Of these hospitals, or rather, as he terms them, charnel-houses, the following truly horrible picture is given; nor can any thing better illustrate how much of the victory was owing to physical circumstances, than such descriptions of the condition of the conquerors.

'In the hospitals of Wilna there were left above seventeen thousand dead and dying, frozen and freezing. The bodies of the former, *broken up*, served to stop the cavities in windows, floors, and walls; but in one of the corridores of the Great Convent, above fifteen hundred bodies were piled up transversely, as pigs of lead or iron. When these were finally removed on sledges to be burnt, the most extraordinary figures were presented by the variety of their attitudes, for none seemed to have been frozen in a composed state: Each was fixed in the last action of his life, in the last direction given

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to his limbs: even the eyes retained the last expression, either of anger, pain, or entreaty. In the roads, men were collected round the burning ruins of the cottages which a mad spirit of destruction had fired, picking and eating the burnt bodies of fellow men; while thousands of horses were moaning in agony, with their flesh mangled and hacked to satisfy the cravings of a hunger that knew no pity. In many of the sheds, men, scarcely alive, had heaped on their frozen bodies human carcases, which, festering by the communication of animal heat, had mingled the dying and the dead in one mass of putrefaction.' p. 34, 35.

But the great blow was struck by the destruction of the French army. The spirit of the Russian people burst forth, and was encouraged with equal skill and magnanimity by the Emperor's personal exertions. The Prussians seized the opportunity of deserting their proud and overbearing ally; Austria at length took the same course; and the campaign of 1813 was fought by a very inferior force of French troops, many of them newly raised, and almost without cavalry. The event is well known. After gaining several victories in the early part of the season, and maintaining a desperate contest at Dresden, they were forced to retreat towards their own frontier; and, being abandoned by the Bavarians and Saxons, sustained a memorable defeat at Leipsig, which had the effect of carrying the war into France. During these operations of the combined armies, we find the Russians acting with the others on a footing of apparent equality in point of discipline; and it is certain, that when they entered the enemy's country, their conduct was, by the unanimous testimony of the inhabitants, the least offensive, and most regular;—a signal proof how greatly they had improved in the habits of civilized warfare. The unparalleled exertions of Buonaparte during the last part of the contest, when fighting for his crown upon the French soil, are thus alluded to by Sir R. Wilson, in a passage which contains hints at much curious information of a secret nature. We really must warn him against this habit of writing history by reference and insinuation. If he did not intend to tell us the story, and had any reason for only hinting at what he knows, there would be less to find fault with. But it is clear that he has no desire to conceal his information; and that he refrains from putting it in plain, intelligible, narrative language, only because he cannot prevail upon himself to relinquish the ambitious style of epigram and declamation.

'With *sixty thousand* brave and indefatigable men, he baffled the operations of *two hundred thousand* for more than six weeks; obtained victories, which obliged Alexander to seek the Austrian com-

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mander in his bed, at four o'clock in the morning, " to desire he would instantly expedite a courier to Chatillon with orders for the signature of the treaty of peace, as *agreed to* by the French negotiator," until he heard, unfortunately for his master, Napoleon, of those very successes which made the *Emperor of Austria*, with *one nobleman* and *one servant*, fly, in a German *droska*, for safety to Dijon, and remain there *thirty* hours virtually a *prisoner*, and strictly one, if any Frenchman had done his duty—victories, which threw the allied army, then only *one hundred and twenty thousand* strong, with the sovereigns, between the *city of Paris* and his cannon, without *any line of communication with the Rhine*, or *any intermediate magazines*, &c.; without *any ammunition*, and without *any stores*, except such as were *in movement with the army* itself—victories, which screwed them, as it were, in a vice, from which, if defection had not extricated them, they were unable to secure their escape, and yet obliged to make the attempt.

' The measures which, it was believed, had been long in preparation, were consummated at the very instant Napoleon's success seemed beyond the *power* of misfortune! and the movement on St Dizier, which merited *empire*, lost him his *crown*.

' Ten thousand men of the allies had been killed or wounded in the attack on Montmartre, chiefly from the artillery served by the boys of the polytechnic schools. The acquisition of this post assured only the destruction of buildings, if the experiment of bombardment had been made. The army was too weak and too ill provided to attempt a forcible occupation of the city, which must have expended so many men and so much *ammunition*, as to have rendered the possession untenable, when Napoleon approached with his army to its relief, and the sallying force too weak to hazard battle in the open field.

' Such was the conviction on the minds of those charged with the conduct of the Allied army, that a retreat *was already resolved on*, in case the promised cooperation in the city had not been accomplished.' p. 60—62.

When hostilities broke out anew in 1815, the Russian army, though it arrived too late to bear a part in that extraordinary campaign which, in a few days, finished the war, yet presented a spectacle sufficiently imposing. Our author says that the 120,000 men of which it consisted, when reviewed at the camp of Virtu, ' astonished the assembled Staff of the other armies of Europe, by an uniformity of discipline never before witnessed in such a large body of troops.' We have heard that the remark which follows was made by a very high military authority, perhaps the highest of the present day—' that each battalion seemed a chosen one, and yet there was no prefer-

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ence.' We must now pass over a great deal of discussion into which the author enters, extremely foreign to the subject of Russia, and relating entirely to the proceedings at Paris, and particularly to the alleged violation of the convention by the trial of Ney. He afterwards returns to the topic which forms, or should form, the matter of his book, and follows the Emperor Alexander back to St Petersburgh. The temporary displeasure of his Nobles at his long absence, was soon removed; and the glory acquired by the Russian arms made him as popular as any prince could desire to be. He lost no time in pursuing his measures for maintaining the foreign influence which he had acquired, and in prosecuting the darling policy of Russia, to push herself more into the heart of Europe. The connexion formed with Holland by the marriage of one Grand Dutchess, with Wirtemberg by that of another, and with Prussia by the marriage of the Grand Duke, are useful, in the only way in which family alliances ever can operate upon national affairs, that is to say, by producing a firm and intimate connexion for a certain time, and increasing the facilities of exerting influence acquired from other more secure and permanent sources. The connexion with a maritime power like Holland, may be very important to Russia, whose greatest want is the want of sea-coast and ports;—the Wirtemberg alliance extends still further her footing in the remote parts of Germany, already established in Baden, Weimar, and Oldenburgh, by similar means;—while the Prussian match has confirmed, by gentler ties, an influence over one of her two most powerful neighbours, originally founded in almost irresistible superiority of force. The effects of such alliances, however, we are altogether inclined, with our author, to regard as subordinate to the steady operation of other circumstances more substantial in their nature, and to which we shall now advert.

Having followed the general sketch given in these pages, of what Russia has actually done, we are prepared to consider the statistical part of the subject, with less liability to be misled by resources marshalled upon paper. The Empress Catherine, by various acquisitions, increased the number of her subjects by about twelve millions; and, when Alexander mounted the throne, he had above thirty-six millions of people under his dominion. They have since been increased to forty-four millions at the least; for, in 1808, they were forty-two,—and about 200,000 square miles of territory have since been added. The acquisitions of Alexander, too, have been far more important in improving his position, than in augmenting the numbers of his subjects. While Finland was Swedish, his capital was never for a moment

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secure. The Poles, whom he has conciliated as subjects, were dangerous as neighbours. He has freed himself from apprehension on the side of Turkey, by the possession of Bessarabia; and the subjugation of Georgia, with the acquisition of Shirvan, has removed the great source of annoyance which the hostile tribes of the Caucasus, and the advanced position of Persia, afforded. Secured, in a defensive point of view, by acquisitions, Russia is advanced, in all directions, within reach of the most tender point in each of her neighbours. Thus Stockholm and Berlin lie open to her; and Prussia, if not Sweden, must follow her policy implicitly. Austria, single-handed, is evidently quite unable to cope with her; and it remains to be seen, whether she is not also a match for any combination with France and England which that power can form. Persia might have been expected to assist the Porte; but it seems 'she has laid herself prostrate at the feet of Russia, by a treaty lately made under the auspices of England.' She can, by the Caspian, land an army within a hundred miles of the Persian capital, and within 400 of the Persian Gulph, from whence the voyage to Bombay is less than a month. There is also an internal navigation from the Baltic to Astracan. The use she is enabled to make of such a position must be gathered from what she has been able to do already, and may be illustrated by the following remarks.

'Can *Russia*, who in the year 1799 had a disposable army of only *fifty thousand men*; in the year 1807, not more than *eighty thousand*, to defend both capitals; and in the year 1813, only *three hundred thousand* * on her *whole* territory, after several years preparation; —can she, notwithstanding a destructive invasion, and wars of such great waste and expenditure, have collected and re-equipped armies sufficient to defend her acquisitions and improve her advantages? The answer is, She can; and Europe and Asia must acknowledge the truth of that assertion: for, both quarters of the globe are overshadowed by the mass of *six hundred and forty thousand* men, which an establishment of *one million two hundred thousand* ranges in order of battle, exclusive of *militia*, Tartar cavalry, &c.

'The fact is, that *Russia*, after posting *thirty thousand* men of appropriate force, with artillery, &c. in Finland, *eighty thousand* on the frontier of Gallicia, *sixty thousand* in Moldavia, *thirty thousand* on the frontier of Armenia, as many in Persia, and leaving a reserve of *one hundred thousand* men to sustain these armies, possesses still a disposable force of above *two hundred thousand* infantry, *eighty thou-*

* '*Peter the Great* is said to have had *one hundred thousand* men at *Narva*; but they were troops of that description which present themselves under the image of sheep, whose numbers never disturb the wolves, and which *eight thousand Swedes*, being disciplined, conquered.'

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sand cavalry, and *one thousand two hundred* guns better horsed for service, than any artillery or cavalry in the world; †—an army, than which, there is none more brave, and with which *no other* can march, starve, or suffer physical privations and natural inclemencies. She has moreover a population equal to the needed supply, and to a great portion of whom the habits and sufferings of war are familiar; while no power in Europe can raise, equip, or maintain their forces, with such disdain of the price of blood.' ‡ p. 148—150.

The following facts also merit attention.

'It may interest the reader to know, that the establishments of the Russians commence at Okotsh, on the Siberian coast, in a bay of the Pacific Ocean; that they extend from thence by Kamschadka to the north-west coast of America, where the principal establishments have been long fixed in the populous island of Kodia (inhabited by hunters, and situated in 57½ degrees north, and 152½ west longitude from Greenwich), and in Norfolk Sound, 57 degrees north, and 135 west longitude; where the fort is so considerable as to be armed with 100 pieces of cannon. Since the year 1813, however, the Russians have descended the American coast, *passed the Columbia river five hundred* miles, and settled in Badoga, at 38½ north, and only *thirty* miles from *the Spanish establishments in California;* where they not only are trading with great advantage, but are profiting by a fine climate and fruitful soil, to feed their more northern possessions. The passage from the north-west coast of America to the Persian Gulf may be averaged between three and four months; but a ship leaving Bussorah in April, to profit by the S. W. Monsoon, would easily gain the N. W. coast of America in *three* months.' p. 156, 157.

The author next takes a view of the powers that may be expected to oppose Russia,—but in the same discursive manner in which he is so fond of treating every subject. We are far from saying that these pages contain no reasoning, any more than we have asserted, that the former parts of the volume are destitute of statements. The reflexions of the one, like the facts of the other, are frequently deserving of great attention; but they are wrapt up in declamation, and allegory, and allusion, instead of being laid simply and plainly before the reader. It always seems as if Sir Robert Wilson considered the language of ordinary statement below the dignity of an author. He is known to be an eloquent man, and to have addressed assembled multitudes with great effect. We will venture to say, that he spoke upon

† 'The militia would perform the garrison duties, if all the regular troops were required on emergency in the field. Her *defensive* means, indeed, are so great and various, as to be incalculable.'

‡ 'The actual pay of a *Russian* soldier is not much above half a crown a month.'

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those occasions in a very different style from that of his book; for his object was to make his hearers understand him, and feel with him. He succeeded: and he must have used the plain natural language which comes at once to the aid of unpractised speakers, who have information to give, or feelings to express, and have no time to do so in a roundabout way. Let him write his next work in the same manner,—and criticism will be mute.

He begins with France. The present state of its government he considers as incapable of drawing forth the resources of the country. The Crown and the People are not united by justice and favour on the one hand, confidence and gratitude on the other. The Bourbons he regards as placed over their subjects by foreign armies, and reigning secure only as long as they are protected by the force which restored them. He describes them as identified with all the disasters and humiliations which have exhausted the French severely, and irritated them still more; and he deems them as responsible, in the eyes of the nation, for the violated faith of the Allies. To allay the animosities which spring from the restoration, they have, according to him, done nothing that prudence pointed out. On the contrary, he charges them with beginning a system of proscription and cruelty which they were only driven from by the universal spirit of resistance it was rapidly exciting. In this state of things, he sees no prospect of any efficient alliance between France and foreign Governments, for the preservation of the existing arrangements; and, admitting that she could raise a powerful army, it would be more dangerous to the dynasty of its own rulers than to the power of any common enemy. But suppose it to cooperate cordially with those rulers, our author is persuaded that Austria on the side of Italy, and England in the Scheldt, would have more reason to dread its operations than Russia and her allies. We only stop at present to remark the inconsistency of part of this reasoning. By the supposition, we understand Russia, Prussia, and the Netherlands to be the common enemy. How then could England, supposing affairs in such a posture as to unite her with France, entertain any dread of the Scheldt falling under the power of her new ally, that is, of the alliance against the common enemy succeeding in one of its objects? If such a jealousy could exist, it would only prove, that the time had not arrived when Russia was more formidable than our ancient enemy.

Austria is next passed under review. The justice of the measures by which she has been aggrandized at the expense of independent states, has already been discussed by us on more than one occasion. It is material, however, at pre-

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sent, to mark the impolicy of those aggressions upon national rights. She has a population of twenty-eight millions; but, of these, above eight millions are, according to our author, retained in subjection by force, being Gallicians, Montengrins, Ragusans, Italians; while almost as many more, viz. the Hungarians, he regards as liable to be seduced, or to betray their backwardness or discontent, from the impolitic jealousy with which they have always been treated. Austria, therefore, could never muster more than 350,000 men; and Russia has nearly twice as many, with Poland as her advanced post, and Prussia as her auxiliary. The Austrian finances, too, he considers to be bankrupt, and that England can no longer be looked to for a treasury, any more than France for a reserve:—Another specimen of bad reasoning: for though certainly the state of our finances renders any further aid in money extremely difficult, yet, *by the supposition*, France is to support Austria, the question being, how far an union of England, France and Austria, can stand against Russia. In all he says of the dislike that generally attends the Austrian government in the conquered provinces, we believe no one can differ, who is acquainted with its unaccommodating and rapacious character.

With regard to the Turk, few observations may suffice. He is already pressed by Russia both in Asia and Europe—on the Danube and in Armenia. His nominal subjects, twenty-two millions, are so scattered over Asia, Egypt, and Europe, as to be little available in war. The two millions and a half in Egypt never serve at all; and the four millions of Greeks only serve on board of ship. Besides the intestine commotions of the empire, the constant enmity, however suppressed, of the Greeks, and the hostility frequently avowed, and sometimes successful, of the rebel pashas, form powerful diversions in favour of any foreign enemy. The soldiers, according to Sir R. Wilson, are brave—and every Turk is a soldier; but discipline, or even common subordination, is a quality unknown to them; and a course of years is necessary to give time for founding a system of defence; while, in the present circumstances of the empire, offensive operations would be inevitable ruin.

Our author comes, last of all, to the state of England; and he justly considers her as having come out of the late contest, in a state extremely ill adapted to new exertions. With above eight hundred millions of unredeemed funded debt, and sixty-four millions of unfunded debt; she would have to begin, he says, with funding the latter sum at 20 or 30 per cent. discount, the moment she went to war. In truth, our financial difficulties are here understated;—she could hardly, under any cir-

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cumstances, increase her expenditure beyond a few millions, without failing in her engagements, or for ever destroying her credit. If, indeed, the country were directly attacked, he considers its defence to be quite secure in the courage and patriotism of Englishmen, provided the popular feelings were called forth, and the body of the nation allowed to defend themselves. 'Every Englishman,' he exclaims (and we believe he was himself an eyewitness of the act to which he alludes), 'would, 'like Rostopchin, when he placed the torch to the curtains of 'his marriage-bed, to fire a splendid palace, solicit the sacri-'fice of all he could offer on the altar of his country, even if, 'like Rostopchin, he thought it might be beneficial only by 'example.' But as to any operations of more remote necessity, and less apparent interest, he considers our power to be extremely cramped, not only by our financial difficulties, but by the unfortunate policy of which we have been the most distinguished patrons. Nothing can, indeed, be more lamentable than that policy, in every point of view. England was possibly exempt from the shame of inventing it;—most probably she was only drawn into the schemes of longer heads, by the ignorance and imbecility of her representatives—by the derision in which they held every thing like public justice, or the assertion of national rights—by their proneness to adopt every extreme of practical court-perfidy that seemed opposed to the *theoretical* doctrines of liberal and enlightened policy. Nevertheless, the consequences have been most injurious to her character and her influence with the rest of the world, in proportion to the higher estimate that had been formed of her virtues. We cannot enter here at large into the whole history of the period; but it may be proper to cite one of the charges brought against England as a principal in the faithless policy pursued during the last three years. The ministers of the Allied powers published to all Europe, on the 12th of May 1815, a declaration, 'that the Go-'vernments they represented, knew too well the principles which 'should guide them in their relations with an *independent coun-'try*, to attempt (as they had been accused) any *imposition of 'laws upon it, to meddle with its internal* affairs, to *assign it any 'form of government*, or to give it *rulers in compliance with the 'interests or passions of its neighbours.*' (p. 185.) In communicating this formal act, our minister, Lord Clancarty, states officially, that, in the war now begun, the Sovereigns 'do not 'propose to interfere with any lawful rights of the French peo-'ple; that they have no intention to oppose the right which the 'nation has to choose the form of government it thinks suitable, 'nor to trespass in any manner on its independence as a great

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'and free people.' In a despatch of the 25th April 1815, from the Foreign Office, the design of 'imposing any particular form of government on France,' is distinctly disavowed; and the Austrian minister, on the 4th of May, echoed this sentiment, disavowing at once the project and the right of continuing the war, 'to impose on France any government whatsoever.'—'*Before and After*,' has often been made the subject of contrast by poets and by painters; but never, we believe, was the charge more marked, than in the memorable crisis to which we now refer. Those who, before the battle of Waterloo, had 'known too well' their own duties and the rights of 'independent countries, to attempt 'any imposition of laws upon France,'—who treated as a calumny the 'accusation of a design to meddle with its internal affairs, or 'assign it any form of government,'—who indignantly disclaimed all 'intention to oppose its right of choosing a form of 'government,'—who regarded as 'a trespass,' every act trenching 'on its independence'—were no sooner relieved from their mutual jealousies and common dread of the enemy, than they first placed Louis forcibly upon the throne, and then set their hands to the following compact.—'The Allied sovereigns have, 'nevertheless, in consideration of the high interest which in-'duces them to *strengthen* the authority of the *legitimate* so-'vereign, promised to his Most Christian Majesty, to *support* 'him with their arms against all revolutionary convulsion, tend-'ing to overturn by force the state of things actually establish-'ed, and which would thus threaten anew the tranquillity of 'Europe.

'But not forgetting, that, *under the variety of shapes* in which 'the revolutionary spirit may still show itself in France, there 'might be doubts as to what cases might require the *interfer-'ence of a foreign force*; and being well aware of the diffi-'culty of giving precise instructions applicable to each particu-'lar case, the Allied sovereigns have thought it most advis-'able to confide in the known prudence and discretion of the 'Duke of Wellington, the determination of the *time and mode* 'in which it would be proper to employ the troops under his orders, 'in a full confidence, that he will in no case act without having 'previously *concerted his measures with his Majesty the King of* 'France, and that he will acquaint, as soon as possible, the 'Allied sovereigns with the motives which have engaged him to 'take his determinations.' * (p. 187, 188.)

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* We are anxious to insert here the words of Lord Holland's protest of the 19th February 1816, as they speak the genuine language of an English statesman.—'Because the treaties and engagements

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We have now followed the author of this tract through his speculations, and have mentioned, as we proceeded, a few of the objections to which his reasoning is frequently open; but we have reserved for the conclusion of this article, such reflections upon its general scope, and such remarks upon the important subject of his work, as have suggested themselves during its perusal.

First of all, we are disposed to admit, to a very great extent, the truth of the representation which he gives of the vast power of Russia, and the increase which it has during late years received beyond the natural development of national resources, by the extraordinary accidents that have roused the energies of the empire, and advanced, even by means of prodigious disasters, more rapidly than the ordinary course of things could have done. The exasperation of the country by the invasion of 1812, and the subsequent destruction of the invading army, with the events which followed in a succession equally rapid and brilliant, we are willing to admit, accelerated, by many years, the improvement of the Russian army, and the improvement of the military system generally; beside acquiring for the Russian government a premature degree of weight and reputation in European politicks. We must also allow, that Russia has been permitted to gain such an ascendancy, and that her resources have been augmented to such a degree, as may give her the means of creating great alarm and mischief before she can be foiled in any attempt to carry still further her projects of aggrandizement. But, on the other hand, we cannot for a moment believe that she could succeed in the plan of universal empire, or acquire the same formidable power which France of late years possessed.

It is not to be conceived that such designs could exist on the part of Russia, without producing a combination to resist their execution. We believe that our author has greatly mistaken the probable effects of an external alarm upon the French nation. Unpopular as the present dynasty is, the feeling of national honour is perhaps more powerful among the people than ever,

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'contain a direct guarantee of the present government of France a-
'gainst the people of that country; and, in my judgment, imply a
'general and perpetual guarantee of all European governments against
'the governed. I hold such a design to be *unlawful*, I believe it to
'be impracticable; and recollecting the principles on which the Re-
'volution in 1688, and the succession of the House of Hanover were
'founded, I cannot give the sanction of my vote to a system, which,
'if it had prevailed in those times, might have deprived this kingdom
'of all the benefits that have resulted from a national government and
'a free constitution.' (p. 190.)

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because they are irritated by the recollection of their defeats and humiliations, and pant for an opportunity of flinging them into the shade, by the lustre of fresh achievements. They still reckon war and victory as synonymous; and, beyond all question, the most popular act of their rulers will be to make war, as soon as it can be done with safety. It argues, in our apprehension, an imperfect estimate of their character, to assert, that the armies raised by the French government will be more dangerous to its own stability than to its enemies. As long as no very outrageous act is doing;—as long as the great landmarks of the revolution are left untouched, and the sure though slow progress towards a truly popular constitution is permitted gradually to consolidate the fabric of the government upon the basis of publick liberty, the generally prevailing dislike of confusion and change will maintain a dynasty, odious perhaps at the first, and even now rather tolerated than loved; until it gains favour by its association with publick prosperity. But, at any moment of its reign, we are convinced its power will be augmented and consolidated, and not shaken by dangers from without; and that the force from which it has the least to dread, is the army levied under its authority for the defence of the country.

Surely, notwithstanding all her losses, and they are, after the lapse of a year or two, rather in name than in substance, France is still by far the most powerful nation on the Continent. Her thirty millions * concentrated; her vast natural resources of soil and climate; and her position both for sea and land operations, are more formidable to the neighbours against whom she may bring her force to bear, than the forty-four millions of Russia scattered over half the globe, and only capable of overwhelming a weaker state, if all the rest of Europe stand by inactive. In a national and a popular war, France would be as impregnable now, as she was five-and-twenty years ago. While every thing like liberty was extinguished, and all public spirit seemed to have perished with it, the Allied armies marched indeed to Paris, after defeating the only troops opposed to them. But we believe no man doubts, that if the French people had taken part with Buonaparte, either in 1814 or 1815, the result of both campaigns would have been different. It is quite possible that the recollection of those disasters, and the ardent desire to revenge them, may even supply the place of a more free constitution, and, in a very short time, enable France to present as formidable a front as ever to the neighbouring powers. One of the greatest errors committed by the Congress, was the leaving

* They are allowed to be above 29 by the latest returns.

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her in possession of Alsace and Lorraine. Here, as in all their other arrangements with respect to her, too little was done to reduce her means of annoyance, when so much had been done to fill her with all the desire of revenge, and indeed to leave in her side thorns which might rankle and irritate without weakening.

The only secure foundation of an alliance is some one powerful state which can make head, even if left alone, against the common enemy. If France were nearer Russia, unquestionably the peace of Europe would be more secure; but a cordial cooperation with Austria would render the success of any attack from the North scarcely practicable. The principal danger would unquestionably arise from the advantages which Russia might find in the discontents of the states lately delivered over to new masters, especially the Austrian dominions on the side of Italy; and this is not so much a risk of ultimate conquest, as of difficult and protracted warfare. The present settlement of continental affairs is exposed to similar danger from the aggressions of France, after her strength shall have been recruited. In concert with Russia, she may shake the authority of Austria among her Italian subjects, by taking their part; or, cooperating with Austria, she may appeal to the states unwillingly incorporated with Prussia. In both these cases, however, as well as in the former, we see little chance of any great strides being made towards a power similar to that which Buonaparte lost by the advance upon Moscow. But the repose of the world may be put in jeopardy by attempts falling far short of success; and the mischief of the present arrangement is, that it furnishes both the motive and the means of such disturbance.

This leads us to what, we apprehend, is the great error which has been committed by the *pacificators* of Europe. They have, in every quarter, left the materials of change, and mutual annoyance; because they have left the people discontented, and because, with respect to the people, they have almost everywhere put themselves unequivocally in the wrong. By violating good faith, breaking promises, sacrificing the weak, despising all idea of national right, and of public principle, as unworthy of a Statesman's consideration, they have destroyed the confidence at first reposed in their integrity and wisdom; they have taught mankind that courts are not to be trusted for the redemption, in prosperity, of pledges given under the pressure of disaster; they have planted everywhere, not adversaries of this or that dynasty, but natural enemies of the existing *arrangement* of Europe. It may be vain, and it certainly is useless, to inquire from what quarter the attempt will proceed, to encroach upon the limits prescribed by it to each State.

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One thing, however, is manifest, that danger may again appear in any quarter, without the generous efforts to repel it, which freed Germany from the French yoke; and another thing is equally certain, that where so many nations are held in subjection to foreign masters, the first of the powers that is disposed to break the league, which, after distributing millions of people like cattle to their masters, now pretends to stifle the voice of nature by force of arms, will find allies everywhere to aid him. The stability of the system (as they call their patchwork) is thus at every moment endangered; and the power of putting down a formidable enemy of national independence is circumscribed.

That England should have borne so conspicuous a part in these transactions, is seriously to be lamented. She has lost that high character for liberal policy and strict principle which once not merely ennobled her in the eyes of other nations, but strengthened her hands in regulating their affairs. The best service that a lover of his country can now render to her, is to show, by his protestations, that the crimes of the Cabinet were not shared by the Nation.

But have the late wars not produced consequences almost as fatal to our influence abroad, as the treaties which closed them? It is alarming to reflect upon the necessary inactivity to which we must now be doomed, should the peace of the Continent be broken. An invasion, indeed, or any other imminent danger to our own security, would be strenuously and successfully repelled. But where is the man who can expect the people of England to engage again in wars, to prevent the growth of remoter mischiefs? The sinking fund barely covers the yearly deficit of our peace establishment. Admitting that the Income Tax could be raised to meet a war expenditure, thirty or forty millions more must be annually borrowed; and the history of the last eight years demonstrates, that no new taxes can be raised to pay the interest. The incalculable distresses from which the country has hardly recovered, after three years of peace, must be renewed in far worse circumstances; and an immense addition made to the load of debt which is already hardly to be endured. As often as the necessity is mentioned of watching over the balance of Europe (one of the first duties of an English statesman in good times), the frightful picture of 1812 and 1816 will rise in the people's recollection; and the danger of perishing, by present famine, is likely to make the risk of eventually falling by the sword be disregarded. A less lavish use of the splendid resources which England once possessed, would have preserved her power entire, without any injury to her honour; and it is melancholy to reflect, that they who have squandered away her resources, have also been the first to sully her fame.

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ART. IX. *Voyage en Savoie, en Piemont, à Nice et à Gènes.* Par A. L. MILLIN, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion d'Honneur, &c. &c. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1816.

WE are ashamed to confess, that we have allowed the many valuable productions of M. Millin which have appeared since we started in our career, to pass unnoticed. He deserves to be considered as one of the representatives of the worthy old school of French archaiologists—of those men who have contributed more towards the knowledge of antiquity than all Europe besides. It is singular, indeed, that our lively neighbours should have produced a host of the most sturdy and indefatigable writers. We see even the sprightly Caylus plodding like the secluded inmate of the cloister; and the wig à-la-mode has often covered a head which would not have disgraced the cowl of St Bennet. All the works of M. Millin are distinguished by the unvaried diligence of the author. In his literary labours, we find a condensation of matter which spares the inquirer many a weary search through many a shelf of quartos and folios. He endeavours to be useful; and he seldom fails to attain his end.

We were glad to see the announcement of the present work. Although we have been almost surfeited with Italian travels of every kind and quality; yet a new description of Italy is by no means superfluous. The remains of the middle ages in Italy have been miserably neglected. It was almost in vain that Maffei urged the necessity of extending to the memorials of Christianity some portion of the favour with which the vestiges of Paganism have been overwhelmed. Until of late, the Italians continued to hold the sculpture and architecture of the period which elapsed between the fall of the Empire, and the so called revival of the arts, in sovereign contempt; and our tourists have seldom the courage to admire any object, except that to which the Cicerone points his finger, or to allow their descriptions to take a wider range than the useful chapters of the Guida de' Forestieri. From the present writer we expected a bolder proceeding—*Gothic* antiquity being as familiar to M. Millin as classical antiquity was reputed: Nor have our expectations been disappointed, to find many of the deficiencies of former travellers supplied by his diligence and discernment. Even where they have been most communicative, we now require fresh information. Italy has been so often won and lost in the course of the last quarter of a century, and so many visitations and calamities have fallen upon this garden of the world, that the greatest portion of our standard works of reference has been rendered useless. Even the excellent tours of Forsyth and Eustace, perhaps the most

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intelligent travellers who ever visited these countries, are already out of date, and unsatisfactory. Until the revolutionary wars, it seemed as if time stood still within the mountain barrier of Italy. Very few political changes had taken place, by which her institutions were deprived of their character of antique permanence. The independence of the Italian states was guaranteed by the jealousies of their neighbours;—hence no adventurous spirit yet dared to snatch the ducal bonnet or the triple crown from the brows of the feeble wearers. Few governments had been more wise in their own conceit than those of Italy; and they continued glorying in their fancied wisdom, until they felt that all their wiles and politics—their 'ragione di stato,' became musty. The sages of Terra-firma, and the sages of the Sea, had as little in common with the ministry of Louis, or the cabinet of George, as with the Conscript Fathers. The bark of St Peter yet floated on the waters; but the steersman sat at the helm, as of old, with his astrolabe in his hand, and guided his vessel in her track according to the calculations of the Almagest. He could not be brought to acknowledge the fallibility of the pilots who preceded him, by unlearning their theory of the stars, or acknowledging the imperfection of their instruments,—until the tempest wrecked him.

After having seen Italy subjected to one mighty will, we are now anxious to know the measure of good and evil which has resulted to her from the sway of her late conquerors, the partial recal of some of her old rulers, and the kindly transfer which has been made of many of her fair provinces to a new race of taskmasters. Strong arms, and wise counsels, were those which replaced Apollo and the Pope within the walls of the Vatican, and which recalled Venus and the Grand Duke to the banks of the Arno: And we hope that Rome and Florence rejoice in the restoration of their treasures. The Wivern of Milan, the Lion of St Mark, the Red Cross of Genoa, were brought together in the brilliant quarterings of the armorial ensign of the kingdom of Italy. Perhaps it was to be lamented that they had been assembled under the Iron Crown; but now the banner has been rent, the shield has been broken asunder, and the tatters and fragments, emblazoned and glittering with the devices of former independence and dominion, have been bestowed by strangers upon strangers, and withheld from all the owners who once had borne them.

'L'Italie a *été* plusieurs fois décrite; ainsi ce n'étoit pas l'espoir de faire quelque heureux découverte, qui m'inspiroit le désir de voir ce pays si vanté. Je voulois examiner moi-même les grands monumens dont il s'enorgueillit, et que les meilleurs desseins et les gra-

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vures les plus fidèles ne peuvent qu'imparfaitemen · epresenter. D'ailleurs quoiqu'on a publié tant de descriptions de l'Italie, il n'existe aucun ouvrage qui en donne une idée conforme à celle qu'on doit s'en faire aujourd'hui. *Misson* est trop credule et trop abrégé. *Dupaty* est trop exalté. *Richard*, Lalande, Wolkman, Bernoulli, et ceux qui lui leur ont succedé, ont enrichi leurs ouvrages de détails importans, et seroient de meilleurs guides, mais leurs écrits manquent d'ordre; ils ont tout recueilli sans goût et sans choix, et la marche des événemens a tellement vieilli ces ouvrages, qu'il y reste peu d'observations dont on puisse profiter. Des souverainetés ont été détruites; les lois et l'administration ont été changées; et, quoique les derniers evenemens aient rétabli plusieurs états, et renouvellé plusieurs institutions; ces révolutions ont amené de grandes variations dans les mœurs et les usages.

' J'ai donc cru qu'il étoit encore possible de donner une nouvelle description de l'Italie, et de lui imprimer quelque intérêt, en visitant cette riche contrée, et en profitant de tous les ouvrages dont elle a été le sujet. '

The main line of communication from France to Chambery, commences with the noble road which was made across the mountains during the reign of Charles Emanuel the II., and finished in 1670. In the passage called the Passage de la Crotte, the undertaking was attended with the greatest difficulty. The road is hewn through rocks of a tremendous height for more than a thousand toises.

From hence M. Millin passes into an Alpine scene. He crosses ' the sterile valley of Cous; in which is situated the waterfall, the ' Cascade de Cous,' described by Jean Jacques Rousseau as ' the finest he had seen.' M. Millin will only make a partial admission of its beauty. ' Je le crois,' is his answer; ' mais ce n'est pas la plus belle qu'on puisse voir.' The correctness of the perceptions of Jean Jacques for the picturesque, cannot well be disputed; and it must be recollected that M. Millin saw the fall at an unfavourable season; besides which, some of the rocks over which the water flowed, have been displaced, and the cascade has lost the bold rushing curve which constituted its principal beauty.

The capital of Savoy cannot boast of remote antiquity. In the 12th century, Chambery was an open vill, protected by a moated baronial castle. The cathedral is a ' Gothic building,' in which M. Millin observed little that was worthy of notice, except some ' ancient fresco paintings ' of the 14th century. Its walls were formerly adorned by the bearings and devices of the knights who tilted at the great tournament of Chambery in the year 1348. Amongst them was the shield of Amadeus the 6th,—

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whom we had rather call Amadis, like some of our old English writers; it is a name of more knightly sound. Amadis obtained the appellation of 'the Green Earl;' for this good knight always appeared in the livery of the spring; his armour was green; the surcoats of his squires were green; and the trappings of his steed were green. The shields, and bearings, and devices, however, are now completely obliterated. The duty of officiating at the cathedral happened, unfortunately for the admirers of chivalry, to devolve upon the White Friars; and as the disciples of the prophet Elisha entertain great aversion to all worldly pomp and vanity, they covered over the bright emblems of love and war with a thick coat of whitewash.

The tournaments used to be held in the Verney, a kind of park thickly planted with trees, and which is now the favourite promenade of the inhabitants of Chambery. The ancient Verney has been improved in the modern French fashion; and these improvements have not increased its pleasantness. A 'Champ de Mars' has been annexed to it, in which the soldiers who were lodged in the 'immense Caserne' erected by the French Government, were occasionally drawn out and reviewed. These military works have occasioned a loss which excites the regret of our traveller. The old 'Jardin de l'Arquebuse' has been destroyed, in order to make room for the Parade, and the Champ de Mars, and the barracks. Here they used to shoot the popinjay; and, according to the custom which prevailed in many other countries where this pastime was practised, the successful marksman obtained the title of the *king* of the game. The match was succeeded by processions and balls; and when his majesty of the popinjay had attained his honours, he was bound to share them with a *queen*, and, by a singular regulation, this *queen* was to be chosen from the class of inhabitants to which he, the king, did *not* belong; that is to say, if he was a noble, the lady was to be a citizen's daughter, or the victorious citizen was to be mated with a lady of patrician rank. Six young candidates for the queenship, either noble or ignoble, according to the rank of the king, were chosen from amongst the fairest ones of the town, by the grave Burgher-council, the 'prudhommes' of Chambery; and the king selected his companion from this little band of 'maidens bright of blee,' who were collectively called the '*Rose.*'

The dance was led off by the *King* and *Queen:* and the rest of the dancers were matched, or rather mismatched, by the same joyous rule which had brought the sovereigns of the feast together. Each *roturier* had a partner of high degree, and each nobleman danced with the wife or daughter of a burgess. The

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Princes of Savoy sometimes joined in the sport. It once happened that Victor Amadeus hit the popinjay, upon which he was duly declared the *king* of the Arquebusiers. When it was time for him to chuse his queen, all Chambery was in an uproar. Such a thing had never happened before; it was quite a new case; a case to which the existing laws did not appear to be applicable. The judges were puzzled sorely; they could not decide whether the *queen* ought to be taken from the nobility, or from the burgesses; for it was evident that the victor belonged to neither class. The Prince evaded giving a final determination upon this difficult point; and put an end to the dispute, by taking the hand of a girl, a lawyer's daughter, who was not and could not be included in either of the rival *Roses* which had been named by the contending parties. Our graver readers must pardon us for these little details.

The Abbey of Haute Combe was founded by Amadeus the Vth, in 1225; and afterwards became the burial-place of a long line of Princes. According to the usual fate of pious foundations situated in the countries which have been annexed to France, the Abbey has been spoiled and *desecrated.* It is converted into a porcelain manufactory, and as M. Millin expresses himself, 'des 'fours a faience, *symbole de la fragilité humaine*, ont remplacé ces 'illustres tombes.' In this church are deposited the remains of an English prelate, the tyrannical Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sacrilegious oaths and pugilistic prowess are dolefully bewailed by Matthew Paris. This monument escaped the first general devastation; but it has since been annihilated.

Former travellers described *Aquabella* as a poor town; but to M. Millin it appeared prosperous and full of life. The total cessation of all maritime commerce had given a temporary activity to all the towns on the road of Mount Cenis. Aquabella, so called from the limpid streams by which it is watered, ought to be a place of note in English history, as it is the birth-place of Peter de *Egeblanke*, Bishop of Hereford, a prelate who acted a conspicuous part in the reign of Henry the IIId, and whose memory 'exhales a loathsome and brimstone stink;' as we are told in the bitter pages of the venerable monk of St Alban's, who never spares pope, prince or prelate.

This Bishop, of hateful memory, is buried in the collegiate church of Aquabella, which he 'founded, built and endowed.' The same church also contained the sepulchral monument of *Peter of Savoy*, Earl of Richmond, the uncle of our Queen Eleanor, who was as little liked in England as the bishop, his namesake and relation.

The church has been ruined in the late wars—the walls alone

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are standing. The site of Peter of Aquabella's tomb, however, is still pointed out;—but the monument has disappeared. In the opinion of Mr Kerrich, a most competent judge, 'it was a work of 'considerable intrinsic merit, and not without great beauty, al'though in rather a hard dry style, such as, if the figure were 'antique, would be dignified with the title of severe:—the 'whole is executed with the utmost delicacy.' * The monument was further remarkable, by preserving the name of the artist; this occurs rarely—and 'Master Henry of Colonia' is almost the only ultramontane sculptor of the middle ages whose existence is thus recorded.

When Mr Kerrich saw the tomb of the Earl of Richmond, it was greatly mutilated—both the legs were broken, and one of them was lost. The people of the place seemed to know very well who he was; but they called him an Englishman, and insisted that he was related to the Bishop who was buried under the other tomb. From the silence of M. Millin, we must infer, that the tomb of the Earl has shared the fate of the tomb of the Bishop. It is fortunate, therefore, that the elegant pencil of Mr Kerrich has rescued these fine specimens of art from oblivion. This gentleman tantalizes us; he just opens his portfolio, and allows us to peep at the treasures which it contains, and then he closes it in our faces. It were greatly to be wished that he would attempt the history of the progress of the arts in France and Italy. Such a work would be most acceptable; nor is the necessity of it superseded by the appearance of Azincourt's history.—Azincourt's subjects are selected without judgment; and the plates of his expensive book are executed without taste or feeling.

Whilst M. Millin was travelling through Maurienne, he met with several troops of little mountaineers, all of whom were under ten years of age.—'We are going to France, my good Sir,' was the answer which he received to his inquiries. Savoy had been long *united* to France; but, notwithstanding this union, it was quite impossible to convince the Savoyards that they were Frenchmen. They migrate like swallows. The young Savoyards sally forth every autumn, in great flights, from the mountainous districts of Savoy. In the winter season, they disperse themselves throughout the towns of France, where they earn a scanty pittance by their industry; they clean shoes, and take upon themselves the indefinable office of *Commissionaires*; and, above all, they employ themselves in the standard vocation of the country—in sweeping chimneys. Grave authors main-

* Archaiologia, Vol. XVIII.—Art. 17.

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tain, that their fellow inhabitants of the mountains, the bears, first taught them the art of climbing. When spring comes in again, they undergo as sudden a change as the May-day metamorphosis of our heroes of the brush and shovel. They quit France, and return to their native huts; and cheerfully pay over to their poor parents the whole amount of their winter gains. During the summer they tend the cows, and work in the fields, until the autumn, when they again quit their rural occupations, for the polluting drudgery of Paris.

The word *Savoyard* has become quite a technical term in the French language; it is universally employed by the French to denote a chimney-sweeper, let him come from what part of the world he may. The natives of Savoy, therefore, feel that it degrades them, and they prefer taking the name of *Savoisiens.* M. Millin takes many exceptions to this innovation, which he maintains to be contrary to grammar and etymology. 'They 'should call themselves *Sabaudiens,*' says he; 'or else they 'should call themselves *Savaudiens.*' And he will not admit that they are justifiable of breaking Priscian's head, even for the purpose of ridding themselves of an appellation to which the unconquerable spells of habit and custom have annexed so many humiliating associations.

The fertile plains of Piedmont are discernible from the point of Mount Cenis called the Molaret; and M. Millin thinks that it was from this station that Hannibal showed Italy to his soldiers. From the Molaret to Susa, the mountain presents only an easy descent; and the swarms of tattered beggars 'who now sur-'round the traveller, sufficiently announce that he has entered 'Italy.' The enthusiasm with which he had begun his journey now revived. His own words only can do justice to his ardour.

'La nuit approchoit quand j'arrivai à *Suze.* Apres avoir franchi le Mont Cenis, je croyois que tout alloit dejà me paroître nouveau.

'Je là tiens cette terre sacrée; la voilà enfin, m'écriai-je, cette Italie; ce sont ses villes, ce sont ses nations que je vais voir.

'Je parcourus presque à tatons les rues de la ville et ses approches, attendant avec impatience, le lendemain pour visiter l'arc qui lui donne quelque celebrité, et commencer mes observations.'

M. Millin began his 'course' in search of the antiquities of Suza, in company with a 'respectable canon,' one Monsieur Marietti, who was 'well acquainted with the history and the 'monuments of his country.' Poor Monsieur Marietti is now numbered with the departed. 'La mort l'a enlevé depuis: je 'n'en dois pas moins temoigner ma reconnoissance pour les 'bons offices qui j'en ai reçus.'

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The arch of Suza, to which he walked along with Monsieur Marietti, was erected in honour of Augustus, by Marcus Julius Cottius, a deposed king of the Cottian Alps. Marcus Cottius was conquered by the Romans, who afterwards restored him to the enjoyment of a small portion of authority in his former dominions, under the title of Prefect. M. Millin gives the details of the inscriptions and sculptures on the arch; the latter of which have not been accurately described by former travellers. In the year 1805, two headless statues of 'excellent workmanship' were dug up near the arch. These torsos offered no distinguishable characters; but it was nevertheless 'conjectured,' in the way that the cognescenti are wont to conjecture, that the one was intended for Augustus, and the other for the Prefect. According to this supposition, M. Millin observes, that 'it would at least have been proper to have allowed them to 'continue where they were discovered, as being local monu-'ments;' but they 'hastened' to send the mutilated trunks to Paris, where the head of the Emperor Napoleon was placed on the shoulders of one of them, and the head of the Emperor Tiberius was fitted to the other.

The great church of Suza is well stocked with relicks. They have as much of the body of St Maur, as was left after satisfying the veneration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who solicited a portion of it in the year 1679. They have also the body of St Stephen. There is, to be sure, another body of St Stephen in the church of St Lawrence at Rome: but the priests of Suza were induced to set up in opposition to the priests of St Lawrence, in consequence of a lucky discovery which took place in 1520. On the 1st day of December in that year, one John Baptist Serrano, a mason of Lugano, was employed to pull down part of the wall of a chapel in the cathedral dedicated to St Stephen. In the course of his operations, this happy workman found an 'enveloppe' of paper in a hole in the wall, which immediately crumbled into dust, with the exception of one small fragment containing the following letters, C. SCTI. STEPHI PTHOM.; these were easily deciphered, and found to signify, Corpus Sancti Stephani Prothomartiris. It was now necessary to account for the presence of the body at Suza. This was accomplished by an ingenious chain of conjectures. The Patriarch of Alexandria *might* have given it to Charlemagne, Charlemagne *might* have offered it to the Abbey of Novalaise, from thence it *might* have been translated to the Church of St Justus; and when it arrived there, it *might*, though no one knew why or wherefore, have been deposited in the hole in the wall. And upon these grounds it was determined, that this must be the main relic, and that the

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church of St Lawrence could only boast of some parts or particles of St Stephen.

Part of the houses in the quarter of the nobles, the 'contrada di nobili,' were destroyed in the year 1728 by a flood. The palaces of the nobles, which are now in the other parts of the town, are distinguished from the dwellings of the plebeians by a small column or mullion in the windows; besides which, they have a great door and a little door, an honour to which no vulgar house can aspire.

. . . . . 'Celles des nobles sont distinguées dans Suze de celles des plebeiens, par une petite colonne mince qui separe la croisée. Aucune maison bourgeoise ne devoit avoir cet ornement. On reconnoit encore à leur double entrée, les chetives demeures des nobles que l'on commence deja à nommer palais; elles ont une grande porte et une petite.'

M. Millin complains, and doubtless with reason, that at Suza no food can be found either for the body or for the mind,—no vegetables, no bread, no fruit, no library, no cabinet, and no hommes celebres; for it is greatly to be apprehended, that all the learning of Suza expired along with her late bright ornaments, the Abbé Sacchetti, and Mons. Marietti, the Canon.

'Monsieur l'Abbé Sacchetti et même le chanoine Marietti, qui sont morts depuis mon prémier séjour dans cette ville, auront-ils des successeurs?'

The villagers are uncouth and boorish. The 'men look upon 'their wives as beasts of burthen. If their cows are ill,' they send for the '*médécin*;' but if their wives are ailing, they are left to themselves. It may, however, be doubted whether this species of neglect is a conclusive proof of the 'brutality' of the villagers of Mont Pantier; for M. Millin states, that the women are so hardy that they return to their domestic labours immediately after childbirth; and they probably fare better when left to the aid of nature, than if they had been placed under the care of the village doctor. Many strange customs, which were related to our author by 'Monsieur Derrien,' prevail amongst the peasants inhabiting the Alps, in the neighbourhood of Suza. At *Gravieres*, when the bridegroom goes to the house of his intended spouse, for the purpose of conducting her to church, one of the relations of the lady disguises himself like a tattered old woman; he bears a distaff by his side, and a set of skimming dishes and ladles hangs at his girdle; in this attire he places himself at the house door. A dramatic dialogue is then held, which has doubtless been settled from time immemorial. The fictitious beldame offers herself as the bride,—'*y vos voye pas o sie trop brutta*;' 'I won't have you, you are too

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ugly,' is the answer given by the suitor in the patois of the country. They then scold and abuse each other; till at length a very little miss is brought out, who is also rejected by the surly bridegroom—'*non e pas cela, l'e trop jouven;*' '*I won't have her, she is too tender.*' The bridegroom and the old woman quarrel again; till at last the carline dips one of her skimming dishes in a pot of boiled rice which is placed by her side, and which she spurts against the bridegroom. The real bride then comes forth, and meets her impatient lover.

One of the amusements of the villagers is a species of morris-dance, or rather sword dance. The dancers are dressed like Roman soldiers, 'ou à peu près.' The 'Spadonieri,' for so they are called, were originally part of the actors in an ancient traditionary mystery, of which the subject was the decollation of St John the Baptist. The Spadonieri were only known in particular places till the year 1731, when the inhabitants of *Giaglosse*, and many other villages, first learnt the dance from the inhabitants of Salbertand, a neighbouring commune. This fact is very singular, and shows how slowly the inhabitants of secluded districts acquire new customs. The Salbertandians had the spadonieri in 1637.

The castellated monastery of St Michael is erected on the summit of *Mount Pircheriano*. The founder, Hugh 'le de Cousu,' was advised to choose this spot by a friend, whom he consulted respecting the accomplishment of a vow which he had made. It came to pass, that Hugh fell asleep immediately after the conversation so had; and the same advice was repeated to him in a vision. Few legends have a greater appearance of veracity. It is said by some, that Hugh began to build his monastery on *Mount Caprassio*, and that the materials were miraculously transported to Mount Pircheriano. But as this miracle seems to contradict the vision, we submit that it may be reasonably doubted.

M. Millin has given a striking description of the 'Sagra di San Michele,' which we shall transcribe.

. . . . . 'On voit s'élever cet énorme édifice, à la fois militaire et religieux. Il faut pour arriver, monter un immense escalier qui tourne en perron, et contre le mur du quel sont d'antiques tombeaux, qui ont été ouverts il y a deja long-temps. Les corps qui en ont été terrés, sont placés dans une embrâsure qui occupe la milieu de cet escalier, et qui est aussi composé de gradins. Ils sont dressés contre le mur, ou placés sur leurs tombeaux, comme si la trompette avoit sonné pour les en faire sortir, et comparoître au dernier jugement. Des pieux pelerins les ont coiffés de voiles bleux ou rouges, et les ont ceints de draperies de même couleur, cet attirail ajoute encore à l'effroi, qu'inspirent ces corps desséchés; ils sem-

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blent être les guardiens de ces voutes immenses qu'éclaire un foible jour. Il ne reste d'autre ornement sur ces antiques tombes, qui des écus en pointes chargés d'armoires.'

Behind the monastery is a precipitous rock, called the leap of La Bellotta. They say that a girl, who was thus called on account of her beauty, was pursued to the brink of the precipice by a lustful soldier. She invoked the help of the Virgin, and threw herself down the rock; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that she escaped unhurt. Thus far there are many parallel legends. La Bellotta was doomed to experience a fatal catastrophe. There were unbelievers even in those days, who doubted the truth of the miracle; and La Bellotta, who confided in her patroness, attempted to silence them by repeating the experiment. But she tempted Heaven;—the Virgin denied her succour; and poor Bellotta was dashed to pieces by the fall.

M. Millin received a grand welcome when he reached the hotel 'de l'Europe' at Turin; and he seems to have been greatly amused by it. On alighting, he was immediately surrounded by the '*maestre dell' Albergo*, four valets splendidly dressed in liveries of fustian trimmed with tinsel, and two tall chasseurs.' Our *Savan*, who well understood that this brilliant suite was the preliminary to a formidable attack on his pocket, 'yielded for a moment, and allowed himself to be conducted into the grand apartment.' He then came to a proper understanding with mine host, and obtained 'a decent and convenient *logement*' for a moderate price; while the valets and the chasseurs doffed their fustian finery, and waited upon him in a 'simple' jacket, until the arrival of another stranger.

'Tous les valets avoient été remettre leurs riches habits au crochet, et firent le service avec une simple veste, jusqu'à ce que un nouvel avertissement leur annonçât qu'ils devoient aller repeter auprès d'un autre étranger la scene qu'ils venoient jouer pour moi.'

It will be recollected, that Rousseau expatiates upon the contrast between the regularity and cheerfulness of Turin, and the dirt and gloom of those parts of Paris which he first entered after his Italian journey. Since his time, the city has become still more cheerful, and it has undergone further improvements. The bastions and ramparts, and all the gates have been demolished; and the air circulates freely through its straight-lined streets, and spacious squares. Under the Sardinian government, each street bore the name of a patron saint. This nomenclature did not please the wise and philosophical French authorities. France began by producing two orthodox 'denicheurs de saints;' and she ended with myriads who followed that calling in a very different spirit. They attempted to substitute the names of the

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departments of Piedmont and of the 'victories of our armies'—but with as little effect as the noble endeavours which have been elsewhere made to convert Goose creek into the Tiber. The theatre of Carignan belongs to the princely family which bears that title, and adjoins their palace. In this theatre the grand opera is acted with all the 'luxury of representation which it requires.' M. Millin was present when 'Figaro' was played for the first time. That evening should form an era in the history of music in Italy; none of the productions of Mozart had hitherto been heard in an Italian orchestra. The 'amateurs' were so equally divided in opinion, that it became very difficult to ascertain whether the contents or the non-contents had gained the day. Some insisted that Figaro was damned; according to others, it was received with uncommon applause.

The Turinese are great patrons of the drama; and, besides their theatres, they can boast of two uncommonly fine puppet-shows. A company of the very first-rate puppets act in the 'Theatre des Marionnettes,' in the 'rue de la Doire.' They perform admirably well. The first piece which the puppets represented was an *heroic drama*, '*dans le genre noble*,' called the Desert Island. The principal puppets appearing in the after-piece were Tartai and Gianduja, who are '*motions*' of great and versatile powers. The little actors speak in Italian, with the exception of Gianduja.

..... 'qui s'exprime toujours en Piemontais, et qui doit dire des choses très bouffonnés; car à chaque moment ceux qui l'entendoient etouffoient de rire.

'La première piece, intitulée L'Isola disabitata, étoit un drame du genre noble. Ce spectacle me fit plaisir, parceque c'étoit un exercice pour la langue.'

Gianduja had not always been called Gianduja; he was once called Girolamo: But the manager of the puppetshow, for wise reasons, had chosen to new-name his wooden Roscius, out of respect for a reigning sovereign.

In those ticklish times, even puppets were time-servers. The theatre was crowded with 'de gens biens mis,' who enjoyed the spectacle with rapturous applause. On another evening, M. Millin saw the self-same puppets perform 'The metamorphosis of a Good Sovereign, or the Nocturnal Doctor;' a sentimental comedy, written by Signor Carlo Frederici, a most celebrated comic poet.

M. Millin says less of the talents of the other company of puppets who are engaged at the theatre des Marrionettes près de Saint Roche. The house is more capacious and elegant than that in the 'Rue de la Doire;' and the family of our old friend

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Punch showed more independence;—for Girolamo continued to answer to his old name *Jerome.*

The edifices of Turin are more remarkable for their gaudiness than for their beauty. The style of Berromini may be termed the bombast of architecture. The faults of his school were carried to excess by the Piedmontese architects Ivara and Guarini, who erected the greater part of the churches and public buildings with which Turin has been crowded, by the misdirected liberality of its sovereigns. Father Guarini was an able geometrician; but he trifled with his knowledge, and employed himself in inventing grotesque vaultings and honey-combed cupolas, which have neither solidity nor beauty.

The palace was begun under the direction of Count Castellamonte, in the reign of Emanuel the Second, and enlarged by Victor Amadeus the Second. The new buildings are after the designs of Ivara. In the interior, there are abundance of large showy rooms; and, in various parts of the building, there is a tolerably numerous assortment of bad modern statues, and supposititious antiques. The collection of paintings had been of great value; and some few good pictures were yet remaining, which had escaped deportation to the Louvre. The state bedchamber contained the celebrated set of the four seasons, which were painted by Albano for the Cardinal of Savoy. The Cardinal, somewhat like Mrs Primrose, took great pains to instruct the artist how to compose his pictures. His Eminence was particularly desirous to have his seasons well stocked with Cupids, 'who, powerful in the strength of their arrows,' as the Cardinal proceeds in the true Della Cruscan style, 'might pierce the 'stubbornness of marble, the impenetrability of hearts of jas'per, the hardness of armour, nay, the divine hearts of the 'deities themselves.' Lest we should be suspected of misrepresenting the prelate's elegant and forcible expressions, we shall add the original text.

'*Una copiosa quantita d'amoretti che* come potenti nella forza delle 'loro saette, superano con quelle le rigidezze de marmi, *l'impenetra'bilita de cuori di diaspro,* le durezze delle corazze, anzi i petti di'vini delle stesse deita.'

Albano, accordingly, introduced a whole covey of cupids into each of the groupes. M. Millin informs us, that it is from these pictures that Albano obtained the title of 'painter of the loves.' For our parts, we owe such a grudge to the Heathen mythology, that we hope that we shall never see, read, or hear of Cupid again.

The churches of Turin are all sumptuously adorned, and fitted up completely in the *Romish* style; so that M. Millin, who,

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as we suppose, is accustomed only to the more sober proprietés of the Gallican church, has found much to note and describe, such as the image of our Lady of the seven swords, the ex votos on the altar of the Saint Suaire, and other high Popish signs and symbols and accompaniments, which are shy of appearing in Paris; and yet we should have thought that they would not have appeared new or strange to a writer coming from a Catholic country.

The church of St Theresa was finished in 1764. The altar piece runs some risk of being misunderstood by the profane, who might easily take it for a mythological subject. It represents the Virgin and the child; but the latter is darting *an arrow into the bosom of St Theresa*, who faints in ecstasy, and drops into the arms of her attendant angels.

The Museum of Antiquities is arranged with taste; the inscriptions were collected by Bartoli and Maffei. The cabinets, however, of the lovers of virtù at Turin, do not correspond with the public collections. Notwithstanding the guarded civility of M. Millin's language, it is evident, that with one or two exceptions, he considers them as indicating little taste in the owners. Monsieur *Rignon* collected prints in order that he might have something to put in his portfolios, which he manufactured with wonderful cleverness.

'La collection d'estampes de Monsieur Rignon me restoit à voir. C'est une suite d'environ vingt porte-feuilles. . . . Ces porte-feuilles ont été faites en grand partie par le proprietaire, qui s'amusoit à colorer le veau dont ils sont couverts, en imitant le granit ou le vert de Suze, d'après des procedés qui lui étoient propres. Il y travailloit continuellement avec son frere.'

The pride of the cabinet of Signor *Pullini* is a unique *dolium* of marble, which dolium is exactly in the shape of a vulgar modern barrel; 'il est absolument fait comme les notres.' Moreover, it appears by an inscription on the dolium, that it was once filled with genuine Falernian. M. Millin does not venture to do more than hint his suspicions respecting the authenticity of this 'singular monument;' which we verily believe ought to be placed in the same cabinet with the celebrated sacrifical basso relievo discovered by that enthusiastic antiquarian, Mr Jonathan Oldbuck.

The cabinet of M. Cambrasi is of a different description, and contains a painting which is well worth a pilgrimage to Turin. It is a crucifixion by Simone Memmi of Sienna, the pupil of Giotto; the figures are mostly portraits. Petrarch and Laura are seen on horseback. The Count Guido Novello, and Cimabere; Taddeo Gaddi, and Memmi himself, can be recognised in the groupe.

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' Les arts sont entrainans sans doute, ils plaisent à l'imagination. La visite des Musées et des cabinets a pour moi un attrait irresistible; mais cela ne me rend point insensible au desir de voir les grands etablissemens que la bienfaisance a imaginés pour prévenir la misere ou la sécourir; et pour soulager la humanité souffrante, mon respectable ami M. Vassali voulut bien me conduire dans cette recherche, et je ne pouvois avoir un meilleur guide.'

The ' hospice des Rosines ' owes its name to its foundress Rosa Covina of Mondovi who lived in the last century. Rosa Covina destined her hospital for the reception of poor helpless girls of good repute, of whom it contains no less than three hundred and sixty. The following text of Scripture is inscribed over the door of the building—' Labore manuum tuarum manducabis.' The interior of this cheerful hive affords a good comment on the text. The industrious activity which pervades the house is inconceiveable. The girls spin and weave ribbands, and wind silk; and *all* the expenses of the hospital are defrayed by their labour.

' Il y a une belle roue à dévider. Une fille assise dedans la fait mouvoir en tricotant. Cette roue porte un fuseau, sur lequel sont des rangées de dévidoirs; une lanterne fait mouvoir deux autres roues, qui, par des engrainages, font aller vingt-quatre metiers; chacun a deux rangs de dévidoirs; chaque rang est de vingt-sept, ce qui fait cinquante-quatre dévidoirs par rangée, et en tout douze cent quatre vingt-seize dévidoirs, et en comptant ceux de la roue plus de quinze cents qui sont mis en mouvement par cet appareil.'

In each of the work-rooms is an oratory erected in honour of the Virgin, as well as an image of St Anthony of Padua, to whom a prayer is offered every evening, imploring his protection against accidents by fire. Rosa attained a good old age, and died in the year 1776. She was buried in the chapel of her hospital. The tomb of the ' blessed mother ' was erected by ' her grateful daughters.' The epitaph is simple and affecting—

' Le figlie grate alla bendetta Madre hanno posto questo monumento.'

The fine arts do not flourish in Piedmont. The Piedmontese painters are almost unknown. The academy of Turin was instituted in the year 1652; but the Dukes of Savoy, more probably from necessity than from choice, were compelled to engage foreign artists to decorate their palaces. In the last century one Dominico Olivier acquired a certain degree of reputation in Piedmont; but he was a kind of caricaturist, a zany-painter. M. Millin compares his pictures to Berni's poetry. In the age of Giotto, Amadeus the V. employed George of Aquila, a Florentine, who painted the walls of the Castle of Chambery in 1314; and in 1325 he painted the ducal chapel at

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Pagnerol. There is reason to conjecture that George of Aquila attempted to paint in oil; at least it appears, by an ancient account of expenses, that he was furnished with two hundred pounds weight of nut oil, *ad pingendum:* But as the oil '*non fuit sufficiens in pingendo,*' he gave it over to the Duke's cooks for the use of his kitchen. It has been asked, whether the phrase employed imports that the oil was insufficient in quantity, or in quality. The latter interpretation is the most probable. No living sculptors are mentioned by M. Millin; but he bestows some praise on Bozanigo, a patient carver in wood and ivory;—his carvings of fruit and flowers are delicately and correctly finished; but he is a mere workman. Bozanigo's chef-d'œuvre, and which has employed him during many years, is a cabinet ornamented with medallions of all the reigning princes of Europe. The vicissitudes of the times have occasioned a great many alterations in Signor Bozanigo's cabinet. The King of Sardinia was originally placed at the top. When the time came, Bozanigo deposed the king, and surmounted his chef-d'œuvre with 'the Imperial eagle and the image of Napoleon.' This 'image' occasioned some awkward remonstrances when M. Millin saw it; but Bozanigo was in no perplexity. - - - - 'Bozanigo *sait tout* '*arranger*, et l'ouvrage doit avoir repris les attributs de son an-'cien souverain.' There are a great many other cabinet-makers in Europe who know how to '*arrange*' matters with nearly as much dexterity and coolness as Signor Bozanigo.

The public library is rich in manuscripts; the collection was first formed by Amadeus the VIIIth, who afterwards occasioned the great schism, in the character of Felix the Antipope. M. Millin has given a curious enumeration of some of the rarer manuscripts. He notices a translation of Pliny by Pierre Candide Decentre, ornamented with the arms of Cardinal de la Rovere, and of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. This MS. contains the correspondence between the translator and the Duke, which certainly deserves publication. Several unedited letters of Isidore of Senlis are found in a MS. of his works of the eleventh century, together with a tract of his companion St Branlius, which exists in no other library. Editions of a few favourite classics are now multiplied without end; but editors seem afraid to venture out of their usual beat. Isidore's compilation, although it is a specimen of the antiquity of the art of bookmaking, is nevertheless of great utility. If any industrious scholar were to undertake a new edition of the etymologies, he would deserve much credit; there are few works in which so much would be gained by a careful collation of manuscripts. The ancient Spanish translations should also be consulted.

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Before the Revolution, the French language was familiar to the higher classes, and, after Piedmont was annexed to France, became almost universal. The Italian is spoken by people of education; but the real language of the country is the Piedmontese patois, which holds the mid-way between its prouder neighbours the French and Italian languages. This dialect has been cultivated, thanks to Doctor Maurizio Pipino, who first reduced it to rule, and compiled a Piedmontese grammar and vocabulary: he also invented an ortho-epical alphabet, to express its various sounds. The dialect is not pronounced uniformly. The nobility and the higher classes take great pleasure in conversing in their mother tongue; and their mode of pronunciation differs from that of the lower classes. There is a good deal of Piedmontese poetry; but it is chiefly satirical or burlesque. A selection from the works of the best bards of Piedmont has been published by the Doctor. Our readers may try their skill on a few stanzas of the description of Cockney-land, which we print from Doctor Pipino's Anthology, with as strict an adherence to his systematic orthography as the types in common use will admit of.

Col famòſ paiſ d' Cocàgna
A l' è pur un bon paiſ.
Gnun lavòra la canpagna
Pur a smía un paradiſ.

Lì, chi veul fe' l gargh lo faſſa,
J'è pa gnun, ch' a l' anbarassa,
Fa nen bſögn dę travajè
Pęr vagnèsse da mangè.

Le strà son tute steṛnié
Con d' rubiöle, e d' pïäsęntín
E le përtie son goarnïe
Con d' sautìsse, e con d' bodín.
S'i vedęise le cïoènde,
Lo-lì sì, ch' a l' e un bel rende,
Fan d' salam tant dęsformà
Ch' ögni doi fan la somà.

One poet has given us a sonnet in praise of this dialect, in which he assumes, that it is the legitimate *son* of the Tuscan and of the French; and he introduces these reputable parents praising their handsome descendant.

La lingoa dij Toscàn e dij Franseiſ
Mę smía d' sentì, ch' a löde, e faſſo onòr
A sö fieul, ch' l' è l' idiöma Piemonteiſ,

The translation of this stanza into Italian, will show the degree of relationship between the languages.

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La Tosca lingua, e la Frazese anuro
Di cui l' Idioma Piemontese e figlió
Parmi sentir che gli dian lodi ognera.

The Doctor closes his Collection with an address to the critics, who, as he anticipates, will advise him to stick to his Galen; but the love of his country, sustained him in all his trials and labours.

Lì bin vera ö letòr, ch' a m' ha costà
Prescrive d' cost sogèt nen pöch sudor
Ma a fe tanta fatìga m' ha anima
L' amòr la patria, ch' a l' è un gran amor.

Whilst M. Millin was journeying through the 'lusty plain abundant in vitaille,' he would have been inexcusable if he had neglected the scene of the all-conquering patience of Griseldis. The 'Marquisate' of Saluces was the cause of many protracted wars between France and the Dukes of Savoy, until it was finally ceded to Charles Emanuel, by the former power. The town of Saluces is situated on the acclivity of a pleasant hill, and wears a flourishing appearance. The cathedral stands alone in the plain; for the houses have ungratefully abandoned mother-church, and have travelled away from her.

'La cathedrale est aujourd'hui dans la plaine, parcequ' à mesure que les habitations étoient renversées par le temps, ou abatues par la guerre, on les rebâtissoit sur le penchant de la colline, pour qu'elles fussent plus à l'abri d'une invasion. Cette église est vaste et très ornée.'

The buildings are substantial, and the environs are well cultivated; so that it yet deserves Dan Chaucer's epithet of a 'noble countree.' There does not appear to be any memorial of the incomparable Marchioness. The Saluciens pay greater honours to a livelier heroine of romance, the fair Magnelona. The adventures of the Neapolitan Princess, and of Peter of Provence, her lover, are painted on the walls of one of the chief streets of the town; and it is accordingly called the street of Magnelona. The body of Bishop Stephen Bandello is worshipped at Saluces in the church of the Dominicans. We hope, for the credit of the Saint, that Bishop Matthew Bandello, the novellist, has no right to claim relationship with him. This Saint, when living, delivered Saluces from its enemies, by working a strange miracle. 'He raised himself in the air, and hovered over the town, and he was accompanied in his flight by a young and holy maiden. This apparition scared the hostile troops, who immediately raised the siege.

Fossano is a literary town. The '*hommes instruits*' of Fos-

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sano thought 'fit to unite their talents in the formation of an academy,' which was 'instituted' in the year 1777. We suppose that M. Millin gives us the history of this splendid institution as a good specimen of Italian trifling. The reunion was 'celebrated' by a medal, which bears, on one side, the 'head of a statue of Apollo, then lately discovered at Fossano, and now in the museum at Turin, with these words, *Appollini dextro.*' And the classical legend in the reverse, COLONIA FOSSAN. OLYMP. MDXXXVIII, A. IV., affords an undeniable proof of the chronological and numismatic learning of these 'hommes instruits.' Only ten years were employed by the Academicians of Fossano in forming its regulations, which were published 'chez Briolo 1787;' and since that period, to the inestimable loss of the literary world, the academy has not favoured the world with any of its Transactions,—which would doubtless vie with the lucubrations of the famous Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Troyes in Champagne.

The Turinese have no great opinion of the genius of the inhabitants of *Coni*, a strong and almost impregnable town in the vicinity of Nice. They consider it as the Gotham of Piedmont. M. Millin has the charity to attribute this popular notion to 'old prejudices,' 'des vieux préjugés.' Yet, it should seem the prejudices of the Turinese are not without something like a reasonable ground. It is true, that against these prejudices are set off certain 'learned civilians and celebrated theologians,' who once flourished at Coni, and others of the illustrious obscure, whose names are luckily given in Rossi's Notiziæ. But in favour of the prejudices, we must state the tribulations of Jean Dominique Berando. In the year 1777, this astronomer fixed an electrical conductor to the observatory belonging to the 'literary society.' This bold act being unprecedented at Coni, was considered by the magistrates as a dangerous heresy. Jean Dominique was actually thrown into a dungeon; and when he obtained his release, they destroyed his instruments, and deprived him of his employment.

M. Millin takes old Doctor Smollet to task, for the 'injustice 'of his complaints against Nice.' But it appears to us that our countryman should be treated tenderly: According to M. Millin's own showing, Smelfungus must have felt and smelt, and seen enough at Nice, to put him out of humour. The streets in the interior of the town are gloomy and cheerless. The houses are pestiferous. M. Millin describes their nastiness in the strongest terms; and the Nizards are as beggarly and as filthy as their habitations. The torments inflicted by the insect

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tribes are insupportable. They continue at all seasons of the year, and at all times of the day and night.

- - - - 'on en est incommodé toute l'année; c'est surtout en été qu'ils deviennent un veritable fléau; toutes les parties du corps sont alors assiégées, succées, devorées par les *stomoxes*, les *tipules;* et les cousins, les tables, les mets, les fleurs, sont couverts de mouches. Il faut avoir la précaution de tout fermer avec soin avant d'allumer les chandelles; autrement des myriades de ces animaux les environnent. On ne trouve d'abri que dans le lit, ou l'en est entouré d' une cousinière, mais souvent elle gene la respiration, sans garantir parfaitement de leurs insultes; les plus petits s'introduisent à travers la trame, et il n'en faut que trois ou quatre pour faire perdre entièrement le repos.'

These horrors may well excuse a trifling ebullition of spleen in an inhabitant 'des bords de la Tamise.' And if he attempts to console himself by wandering in the neighbouring orchards and gardens, he will encounter another misery of a different nature. The peasants are exceedingly industrious; but, as they have no great stock of cattle, manure is a rare article, and they are compelled to practise the *Chinese* method of fattening the land. A word to the wise is enough; and our readers, who recollect what Mr Barrow has said on this subject, will readily understand us. In the neighbourhood of Nice, the metamorphosis of Ajax is exhibited on a grand scale. The Nizards are so liberal of the '*engrais*,' as it is delicately termed by M. Millin, that they think they can never bestow enough of it upon the soil or its productions. 'Non seulement ils en impregnent le sol, mais ils en versent sur les legumes et au pied des jeunes orangers.' M. Millin adds several curious and amusing facts respecting the '*engrais*,' which we dare not transcribe or translate, lest our fastidious readers should hold their noses; but, in our opinion, they might furnish the materials for a valuable appendix to the very learned treatise composed by *Tartaretus* on a most necessary subject, and which, as we are told by Father Rabelais, was discovered by Pantagruel in his researches in the library of the Abbey of St Victor.

Savona was the birth-place of the celebrated Chiabrera. His bust is placed in the cloister of the church of St Dominick; and the inscription which is engraved beneath it, was penned by no less a personage than Pope Urban the VIII. The body of the poet is deposited in the sepulchral chapel of his family, in the church of St Giacomo. Chiabrera composed his own epitaph. The thought is a mere conceit; yet it is a noble one, and singularly impressive. Bad taste and sublimity are not always incompatible.

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AMICO
IO VIVENDO CERCAVO CONFORTO
NEL MONTE PARNASSO
TV MEGLIO CONSIGLIATO CERCALO
NEL CALVARIO.

We must now follow M. Millin to Genoa.

The ravages of war, and the change of government, have entirely deprived the Ducal Palace of its historical character. A French prefect occupied the stately chambers of the Doge. The halls, in which the nicely balanced colleges and councils of the nobles used to deliberate, are desolate and empty. The statue of Andrew D'Oria, the liberator of the republic, the father of his country, has been thrown down; and the paintings which decorated the palace, became, as M. Millin says, the prey of the victors. The arsenal has lost all its trophies. None are more to be regretted than the cuirasses of the thirty-two heroic dames of Genoa, thirty-two Clorindas, who fought against the Turks in Palestine. Some memorials of the victories of the republic, however, are yet existing. They are such as could not easily be carried away. On the façade of the bank of St George is the griffin of Genoa, seizing the Imperial Eagle, and the Wolf of Pisa.

GRIPHVS VT HAS ANGIT
SIC HOSTES GENVA FRANGIT.

Another monument, of this description, is the basso relievo of the winged lion of Venice, which was taken, by 'our people,' from the dominions of the rival commonwealth;—there is a sturdy and simple pride in the inscription, which makes it remarkable.

ISTE LAPIS IN QVO EST FIGVRA MARMOREA S. MARCHI DE
VENETIIS FVIT DE TREGESTO CAPTA A NOSTRIS. MCCCLXXI.

As the inscription speaks of the Lion of St Mark, at first it would appear that the writer had confounded the attribute of the Saint with the Saint himself. M. Millin has omitted to explain its meaning, which may be done by referring to the Venetian legend. The Lion of St Mark, as it is termed, is no other than the evangelist himself. Being pressed to comply with the solicitations of unlawful love, he implored Heaven to transform him into some hideous shape; 'his prayers were granted, and he 'was instantly turned into a lion, whose gaping mouth, and 'horrid roaring, so terrified his sister, that she immediately fell 'upon her knees, prayed to be forgiven, and was converted.' This miracle is not to be found in the golden legend. It was probably too monstrous even for James of Varagine. The metamorphosis of Saint Mark is also recorded by the Sieur Dumont,

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who says, 'I know that painters usually give the Saint a Lyon for 'his companion; but I could not believe that the Venetian Lyon 'was the Saint himself, till I was convinced by the repeated 'affirmations of several creditable persons, and even of some 'noblemen: I can assure you that the Venetians are obliged to 'believe it, under pain of being thought heretics.' We cannot depend wholly upon the Sieur Dumont's authority; nor should we think ourselves bound to believe it, if he were not confirmed by an earlier traveller, old Fynes Morrison, who speaks of the 'image of St Marke of brasse, *in the forme of a Lion*, holding 'a booke, likewise of brasse.'

Genoa is familiarly known as a city of palaces; and they occupy too many of M. Millin's pages. The least extensive, but the most remarkable of these buildings, is that which was erected at the public expense for Andrew D'Oria. The building is in good taste, and composed of costly materials. The fresco paintings, which are now scaling off the walls, are by the hand of Perina del Vaga, to whom the owner of the mansion was a liberal patron. In the garden is a colossal statue of Jupiter placing one foot on a great dog. The dog was a celebrated dog in his day; he is the great Roldano; and this monument is inscribed—'Qui gian il gran Roldano cane del principe Giovanni Andrew D'Oria,'—who died at night, on the eighth day of September 1615.

Near the palace of the D'Orias is another, formerly belonging to the Giustiniani family. Gabriel Chiabrera, 'the Italian Pindar,' used to pass the autumn season under this hospitable roof. The room, in which he composed many of his best odes, has the following distich inscribed over the door.

'Intus agit Gabriel, Sacram ne rumpe quietem.
Dum strepis, ah periit nil minus Iliade!'

A delicate compliment truly.

The national character of the Genoese is by no means in good repute. A terrible array of quotations can be brought out against them; for they have often hitched into unlucky verse, from the days of Virgil the Lombard, down to the days of Dante the Florentine.

'Ahi Genovesi, huomini diversi
D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni Magagna
Perche non siete voi del mondo spersi.'

M. Millin, however, undertakes to vindicate them against all poetical, proverbial, historical, and traditional reproaches; and certainly it is by no means reasonable to tax the Genoese with cowardice, because the Ligurians were beat by Hannibal. And

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as to the accusation in the old proverb, that their sea is without fish, *mare senza pesce*, it is a vile calumny;—Signor Viviani having given a catalogue of 71 species found in the Gulf; to which M. Maximilian Spinola hath added an ample supplement of thirty-six more. M. Millin says, that the alterations in the government of Genoa have had great influence on their customs. Peace be to the memory of the *Ligurian Republic*; we doubt whether she has left any other vestige, except the impress on her coin struck in the year *one*—'REPVBLICA LIGVRE ANNO I.' It is unfortunate that these chick-a-biddy republics were all stifled before they entered their teens. But the dominion of the French had the most decided effect on the national character.

The Genoese do not rank high in the republic of letters. In 1682 Agostino Oldoino compiled his *Athenæum Ligusticum*, in which the author of the Golden Legend is placed at the head of their theological writers. Amongst their poets, Chiabrera can be quoted with due praise; but he stands alone. They have had several academies. The academy of the *Adormentati*, or 'the sleepy ones,' had an appropriate exit—'Elle s'est éteinte sans bruit;' and the members of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, which was instituted in 1783, notwithstanding their style, appear to have slept as soundly as their predecessors.

M. Millin discusses the history of the Sacro Catino of Genoa at length. It is said to have been won by the crusaders at the celebrated siege of Cæsarea. There is a good engraving of it in an excellent old book—La Mottraye's travels. All La Mottraye's reputation was blasted by a flippant line of Voltaire. We were glad to see Dr Clark bearing testimony in favour of this work, now unworthily forgotten. M. Millin conjectures that the Catino was made in the East, at 'Constantinople or at Cæsarea,' under the lower empire.

'Sa couleur qui est celle de l'émeraude verte, est belle; sa forme est agréable, ses angles sont bien tranchés, ses anses pris dans la matière sont bien placées; et ses ornemens, qui consistent seulement en des rangées de points creux sont de bon gout; les soufflures sont peu nombreuses; et il est aisé de voir qu'après avoir été fondu entier, il a été habilement reparé avec le touret. M. le Chevalier Bossi pense qu'il a été fait à Rome, vers le commencement de l'ere vulgaire. Pour moi je persiste à croire qu'il a été fait dans l'orient, à Constantinople ou à Cesarée, sous le bas Empire. M. le Chevalier Bossi ne pense pas que sous les Empéreurs Grècs, on a pu faire un ouvrage si parfait. Mais le Cabinet du Roi de France possède des verres colorés du commencement de la première race qui viennent aussi de l'Orient, et dont la teinte et la transparence sont aussi parfaites. Sous un plat composé de morceaux de verre coloré enchassés dans de l'or, est

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un grand disque de crystal factice qui porte l'image d'un Roi Sassanide.'

The Catino used to be brought out of the sacristy of the Cathedral of St Lawrence, three times in the year, on three of the great festivals. A prelate of rank exposed it to the admiration of the faithful; and round him were ranged the *Clavigeri*, to whose care this sacred vase was confided. The *Clavigeri*, as their name imports, were entrusted with the keys of the sacristy, and they were bound never to part with them. The Catino, according to the legend, held the Paschal Lamb at the last supper; and it was supposed to be formed of an emerald stone of inestimable value. No one was allowed to touch it under heavy penalties; and all nice examination was prohibited by an edict passed on the 24th of May 1476—the preamble wisely stating, that too curious an examination of holy things is a token 'of lukewarm piety.'

- - - 'des froids savans, d'audacieux philosophes, ont depuis longtemps elévé des doutes sur la matière du Catino. Keysler avoit déja enoncé ses soupçons. L'Abbé Barthelemy qui voyageoit dans l'Italie en 1755, écrivoit au Comte de Caylus, qu'il y avoit vu des soufflures. Le Condamine decrivit la forme de ces bulles dans un memoire qu'il lut à l'Academie des Sciences.'

The Catino was '*remis*,' conveyed, as the wise call it, to 'the Cabinet of France.' But the 'Conservators' were of opinion, that they ought not to receive and take charge of it as an 'emeraude sans prix,' without a careful investigation. They therefore 'demanded' that it should be carefully examined by a committee of members of the Institute, who coincided in the opinion of the 'audacious philosophers' who had preceded them; and decided that the Catino was composed of coloured glass. It has now travelled back to Genoa; but unfortunately it broke by the way. We trust the fault of the packing does not rest with the 'conservateurs.'

The first removal of the vessel was one of those innumerable acts of foolish rapacity which have disgraced the agents of the French Government. In the Cathedral of St Lawrence, the gem was worshipped in holiness by the multitude. It was their pride: they had neither the wish nor the ability of coolly examining into the truth of the legend which had been handed down from race to race. To them, it was a glorious trophy of the might of their forefathers. There it was seen only on solemn festivals, beneath the vaulted roof where it had been guarded with jealous vigilance during hundreds of years, surrounded by the tombs of the princes and warriors who had been the defence and pride of the commonwealth in

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her good days of energy and freedom. In the 'French Cabinet,' one 'froid savant' turned it about, and examined the mouldings and the handles, and conjectured whether it came from Rome or from Constantinople; and another 'froid savant' held it up to the window, that the light might shine through it; and he descanted on the oxydes which were employed in colouring the frit. They had the vase,—but now it was really worthless; it was a plaything, a toy, a *curiosity*. All the associations which ennobled the relic in its shrine, were lost and gone for ever, when the antique was coldly placed on show on a cupboard shelf, and seen through a pane of glass in the little room at the end of the library.—When national monuments are taken beyond the sphere of the vivifying influence of religious feeling, or historical recollection, the despoiler always finds that his own greediness has disappointed him. He steals fairy gold, and the treasure becomes a thing of nought, when borne beyond the threshold of the spell-bound palace. He gathers flowers, which instantly wither when broken from the stalk.

Our limits now compel us to abandon M. Millin or his tour, in order that we may be able to find room for the address with which he concludes; and in which he apologizes, with great modesty, for the defects into which he may have fallen.

'Je sens, mieux encore que ceux qui voudront bien le lire, tout ce que manque à mon ouvrage. L'etat de l'Italie, à l'epoque où j'ai visité les dernières contrées que je viens de decrire, ne m'a pas permis d'y sejourner autant que je l'aurois desiré. On verra du moins que je n'ai épargné aucun soin pour completer les notices que je voulois recueillir et publier sur les villes et les pays dont j'ai parlé.

'Quelques personnes trouveroient peut-être des détails trop minutieux; mais mon dessein a été de donner une description de l'Italie aussi bien qu'un voyage; d'unir ce que j'ai vu, à ce que d'autres ont observé; de former enfin une masse de notices qui pût guider les voyageurs et les dispenser d'autres ouvrages, en indiquant cependant, sur chaque objet, ceux qu'on peut consulter.

'Comme c'est surtout pour les lettres et pour les arts qu'on voyage en Italie, je me suis principalement attaché à ce qui est relatif à l'histoire litteraire ou à celle des arts.

'Je n'ai pas la présomption de croire que mon livre doit faire autorité, mais je crois qu'il pourra au moins servir de guide; les additions, les corrections, les critiques dont il sera l'objet serviront à en composer un autre qui apportera davantage de cette perfection que bien peu d'hommes peuvent atteindre, et à laquelle je suis loin de penser que je sois parvenu.'

Such expressions ought to disarm the critic. We have principally to find fault with an occasional redundancy on points which are by no means connected with 'literary history, or with

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the arts;' and with which we have been put out of humour, because we are sure that it has occasioned the suppression of matters of greater importance. M. Millin often digresses into scientific details, which are never very profound, and not always very accurate. He considers Professor Vassalli Eandi as the inventor of the 'meterographe universel.' But the principle of the machine is unquestionably the same with that of the self-registering barometer of the Reverend Arthur M'Gwire. An account of the latter may be found in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for the year 1791, and in all our common Encyclopædias.

At Lans le Bourg, M. Millin was quite surprised at the sight of a curious engine invented by the industrious mechanicians of that town.

'L'habitude de demonter et de remonter les voitures, a rendu les habitans de Lans le Bourg industrieux et mechaniciens. Je remarquai, dans quelques foyers, un *tournebroche singulier*. La fumée en est le *moteur; le vent le force à monter;* (!) elle frappe les rayons obliques d'une roue qui occupe l'entier du tuyeau, et qu'elle fait tourner. A cette roue tient un vis qui engraine dans le pignon d'une autre roue, et met le tournebroche en mouvement, comme le vent fait mouvoir des machines pour monter l'eau.'

In short, this elaborate combination of wheels, screws and pinions, is the singular philosophical instrument which in English is vulgarly called a *smoke-jack*. We do not wish positively to claim the smoke-jack as an English invention, although it may be reasonably conjectured that this admirable assistant to the kitchen maid originated with the devourers of roast beef. But it is strange that M. Millin should have taken so much pains about it, as the '*tournebroche singulier*' has been long known in France; and is described in a very common French book,—in Montucla's edition of Ozanam's Recreations.

M. Millin is unnecessarily minute and diffuse in natural history. We will pass over the account of the coral fishery, without inquiring whether it might not have been spared. But do we, or doth any one else, gain much information by being told that '*corail*' is the '*corallium rubrum*' of Lamark? The difficult word '*éponge*' in the text of the same page, receives the explanatory gloss of 'spongia officinalis' in the note below. And that rare and wonderful fish the *sole*, is identified by quoting 'Lacepede,' to prove that it is the 'pleuronestes solea.' Nor do we like to see M. Millin, who can employ himself so much better in the cathedral or the library, lounging amongst the 'échantillons des trois regnes de la nature' in the museum of natural history of Turin, and taking an inventory of the stuffed

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birds and 'superb crystals' of 'Braunspeth;' as it is highly improbable that any future traveller in Italy will ever take the trouble to examine them. If we could hope that our counsel would reach him, we would earnestly request him to travel like the good Benedictines who preceded him,—like Mabillon and Montfaucon, who never wandered out of their proper paths. We wish he would devote his pages wholly to those inquiries and observations which are strictly within the cognisance of the man of letters and the antiquarian. Let him decipher the manuscript, explain the medal, and unfold the beauties of the statue,—and we shall always listen to him with respect. These are the tasks which we require at his hands;—and he will never fail to execute them with credit to himself, and with advantage to his readers.

ART. X. *Papers relative to Codification, and Public Instruction, including Correspondences with the Russian Emperor, and divers Constituted Authorities in the American United States.* Published by JEREMY BENTHAM. London. Printed by J. M'CREERY, 1817.

MR Bentham is now far advanced in a life which he has generously devoted to the service of his fellow creatures. More than fifty years he has employed in labours, which had no other object than to improve the condition of mankind. According to him, Utility is the foundation of all Morals, and should be the object of all Legislation: Not that attention to the interests of particular individuals at the expense of the general good,—that selfishness, which some moralists affect to understand as meant, by what is useful,—but *general* utility,—an augmentation of the happiness, and a diminution of the misery of the great mass of individuals of which every community is composed.

Never did any philosopher better conform his life to his doctrines, or more happily illustrate his principles by his conduct. He has consumed his days in endeavouring to be useful to others; but, according to the common notions of the world, he has spent them uselessly to himself. Having completed his education at Westminster school, and afterwards at the University of Oxford with much distinction, he was called early to the Bar. His connexions (for he was the son of a very eminent solicitor), must have given him an early introduction to business; and his learning, his extraordinary talents, and his

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indefatigable application, rendered his success in the profession, if he had continued to follow it, matter of certainty. The first eminence at the Bar, and the opulence which attends it, were at his command; and, if he could have persuaded himself to accommodate his political principles to the wishes of those in power, the most splendid station, and the highest honours, would have been infallibly within his reach. From those brilliant prospects he voluntarily turned away; and after a very few years of practice, he relinquished the profession, shut himself up in the retirement of his study, and devoted himself to the task of legislation. A citizen of the world in its purest sense, he has suffered no opportunity which has presented itself of benefiting his fellow men in any portion of the globe, to pass away without endeavouring to improve it.

To France, at the beginning of the Revolution, when every generous and enlightened mind looked forward with sanguine hopes to the blessings that seemed dawning upon mankind, and when the National Assembly was in possession of means of improving the human condition, such as never before were commanded by any assembly of men—to France, at that moment of delusive hope, he made a generous tender of his services. Upon their judicial establishments, upon their colonies, and upon the conduct, or, as he termed it, the tactics of their Assembly, he composed and transmitted to them different tracts, containing new, but at the same time the soundest views of reason and of policy. If the rules for governing the proceedings of their Assembly alone had been adopted, those disorders and calamities which blighted all the fair prospects that were then opening to the view of the nation, and of the rest of Europe, would in all probability have been averted. For Poland, for Russia, for America, he has alike been desirous of exercising his philanthropic labours. With respect to his own country, whenever an occasion has occurred for offering any improvement of its laws or its policy, he has eagerly availed himself of it. Upon the statutes of usury; upon the taxes imposed on law proceedings; upon the reform projected in the judicial establishments of Scotland; upon penal labour, and upon the evils and abuses of that system of penal colonization which has been adopted in the place of it;—upon all these important topics, he has given to the public his enlarged and enlightenedviews. And he has laboured for all nations, and for ages yet to come, in his greater works,—his 'Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation;' his 'Treatise on Civil and Penal Legislation;' his 'Theory of Punishments and Rewards;' and his 'Essay on the Tactics of Political Assemblies.'

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The beneficial effects which might have been expected from these masterly compositions, have not, it is true, as yet been produced. We are not able to discover the traces of these works in the improved condition of any portion of the human race. The noblest reward which, in this our mortal state, any human being can receive—that of contemplating the happiness of which he is himself the author, the scattering plenty o'er a smiling land, and reading his history in a nation's eyes—this reward it has not been his good fortune to obtain: But, let it not be imagined that his merits have been wholly unrequited, and that he has spent his excellent life only in ungrateful toil and cheerless disappointment. From several passages dispersed in different parts of his writings, it is evident that he is not unconscious of his own extraordinary powers; that the truth, so manifest to others, is no secret to himself,—but that he is fully convinced, that, sooner or later, the time must come, when his merits will be justly appreciated, and the high importance of his services acknowledged; that in after times, his principles will be generally adopted; and that, if not to his contemporaries, yet to remote ages, and to yet uncivilized nations, he will be a Teacher and a Legislator. This alone it is—this anticipation of future fame, and of an assured immortality—this certainty that the seeds now sown will infallibly bring forth, though a late, yet an ample harvest of human happiness, which can have induced him, under every discouragement, and with nothing but a sanguine confidence in the truth and importance of his principles to cheer him, for so long a series of years, to persevere in devoting his whole time to this one pursuit, and in sacrificing to it fortune, pleasure, and all the dazzling prizes that ambition could hold out;—in giving up every meaner enjoyment for the sublime gratification of becoming a great benefactor to mankind.

The work before us gives an account of the endeavours which Mr Bentham has made, to render his labours useful to two foreign nations, the Russians and the Americans. The forming a code of laws for the immense population of the Russian empire, has long been a favourite object of its Princes. As early as the year 1700, a commission was named for the purpose. It has been since from time to time renewed, and is, at the present moment, in existence—we know not whether we should say in activity. Permanent salaries, it seems, are allotted to the commissioners; but no other of the Emperor's subjects have as yet profited by their appointment. Mr Bentham was willing to reverse this state of things; to render the services required; but to receive no remuneration whatever for those services. He accord-

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ingly, in May 1814, addressed a letter to the Emperor Alexander, making a tender of them to his Majesty. At the end of eleven months, and when nearly another year had been added to the sixty-six which Mr Bentham stated that he had completed when his disinterested offer was made, the Emperor condescended to answer it with his own hand. 'It was with great 'interest,' he says, 'that he read Mr Bentham's letter. The 'formation of a Code of Laws was an object which he had too 'much at heart, and of the importance of which he was too sen-'sible, not to be anxious to profit by Mr Bentham's learning 'and experience; and he should therefore,' he adds, 'direct 'his commissioners to have recourse to Mr Bentham, and to 'address their inquiries to him:'—and, in the mean time, his Majesty desires him to accept his sincere thanks, and the remembrance which accompanied his letter. This remembrance, it seems, was a valuable ring, which was delivered sealed up to Mr Bentham. Sealed up as he received it, that gentleman returned it. He seems to have thought, that to accept of any thing which might be immediately converted into money, however the usages of the world might have given a different character to such a token of approbation and honour proceeding from a Sovereign, would be a departure from his principles, and would falsify his professions.

The terms of his Majesty's letter threw also a fatal damp upon Mr Bentham's project. He was desirous of having the Emperor's sanction for framing a Code of Laws, not which should be immediately invested with authority and imposed on his subjects, but which should, as a mere project, be submitted to the examination of the public, and have its provisions and its reasons canvassed before it was adopted. His desire was, to draw up such a code under the Emperor's sanction, and not to answer the questions which it might be thought expedient to put to him by his Majesty's Commissioners, of whose capacity and intentions Mr Bentham seems not to have formed a very favourable opinion. That no inquiries ever would be made of him by those Commissioners, he was fully confident. All this he explains in a long letter addressed to the Emperor, which very plainly shows that such a kind of correspondence is quite new to him, and that he is wholly unacquainted with the style in which Sovereign Princes are usually addressed. It contains, however, many excellent observations with respect to the best mode in which a Prince, desirous to confer upon his subjects the inestimable blessing of wise and salutary laws, can best and most judiciously set about the task. It is not by a close commission, but by uniting, and, as it were, putting in requisition the ta-

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lents of all who are capable of contributing to its completion; and, by such encouragement, forming, as he calls it, a school of legislation, and thus making the best provision possible for filling all the different departments which are to be employed in accomplishing that great work, with persons who shall have given proof of their capacity for such employment. When he wrote this letter, notwithstanding that he was still urgent with the Emperor to allow him to labour in his service, it is evident, that he entertained little expectation, that, as far as regarded Russia, his offer would be accepted. With respect to Poland, however, he still cherished some hopes. It was at that time imagined, that the Emperor entertained the generous design of establishing the independence, and restoring the fallen fortunes of that wronged and unhappy country, under the benign government of Prince Adam Czartorinski;—but that pleasing delusion soon vanished. 'The treaties,' as Mr Bentham expresses it, 'which were made public, rendered it but too ma-'nifest, that what remained of Poland, under its own name, 'had been swallowed up in the gulph of Russian despotism; 'that engagements are regarded as binding by those alone who 'cannot violate them with impunity; and that, of that modern 'Holy League, which, in its spirit, is so congenial to that of the 'original one, it is a fundamental principle, that, in the hands 'of the ruling and sub-ruling *few*, the nearer the condition of 'the subject *many* can be brought to the condition of the beasts 'of the field, the better it will be for the interests eternal, as 'well as temporal, of all parties.' No further notice appears to have been taken by the Emperor of Mr Bentham or his projects;—and thus terminated this unavailing attempt to benefit the subjects of his Imperial Majesty.

Whether any thing will come of Mr Bentham's endeavour to improve the legislation of the United States of America, is yet undetermined: But if his offers here, too, should be neglected or refused, the people, both of America and of Great Britain, will still have great reason to rejoice that they were made,—inasmuch as they will have been the cause of the present publication, which contains some of the most important views on the subject of Legislation, and on the nature of common or unwritten law, that have ever yet been laid before the public.

The United States are still subject to the common law of England, except as far as that law has been altered or repealed by British or American statutes. In the opinion of Mr Bentham, an unwritten law must always be attended with great evils; and he earnestly exhorts the Americans, in the place of it, to substitute a written code. The greater part of what is

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addressed on this subject to America, is immediately applicable to England;—and a matter of greater or more increasing importance can hardly be presented to our view. In spite of the panegyrics which have been so often pronounced upon our laws, and upon the administration of them, no person who is practically acquainted with our English system of jurisprudence, and who will speak of it ingenuously, can deny that it is attended with great and numerous mischiefs, which are every day becoming more intolerable. The difficulties, the expense, the tedious length of litigations, the uncertainty of their issue, and, in many cases, the lamentable delay of decision, are but too well known to the great number to whom all this is a source of profit, and to the far greater number on whom it brings down calamity and ruin. What are the causes of these evils it would be rash in any one to pronounce, before he had fully and anxiously examined every part of the subject. They are evils, however, of such magnitude, that every discussion which affords a chance of leading us to the discovery of their causes, and consequently to the providing against them an effectual remedy, must be regarded as highly beneficial. Considered in this point of view, the question, whether the common, or unwritten law, be better calculated than a written code, to provide effectually for the security of men's persons and properties, in a state as far advanced as England is in civilization and refinement, is one of very great public interest; and we shall therefore make no apology for proceeding to the discussion of it, or for mixing arguments of our own with those, which either we have found in the work before us, or have been suggested by its perusal.

The first step to be taken in this inquiry, is to ascertain the nature of the unwritten law by which England is at this moment governed. We are not then to understand that the rules by which property is to be distributed, and the conduct of men to be regulated, really exist only in oral tradition, and the imperfect recollections of individuals. What is called with us unwritten law, is in truth to be collected from a great number of written records and printed volumes; and, according to old Fortescue and to Blackstone, it is only by a twenty years' study of them that a perfect knowledge of it can be gained. It is by reading, and by reading only, that the *lex non scripta*, as well as the statute law, is to be acquired; but, in the one case, we find the law expressing its commands in direct and positive terms—while, in the other, we can arrive at a knowledge of it only through its interpreters and oracles—the Judges.

The common law is to be collected, not from the plain text of a comprehensive ordinance, which it is open to all men to

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consult, but from the decisions of Courts of Justice, pronounced in a great variety of cases, and which have disclosed small portions of it from time to time, just as the miscellaneous transactions of men in a state of society may have chanced to require, or give occasion for its promulgation.

Of a law so constituted, it must necessarily happen that a large portion must always remain unpublished. The occasion for declaring it never having occurred, it must rest (as all that is now published once did) in a latent state, till some event happens to call it into use and into notice. Of a statute law, we know with certainty the whole extent,—and we can at once discern what it has not, as well as what it has provided; but under the common law there is no case unprovided for,—though there be many of which it is extremely difficult, and indeed impossible, to say beforehand what the provision is. For the cases on which no decision has yet been pronounced, an unknown law exists, which must be brought to light whenever the courts are called upon for their decision. For all practical purposes, a law so unknown is the same as a law not in existence: To declare, is substantially to enact it; and the Judges, though called only expounders of law, are in reality legislators. Of what importance is it, that, by a legal fiction, the law is supposed to have had preexistence, since, being unknown till it was promulgated by some tribunal, it was not possible that men could have conformed to it as the rule of their conduct?—and yet, in this very circumstance, have some most eminent lawyers discovered a superiority in the common law over all written statutes. Lord Mansfield, for example, when pleading as an advocate at the Bar, is reported to have thus expressed himself. 'Cases of law depend upon occasions which give rise to them. 'All occasions do not arise at once. A statute very seldom 'can take in all cases; therefore the common law that works 'itself pure by rules drawn from the fountains of justice, is 'superior to an act of Parliament.' (*Atkyn's Reports*, vol. i. 32, 33.)

The law thus unknown to others till it was promulgated in some decision, can hardly be said to have been previously known even to the judges themselves. When some new question is brought before them to decide, those oracles of the law do not, like the oracles of old, (the supposed sources of all wisdom and knowledge), immediately pronounce their authoritative and unerring responses; neither do they retire to their chambers, as if to consult some code of which they are the sole possessors, and then reveal in public, to the contending parties, the text which they have discovered. They profess themselves unquali-

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fied immediately to decide: They require to be themselves informed: It is necessary that they should hear, and compare, and examine, and reason, and be assisted by the arguments of others, before they are prepared to pronounce what the law has declared. They even call upon the litigant parties themselves to state, by their advocates, what they conceive the law to be, and to support their statements by reasoning and authorities, and analogous decisions; and it sometimes happens, that even with all this assistance, the Judges find themselves unable to declare what the law is, and require the assistance of a second argument, and by other counsel.

That all these deliberations, and this laborious process, should be necessary, will not appear surprising to those who reflect what is the nature of the operation to be performed when we would discover what the common law is upon some point upon which it has never yet been declared. Dr Paley calls it, and not unaptly, a competition of opposite analogies. 'When a 'point of law,' he says, * 'has been once adjudged, neither 'that question, nor any which completely, and in all its circumstances, corresponds with *that*, can be brought a second 'time into dispute; but questions arise which resemble this only 'indirectly, and in part, and in certain views and circumstances, 'and which may seem to bear an equal, or a greater affinity, to other adjudged cases; questions which can be brought within any 'fixed rule only by analogy, and which hold an analogy by relation to different rules. It is by the urging of the different 'analogies that the contention of the Bar is carried on; and it 'is in the comparison, adjustment, and reconciliation of them 'with one another, in the discerning of such distinctions, and 'in the framing of such a determination, as may either save the 'various rules alleged in the cause, or, if that be impossible, 'may give up the weaker analogy to the stronger, that the sagacity and wisdom of the court are seen and exercised.'†

* Paley, Mor. Phil. Vol. II. p. 259.

† It is very extraordinary, that, with such accurate notions as Paley appears to have had on this subject, he should not have seen, that this 'source of disputation,' as he calls it, was peculiar to an unwritten law. He strangely supposes it to belong equally to the statute as to the common law. 'After all the certainty and rest,' he says, 'that can be given to points of law, either by the interposition of the legislature, or the authority of precedents, one principal source of disputation, and into which, indeed, the greater 'part of legal controversies may be resolved, will remain still, namely, the competition of opposite analogies.' Difficulties undoubted-

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The common law was covered with a veil of antiquity;—that veil has been, by the decisions of the judges, in part removed: What it is that still remains concealed from the public view, no one can with certainty tell. Nothing is left us but to conjecture, and our conjectures are wholly founded upon those various analogies of which Paley speaks. The best supported of those analogies is that which generally prevails; it is acknowledged, from that moment, as the law of the land, and as a point from which other analogies may in future be drawn.

It is not a little amusing to hear what Blackstone (who is, upon almost all occasions, the apologist for what he finds established) says of this unwritten law. 'The moment,' these are his words, 'that a decision has been pronounced, that which 'was before uncertain, and perhaps indifferent, becomes a per-'manent rule, which it is not in the breast of any subsequent 'judge to alter or vary from;' and he accordingly tells us, that 'it is an established rule to abide by former precedents, where 'the same point comes again in litigation.'† How, indeed, should it be otherwise? Where the authority of a written text cannot be referred to, it is from decisions alone that the law can be collected; and it should seem to be as necessary for those who administer the law, to follow those decisions implicitly, as to obey the plain injunctions of a statute: And yet, according to Blackstone, 'this rule admits of exception, where 'the former determination is most evidently contrary to reason, 'and much more, if it be clearly contrary to the Divine law.' Here are other sources, then, from which we are to collect the unwritten law—namely, the dictates of reason, and the declared will of God. But, unfortunately, the dictates of reason, which are at all times sufficiently uncertain as a positive rule of conduct, are rendered much more uncertain by the learned Commentator's explanation. For, in many cases, he tells us—the reason of a law cannot be discovered by any sagacity, and yet must be presumed to exist; and he proceeds to lay it down, as a maxim of English Jurisprudence, that it is only where a precedent, or the rule which it has established, is flatly absurd or unjust, that its authority may be disregarded.* The Cam-

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ly often arise in the application of written statutes, and Paley himself has well pointed them out; but they are quite of a different nature from those which attend the administration of the common law, and certainly cannot be surmounted by that competition of opposite analogies which he mentions.

† Comm. Vol. I. p. 69.

* 'The particular reason of every rule in the law cannot, at this 'distance of time, be always precisely assigned; but it is sufficient

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bridge professor, who has commented upon the Commentaries, controverts even this position, and most satisfactorily proves, that absolute demonstration of the absurdity and injustice of a rule, is not alone sufficient, at the common law, to detract from its binding force. By the law of England, till the Legislature interposed to alter it, every statute had a retrospective operation to the first day of the Sessions in which it passed; and acts, therefore, which were done after the Sessions had commenced, and before the law was made, fell under the animadversion of its *ex post facto* enactments, and subjected the author of them to the penalty of having disregarded prohibitions which had no existence. A stronger instance to prove that absurdity and injustice are not incompatible with a rule of the common law, could not have been adduced.

This source of uncertainty becomes the more formidable, from the consideration that the judges are themselves to determine, whether the former decision was or was not contrary to reason; or, in other words, whether it shall or shall not be binding on them. It must always therefore be in the power of the judge, notwithstanding the oath which we are told he takes, 'to determine, not according to his own private judgment, but according to the known laws and customs of the land.' To relieve himself from embarrassing precedents which may be cited, he has only to declare, that those precedents are contrary to reason, and were therefore themselves deviations from the common law, and to profess, in the language of Mr Justice Blackstone, that he is 'not making a new law, but vindicating the old from misrepresentation.' This doctrine, that former determinations are of authority only as they are consistent with reason, affords, in the opinion of the same writer, good ground for those high strained panegyrics of the law which are so often pronounced by our judges. 'Hence,' to use his own words, 'it is, that our lawyers with justice tell us, that the law is the perfection of reason, and that what is not reason is not law.' An aphorism which is, however, involved in such a cloud of mystery, that we are at the same time told, that not even the judges can, upon all occasions, discover in what that reason, the test of genuine

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'that there be nothing in the rule flatly contradictory to reason, and then the law will presume it to be well founded.'—'The doctrine of the law is, that precedents and rules must be followed, unless flatly absurd or unjust; for though their reason be not obvious at first view, yet we owe such a deference to former times, as not to suppose that they acted *wholly* without consideration.' Comm. Vol. I. p. 70.

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law, consists; and that they are bound to hold every thing which they find decided by their predecessors to be law, and consequently the perfection of reason, unless it be 'flatly absurd or 'unjust.' In contemplation of law, there is no medium, it seems, between the perfection of reason and gross absurdity.

Not to deceive ourselves, however, we ought to understand, that this supposed bringing to light of the ancient law, which had been for ages unrevealed, is at best but a fiction. The law so declared in many cases, had no existence till the declaration was made, although the judges do not 'pretend to make new 'law,' but 'to vindicate the old from misrepresentation.' It has already been observed, that where the whole law is embodied in written statutes, cases may occur on which the law is silent; but where an unwritten law prevails, this can never happen. That the law is not already declared, is only because the particular occasion for declaring it never before occurred. The Judges being unable therefore to predicate of any case that it is one which the law has not foreseen, are under the necessity, with the aid of Dr Paley's Analogies, of supplying what is wanting, and of *discovering* the ancient law which is supposed to have been once expressed in statutes that have long since mouldered away, or to have been pronounced in judgments of which no record has been preserved. In name, this differs from making laws,—but it is only in name. Whether the chasm has been made by the ravages of time, or was left in the *original* fabric of our law, it is precisely by the same process that it must be filled up. The same recourse must be had to Paley's Analogies, whether the object of the Judges be to conjecture what the lost law must have been, or to make a new law, which will best quadrate and harmonize with the relics of the old.

The ingenuity to be exercised on these occasions, is not very unlike that of the statuary, who is called upon to restore the deficient parts of some mutilated remnant of antiquity. From that which remains, he conjectures what, in its original perfection, must have been the entire statue; and he supplies such a feature or a limb, as will give its proper form and attitude to the whole. In the same manner the lawyer, having made himself master of all that remains of the ancient common law—having imbibed its spirit, and studied its principles—endeavours to restore what is wanting, in such a mode as may best symmetrize and combine itself with the rest. In this respect, however, the Artist and the Jurist differ; the former gives the result of his labours for what it really is, a humble attempt to supply a loss which he acknowledges to be irreparable; while the magis-

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terial lawyer does not hesitate to publish his ingenious conjectures as the genuine remains of antiquity. In another respect, too, the comparison fails. With our restoring Jurists, it is often not the best, but the first artist that tries his hand, whose essay, however crude and imperfect, must be united for ever to the beautiful original to which it has been once attached; whereas, in the Arts, the first awkward attempt at restoration will give place to the happier efforts of a more skilful statuary.

Considering, then, these judicial declarations or expositions of the law as that, which in every new case they to all practical purposes really are, the making of law; let us next consider what is the peculiar character of this species of legislation. The first thing to be observed upon it is, that laws so made are necessarily *ex post facto* laws. The rule is not laid down till after the event which calls for the application of it has happened. Though new in *fact*, yet being of the greatest antiquity in *theory*, it has necessarily a retrospective operation, and governs all past, as well as all future transactions. Property, which had been purchased or transmitted by descent to the present possessor of it, is discovered by the newly declared law to belong to others; actions, which were thought to be innocent, turn out to be criminal; and there is no security for men's possessions, their persons, or their liberties.

It is another objection to this mode of legislation, that the legislators being ostensibly called on to discharge very different duties, are forbidden to entertain any of the considerations which ought most to influence the judgments of those who are avowedly employed in making laws. What will most tend to promote the general good, or what is best adapted to the present habits and modes of thinking of mankind, the judicial legislator is bound to disregard. He is to consider, not what would be the best law on any given subject that could now be made, but what law was most likely to have been made upon it at the remote period when the common law is supposed to have had its origin. All his researches tend to discover, not how the evil which has occurred may best be remedied, but in what manner it is probable, that, in a very different state of society, the matter would have been ordered. The reasons upon which he proceeds are not reasons of utility, or of general expediency, but reasons of analogy, or, as they are properly termed, technical reasons. Thus, when it was first decided, that a man who had killed himself, and of whose crime it was deemed no small aggravation that he had left destitute a wife whom he was solemnly bound to protect and to provide for,—when, for such an offence, it was first decided, that, by the common law, there was a forfeiture to the

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Crown, not only of all the chattels which the offender possessed, but even of leasehold estates which he held jointly with that wife, or which he possessed in her right, it was on mere technical arguments, which set all reasons and common sense at defiance, that such a decision proceeded.

To take another instance. A man is killed. The person by whose hand he fell is tried for murder, and is acquitted, or, having been convicted, receives a pardon. The *father* of the deceased, imputing partiality to the Jury, or complaining of favour unjustifiably shown by the Crown, is desirous of avenging his son's blood, and of bringing the case before another Jury, but in such a form as shall wrest from the King his prerogative of protecting enormous guilt. Accordingly, he brings his appeal of death; and the question is, whether, at his suit, such a proceeding will lie. It is now settled law, that it will not. But, let us transport ourselves back to the time when this common-law question came first under discussion. If a new law were to be made upon such a subject, the questions to be examined would be, whether it were expedient that the punishment of public crimes should depend on the pleasure of private individuals; whether a man, once tried and acquitted, ought to be put a second time in peril of his life; whether the prerogative of pardoning should be fettered with any restraints, and, if it should, whether such restraints could be safely allowed to fall into the hands of any obscure and perhaps worthless individual. All this might be matter of examination and of doubt; but, upon one point, all voices would concur, namely, that if such powers were to be confided to those who stood in some near relation to the deceased, there was no one to whom they ought sooner to be entrusted, than to a parent deprived by murder of his child. Considerations, however, of expediency, or of public advantage, when the question is one of common law, are those which are last to be entertained. It is technically that we are to look at the subject. Though the question relate to murder, it is artificial, not natural relations, that we are to regard. And accordingly, we find it settled, that *a cousin*, though he will probably use this process merely as a means of extorting money, may bring his appeal, provided he be the heir-at-law; but that no *father* can have recourse to it, because, by the positive law of England, a parent cannot be heir to his child.

To give the unlearned reader some notion how uncertain the common law is, and how a large portion of it yet remains to be declared, we would refer him to the following passage upon the subject of these appeals, in Serjeant Hawkins's Treatise on the Pleas of the Crown. 'If an appeal,' he says, 'be once com-

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'menced by an heir who dies hanging the suit, it seems to be 'agreed by *almost* all the Books, that no other heir can after-'wards proceed in such appeal, or commence a new one. But 'some have holden, that if the first heir die within the year and 'day, without commencing an appeal, the next heir may bring 'one. But *this is made a doubt by others;* and the generality of 'the Books seem to favour the contrary opinion; yet it is *holden* 'by Sir Matthew Hale, and some others, that if the first heir 'get judgement in an appeal of death, and die, his heir may sue 'execution; but this is *doubted* of by Sir William Staunford, *and* 'seems contrary to many of the old books, and not easily recon-'cileable with the reason of the cases above mentioned. But 'whether, in this case, the Court may not award execution, 'either *ex officio* or at the demand of the King, may deserve 'to be considered. Also, if a person who is killed have no 'wife at the time of death, and no issue but daughters, and 'all those daughters die within the year and day, *it may* 'reasonably be argued, that the heir-male may have an ap-'peal, because the right of bringing one never vested in any 'other before. But, *finding this case in none of the books,* I 'shall leave it to be more fully considered by others.'† All these doubts and difficulties, and conjectures and uncertainties, relate, it is true, to a branch of the law which has seldom, in the course of the last three centuries, been executed; but it should be remembered, that is a law which it is in the power of private individuals to call at any time into activity; that accident alone is to determine on whom the power of reviving it shall be cast; and that, when called into action, it is men's lives that it will dispose of. For the cases thus left unprovided for, or, which is the same thing, which are so provided for that the most learned lawyers cannot say what the provision is, some law ought surely to be made. The matter being involved in such obscurity that one of the first Criminal lawyers that the country has produced can only state what the inconsistent authorities are, can venture no further than to advance doubts and probabilities, and to suggest topics for argument, it must be incumbent on the Legislature to declare what the law shall be in future, and to prevent the justice of the country from being hereafter so much dishonoured as it surely must be, if our tribunals are to be assembled to decide whether an individual shall suffer death for a murder imputed to him, upon no consideration of any thing that has relation to his guilt or innocence, to the justice of a discussion already commenced upon his case, or to the prudence or the profligacy with which

† Hawk. P. C. Book 2, ch. 23, § 41.

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the Crown's prerogative of pardoning may have been exercised, but upon legal subtleties applicable only to the descent of real property, upon an examination of antient records, upon a comparison of the weight that is due to the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale and of Sir William Staunford, and upon some law, which no man, till the case occurred, could venture to state had any existence, and which is brought to light only by antiquarian research, and forensic acuteness, amongst clashing and inconsistent authorities, out of a mass of materials under which it had remained buried for centuries past.

Not only is the Judge, who at the very moment when he is making law, is bound to profess that it is his province only to declare it; not only is he thus confined to technical doctrines and to artificial reasoning,—he is further compelled to take the narrowest view possible of every subject on which he legislates. The law he makes is necessarily restricted to the particular case which gives occasion for its promulgation. Often when he is providing for that particular case, or, according to the fiction of our Constitution, is declaring how the ancient and long forgotten law has provided for it, he represents to himself other cases which probably may arise, though there is no record of their ever having yet occurred, which will as urgently call for a remedy, as that which it is his duty to decide. It would be a prudent part to provide, by one comprehensive rule, as well for these possible events, as for the actual case that is in dispute, and, while terminating the existing litigation, to obviate and prevent all future contests. This, however, is to the judicial legislator strictly forbidden; and if, in illustrating the grounds of his judgment, he adverts to other and analagous cases, and presumes to anticipate how they should be decided, he is considered as exceeding his province; and the opinions thus delivered, are treated by succeeding judges as extrajudicial, and as entitled to no authority.

A still further evil inherent in this system is, that the duty of legislation must often be cast on those, who are ill qualified to legislate upon the particular subject which accident may allot to them. In a mass of jurisprudence so extensive, and consisting of such a variety of parts as that which at the present day prevails in England, it must necessarily happen, that even the most learned and experienced lawyers will not have had occasions, in the course of the longest study and practice, to make themselves complete masters of every portion of it. It is usually to some one or more particular branches that they have severally directed their researches. One man is distinguished as deeply learn-

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ed in the law of real property; another in what relates to tithes and the rights and possessions of the church; a third is mostly skilled in criminal law; a fourth in the forms of actions and the rules of procedure: And accordingly, when it is important to private clients to be informed of the law, they consult the most eminent jurists only upon those subjects with which they are known to be most conversant. If the task of compiling a complete code of laws were now to be undertaken, the subject would probably be divided into its different branches, and each would be assigned to those who were understood to have devoted to it almost exclusively their attention and their care. But in legislation, by means of judicial decisions, it is chance, not the qualifications of the legislator, which determines upon what he shall legislate. In theory he is alike qualified for all subjects. He is presumed to be master of all branches of the law, and to be capable, whatever may be the matters that are brought before him, and in whatever order accident or the humour of litigant parties shall present them to his view, of declaring what the law is which applies to them.

Another objection to this mode of legislation, and which in a free state cannot surely be of little account, is, that the People has no control over those by whom the laws are made. The magistrates, filling the high stations to which is attached the most important duty, and the most dangerous power that men in a state of society can be invested with, are nominated by the sole pleasure of the Crown; and, during the long period when the largest portion of the common law, by which we are now governed, was produced, they were also, if the laws which they made were unpalateable to the Crown, removeable at its pleasure.

It is supposed to be a maxim of our Constitution, that we are to be governed by no laws but those to which the people have, by their representatives, given their consent. No man, however, will assert, that the consent of the people was ever obtained to the common law, which forms so large a portion of our jurisprudence. Our legislators here have been, not the representatives of our choice, but the servile instruments of our monarchs—at one time, the great delinquents who presided in our tribunals in the days of Richard the II.—and at another, the corrupt judges of the Jameses and the Charleses, who suffered themselves to be practised upon by the king's law officers, and met in secret cabals to decide the fate of the victims of the Crown, before any accusation was openly preferred against them;—the men who, by their abject obedience to the dictates of their master, when they were his hired advocates, and by the keenness

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with which, as his blood-hounds, they hunted down the prey he had marked out, had sufficiently proved how well disposed they were to do him good service in the high and sacred office of a judge.

Such are among the principal objections to this species of legislation. But it is to be observed, that while this is going on, there is amongst us a legislation of another kind, proceeding with equal activity—that of the avowed and acknowledged legislature which every year sends into the world a cumbrous Collection of new Statutes. Between these two legislatures there is no unity of design; their works are as unlike, as the characters of the authors and their modes of legislation. Of a law proceeding from such sources, it is not surprising that it is found to be uncertain, intricate, obscure, perplexed, inconsistent, full of refinement and subtlety, and subject to continual fluctuations. The law which is every Term discovered and brought to light by the Judges, seems to vie in extent with that which is made by the Parliament; and the lawyer's library is every year enlarged by one bulky volume of statutes, and by several volumes of reported decisions. The new statutes of each year are swoln out to a bulk surpassing that of the year which preceded it; and every fresh term seems to be prolific of more judicial reports than the term that went before it. So considerable are the changes and augmentations which are thus continually taking place in English law, that the treatises, essays, and compilations which have been composed on various legal subjects, require to be from time to time renewed, that they may not mislead those who consult them; and, upon many heads, an old law treatise is of as little use as an almanack for a year that has expired. The duties of a Justice of the Peace were formerly comprised in one small duodecimo volume; they are now to be searched for in five large octavos, containing altogether 4400 pages. To this size Burns's Justice has been gradually expanded, in the course of the twenty-two editions which, during a period of sixty years, it has passed through. So many new reports have been printed, and so many new statutes made, that, as the publisher tells us in the advertisement to the 15th edition, 'every new edition, in order to keep pace with the law, is in effect a new book.'

But it is time to return to the work of Mr Bentham, from which we have, we fear, much too long digressed. It was a strong sense of the evils which we have been enlarging upon, that induced Mr Bentham to endeavour to rescue from them the inhabitants of the United States. His project is first an-

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nounced in a letter written in October 1811, to Mr Madison, the then President. He was unwilling, it seems, to devote several of the years, which may still remain of his life, to the framing a body of law for North America, with the discouraging prospect of the work not being perhaps ever heard of by the people for whose benefit he was thus content to toil. To secure for it, therefore, some publicity, he requires from the President a previous approbation of his design; and, to gain that approbation, he explains the objects of his proposed code, and the plan and the principles upon which it was to be framed. Five years pass away before the receipt of this letter is acknowledged; and the President accounts and apologizes for his silence, by the war which had unhappily intervened,—by the military preparations which had occupied the period when that war was only anticipated,—by a busy Session of Congress,—and by 'a 'variety of other circumstances.' That such a task could be undertaken by no person so capable of well executing it as Mr Bentham, he acknowledges; and it is with regret that he finds himself obliged to observe, that it is not within the scope of his proper functions to accept this disinterested and beneficent offer.

In the mean time, at the suggestion as it should seem, of Mr Galatin, the American minister, Mr Bentham had addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania a proposal to prepare a code of civil and penal law for the inspection and revision of the legislature of that State. From some accident not ascertained, this proposal was not received till the Session of 1816 had terminated; but, in a message to the States, in January 1817, Mr Snyders, the Governor, announces to them this important communication. It is not, however, upon the President of the United States, or upon any of the Governors, but upon the people themselves, that an impression must be made, to ensure success to such a project, in a country where the people are, by their representatives, in effect and reality, their own Legislators. Mr Bentham has, therefore, in the months of July and August of the present year, addressed to the people of America, a series of letters on the subject of his proposal, and on the mode in which, if accepted, it is to be carried into execution. These letters, together with the different correspondences before mentioned, constitute the present work. The letters to the citizens of America form the most important part of it. In these, the author enters into a much fuller examination of the evils of an unwritten law,—the qualities which ought to be found in a well composed code,—and the principles upon which such a work

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should proceed, than in his other correspondence. To induce the Americans to enter into his views, and to undertake so noble an enterprise, he holds out to them the prospect, not merely of the solid benefits they would derive from it, but of the glory it would reflect upon them; and he exhorts them to set this splendid example to other nations, and to become the benefactors of mankind, in a strain of eloquence to which he does not often rise. Though his labours, he says,—labours which, of themselves, are nothing,—which, with him, are the dreams only of an obscure individual, shall, if accepted by them, make them a people of conquerors,—conquerors, not with the sword, but with the pen,—not by violence and destruction, but by reason and beneficence. 'As this,' he adds, 'as this your dominion spreads, not tears and 'curses, but smiles and blessings will attend your conquest in 'its course. Where the fear of his sword ends, there ends the 'empire of the military conqueror. To the conquest to which 'you are here invited, no ultimate limits can be assigned, other 'than those which bound the habitable globe. To force new laws 'upon a reluctant and abhorring people, is, in addition to un-'punishable depredation, the object and effect of vulgar con-'quest:—To behold your laws not only accepted, but sought 'after—sought after by an admiring people, will be yours.'

Dazzling and alluring as these prospects are, we cannot recollect the influence which practising lawyers are said to have in all the States of America, without fearing that they never will be realized. We are not indeed disposed to think so ill of their profession as our author does; but the spirit and tendency of their education, and the habits and modes of thinking which they necessarily contract in the course of their practice, cannot but render, even those of them who are least actuated by selfish motives, averse to all innovations, and, above all, to an innovation of such magnitude as that of subverting the whole system, which it has been the business of their lives to study and give effect to.

If these 'Victories of Peace' are ever to be gained, it is, we are much inclined to believe, towards another part of the globe that we must look for their beginning—to a little speck upon our ancient hemisphere—to a small Republic, without territory, without armies or finances, but which has already, by the influence it has exercised over the minds of men, contributed, in no small degree, to secure the triumphs of religious and civil liberty, as well in America as in Europe. Fortunately for the cause of reason and humanity, one of Mr Bentham's ablest and most zealous disciples, Mr Dumont, is a citizen, and a member of the

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Representative Council of Geneva. It seems that that little Senate is seriously applying itself to the task of forming a penal code—that a committee has been appointed for the purpose—and that Mr Dumont has had imposed on him the duty of preparing a code on Mr Bentham's principles, and submitting it to the consideration of the committee. It is with very sincere pleasure that we have heard of this event. We look forward with the most delightful anticipations to see this intended code adopted by the Republic. As it was from this little commonwealth that emanated much of the light which, three centuries ago, dispelled the dark clouds of bigotry in which the whole of Europe was enveloped, so, from the same quarter, we may see break forth that truth and reason which are to dissipate the thick mists of prejudice and forensic superstition in which law and legislation are still involved.

The duty of impartial criticism would be ill discharged, if, after having spoken as we have, in this article, of Mr Bentham's extraordinary merit, we were to say nothing of his defects. We are fully sensible of them; and we have observed them with deep regret; for we can regard in no other light than that of a public misfortune whatever prevents his writings from being known, and their utility and importance from being universally acknowledged. What principally obstructs their circulation, is the style in which they are composed. Unlike most authors, Mr Bentham's first publications are, in point of writing, the most perfect; and long habit and frequent exercise, instead of improving his language, seem only to have rendered it perplexed, obscure and uncouth. English literature hardly affords any specimens of a more correct, concise, and perspicuous style, than that of the '*Fragment on Government*,' which was the first of Mr Bentham's works, or the '*Protest against Law Taxes*,' and a great part of the '*Defence of Usury*,' which were early productions of his mind. Since those publications, he seems, by great effort and study, to have rendered his style intricate, and his language obscure. His frequent inversions, his long parentheses, the novelty and harshness of many of the terms which he has so often, and, we must say, on many occasions, so unnecessarily invented, and the length and complication of his periods, have rendered some of his compositions illegible to all who will not, in spite of their repulsive forms, persevere in the difficult task of studying rather than reading them. It is indeed when he speaks by another's lips, that he appears to most advantage; and it is to the graces of style which Mr Dumont has given him that he owes the reputation which he has acquired, and which is, from that cause, much greater in foreign coun-

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tries than in his own. Notwithstanding, however, all the untoward circumstances which have prevented the genius of Bentham from being justly appreciated by his contemporaries, it must be accounted an instance of rare good fortune, that such a man as Dumont became his acquaintance and his friend. If it very seldom happens, that, to such extraordinary talents as Bentham possesses, is united an ardent desire to devote them totally and exclusively to the service of mankind; it is no less uncommon to find a writer possessed of the eloquence, the powers of development, and the perspicuity and vigour of expression which so eminently distinguish Dumont, contented, instead of applying his great endowments to some original work which might immortalize himself, to submit, from no other motive than that of benefiting his fellow-creatures, to the humble office of setting forth another's ideas to advantage, and of advancing another's fame. As the merit of the greatest philosopher of antiquity would have been little known to posterity but for the sublime writings of his eloquent disciple, so it is possible that, but for Dumont, Bentham's reputation might never have emerged from obscurity.

It is not, however, to Mr Bentham's style alone that we find reason to object. Nothing, in our opinion, can be more injudicious than the manner in which he has, in his various writings, combated existing evils. It has been truly said, that we always weaken our attack when we exaggerate the abuse attacked. This, Mr Bentham appears to us almost always to do; and when we observe the language in which he inveighs against the supposed frauds of lawyers, the corruption of borough-mongers, and the imputed profligacy of public men of all parties, we blush to find some features of resemblance between one of the first philosophers of the age, and that unhappy class of literary persons, whom necessity impels, or the capricious appetite of the publick invites to exaggerate, and misrepresent, and calumniate, in pursuit of a subsistence at once discreditable and precarious.

ART. XI. *Rome, Naples, et Florence en* 1817. *Ou Esquisses sur l'Etat actuel de la Societé, des Mœurs, des Arts, de la Litterature, &c. de ces Villes célébres.* 8vo. pp. 365. Paris & London. Delauny & Colburn. 1817.

THE plan of this book is by no means a bad one. The author proposed to himself to set down, without any other arrangement than the order of time, what he saw from day to

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day, with such remarks as occurred to him; and to select for publication his notes respecting the three great cities of Italy beyond the Appennines. It is evident, however, that the value of a work constructed upon this plan, must depend wholly upon the talents and accomplishments of the author; and that the cursory observations of a superficial, flippant, ignorant person, must form one of the most insignificant books in the world. It will be as empty as his conversation, without any of the liveliness, by means of which a great deal of silly talk is often made bearable in society; and it will contain none of the materials by which a dull author frequently contrives to make a tolerable book out of other men's sayings or writings.

The writer of this volume is announced, in the newspaper advertisements, though not in the title-page, as a Baron Stendahl. He tells us, at the beginning of his journal, that he is thirty years of age; is attached to the embassy at Berlin; and was thrown into transports approaching to delirium, on receiving the leave of absence which enabled him to see Italy. 'Mais' (adds he) 'je me cache soigneusement du Ministre;'—and the reason is a whimsical one—'les eunuques sont en colere perma-'nente contre les libertins.' From the envy, then, of his unfortunate superior, (for jealousy of course is out of the question), he anticipates a cold reception for at least two months after his return; but he consoles himself with the reflexion, that he shall enjoy himself in the mean while; and 'who knows,' he asks, 'if the world will last three weeks?' The first paragraph of the work which we have analyzed, may give the reader a guess of the flippant character he has to deal with, in the person of the Baron de Stendahl.

The first of his various passions is apparently for musick. When he arrives at Munich, he is highly gratified at witnessing the attentions paid to Madame Catalani; but when he gets to Milan, and sees the Scala, he is beside himself. 'Mon voyage 'est payé. Mes organes épuisés n'étaient plus susceptibles de 'plaisir. Tout ce que l'imagination la plus orientale peut rêver 'de plus singulier, de plus frappant, de plus riche en beautés 'd'architecture; tout ce que l'on peut se représenter en drape-'ries brillantes, en personnages qui, non seulement ont les ha-'bits, mais la physionomie, mais les gestes des pays où se passe 'l'action, je l'ai vu ce soir.' (p. 2.) This is the first impression; but the second is still more violent; and he concludes a page and a half of rapture by saying, that he is 'intoxicated and transported while he writes.' Night after night he goes to the same place, and his transports suffer no sensible abatement; for he goes on raving about the actors, actresses, decorations,

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and orchestra, the whole time of his stay at Milan. Solliva, the composer of the opera which he saw, is compared to Haydn and Mozart, and also to Correggio. The singers are lauded in proportion; though some of them are mentioned rather unceremoniously, especially the *primà donna*, who, though praised abundantly for her voice and science, is broadly asserted to have derived great improvemeut from having lived with Veluti, one of the class formerly noticed as being 'en colere permanente contre les libertins;' and, still more strange to tell, she is also characterized as 'amoureuse de l'amour.' We really cannot see what right the author has to publish all the disgusting slanders of the green-room, with the names of the parties at full length. About this period of his progress, breaks out that hatred of the English which never quits him during his whole journey. In the only remark upon Milan not connected with the theatre, he says the Milanese is remarkable for two things, 'la sagacité et la bonté;' and he adds, 'quand il discute, il est le contraire des Anglois, il est serré comme Tacite.' It is some comfort, however, to find, that we are blamed in good company; for it seems, 'dès qu'il ecrit, il veut faire des belles phrases toscanes; et il est *plus bavard que Ciceron.*'

From Milan he goes to Parma; stops an hour to see the frescoes of Correggio, one of which makes him cry; and at Bologna he halts thirty-six hours, sees ten galeres, and hears two concerts. He despatches the science of the learned city very quickly—'Je suis presenté aux savans; quels sots!' Arrived at Florence, he flies to the theatre, and is enchanted with an opera of Rossini, (or, as he terms him, '*mon aimable Rossini*'), who has, it seems, composed a new '*Barbiere di Sevilla.*' This daring attempt at rivalling the masterpiece of one of the first of all the masters, is considered by our author as the mark of a 'true genius'—though we doubt not there are some who will deem this rather impudent than bold. At Florence there is literally nothing but such remarks upon the opera. But the Baron holds this to be the most important of all subjects; and makes mention, with great complacency, of a judge's wife playing as primà donna, and a captain of horse the primo buffo. 'Il n'y a jamais' (he adds) 'de honte en Italie, à faire ce qui 'est raisonnable; en d'autres termes, le pays est moins gâté 'par la noblesse.'

At Rome he is greatly dispirited by the want of a good opera; meets everywhere crowds of English, who, to all his musical observations, only reply by 'remarks taken from Burney;' and having little to amuse him in the way of practice, he takes to speculating upon various points of learning connected with

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his favourite study. He asks why there is a pleasure in hearing a person sing when you are melancholy; and he answers, that 'this art, in some obscure manner which does not hurt our '*amour-propre*, makes us believe in the existence of pity, and 'that it gives the consolation of tears.' He lays it down, however, that the art is positively hurtful to tender minds under affliction for the loss of some beloved object—'Il ne fait que nuire,' says he, 'et il hâte les *progres de la phthisie.*' We submit to him, whether certain branches of it have not a greater tendency to produce this effect than others; as playing on the flute, or other wind instrument. One of the pleasantest evenings which he appears to have passed in the Eternal City, was at the house of a certain lawyer, where he heard very good musick, and very sensible conversation, particularly in a tête-à-tête which he had in a corner with a very fat man;—who proved to be a rich tailor.

At Naples, the Baron commits immediately an infidelity to his favourite Scala; the San Carlo, just rebuilt, was opened while he was there, and he was present of course. He is so overwhelmed with delight, that for several days he cannot criticise at all; and then he discovers the vocal part to be indifferent. It seems the Italians are as great enthusiasts as himself, and they have a peculiar delight in seeing the opening of a new theatre. The persons most rigid in their economy at all other times, he says, willingly give forty louis for a box on such an occasion; and he saw several people who had come from Venice on purpose, and returned the day after—'Avares (he remarks) pour 'les petites choses, ces gens-ci sont prodigues dans les *grandes.*' As the effects of the first night wear off, he becomes discontented with the whole of the Neapolitan musick, and admits that he leaves Naples 'sans une seule jouissance musicale.'

The Baron's first visit to Rome and Florence, on his way to Naples, seems to have exhausted all he had to say upon musick;—for, from the time of his leaving Naples, we hear little or nothing of that topick, which had till then engrossed literally every page of his journal; and as he is a man of some liveliness and acuteness, with all his flippancy, we find his observations frequently worth attending to, when the subjects become somewhat more important. The eulogium of Cardinal Gonsalez is the first to which he turns his attention upon his second arrival at Rome. From every thing that is known of that able and enlightened minister, we believe the praises bestowed upon him in this book, are the reverse of being exaggerated. We know not the authority upon which the anecdote told in p. 122 is given; but it merits some attention, if authentick. The fanatical, or rather High-

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Church party, it seems, are perpetually beseeching the Pope to remove a minister whose measures they represent as calculated to 'increase the number of the damned among the subjects of 'the Church.' The measures which fill them with this holy dread, are not particularly mentioned, except one, which unquestionably must have the alleged tendency, the admission of lay persons into the different departments of the administration. We apprehend, however, that some other improvements which this wise ruler has introduced, must raise a similar alarm among their Eminences, more especially the abolishing the right of sanctuary, so that a murderer can no longer take refuge in a church, or other consecrated place. The abolition of torture, too, we conceive, may have caused much disquiet in those holy bosoms; a disquiet not to be altogether allayed by the reservation of their undoubted rights of self-infliction, whether by fasting or flogging. Now, when those pious Cardinals, from time to time frighten the Pope with their pictures of the great increase in the total amount of the damned, in consequence of such wicked devices, his Holiness, it is said, sends for the author of all the mischief, Cardinal Gonsalez, who speaks as follows.

" Je juge des crimes secrets par les crimes qui arrivent à la connaissance des tribunaux, et non par les rapports des confesseurs: un souverain est responsable, aux yeux de Dieu, de tous les crimes que ses lois laissent commettre. Les crimes et l'esprit général de friponnerie étaient diminués des deux tiers sous le gouvernement français. La perversité a reparu sous le gouvernement *ultrà* qui m'a précédé. Je reviens aux mesures françaises. J'ai déjà trois cents assassinats de moins par an: ce qui fait probablement six cents damnés de moins." p. 122.

The author adds these reflexions.

'Les trois quarts des cardinaux sont très pieux; mais comme nos grands hommes d'état, ils *n'ont que l'expérience de la solitude.* Ce qu'ils savent des hommes, ils l'ont appris dans l'histoire du seizième siècle. Ils ne se doutent pas du leur; tout ce qui est jeune à Rome, sent fort bien qu'il faut donner une autre forme au principe religieux. Si la forme continue à choquer le fond, la source tarira, et, se faisant jour par des conduits secrets, ira former les superstitions les plus extravagantes. Les jeunes prélats qui ont voyagé sont convenus avec moi que le seul pays du monde où il y ait encore de la religion, c'est l'Angleterre.' p. 122, 123.

At Florence, our author seems never to be pleased. The singular beauty of the place, and the rich stores both of ancient and modern art, have little power to fix this true Parisian. The

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theatre is bad, and the society scanty; that is enough for the condemation of the fair city. Even after he has emerged from the territory, and arrived at Bologna, (an escape which he compares to getting out of the country, and finding himself at Paris), he turns back upon the Florentines, and attacks their parsimony as bitterly, if not quite so forcibly, as Dante could have done, (*Firenze mia*, &c. &c.). It seems they are all lean; they breakfast on a dish of coffee, and the most minute piece of bread, costing in all two pence; they dine for fifteen pence; they differ from the Milanese, he says, in this, that at Milan the business of life is to dine well; at Florence to make believe that you have dined. The contrast of their magnificent liveries, with their miserable living, he describes as remarkable. Upon all this the Baron has his little speculation. He holds it to be plain, that, while Florence was rich and commercial, it acquired the great virtue of traders, economy; and that, having lost its wealth, it keeps the habit of saving. Perhaps the loss of the wealth may, of itself, account for all the phenomena.

Bologna seems to please our author better than all Italy beside. He there found a delightful assemblage both of foreigners and natives; and he renders ample justice to the charms of person, of mind, and of accomplishment, which he found in the most admired of the Bolognese society. He has given a sketch, from a connoisseur under whom he studied, of the beauties of the great masters of painting. As it is short, and with few exceptions (as in the case of Correggio) seems to describe the characteristics of those whom it comprehends tolerably well, we extract the passage.

"Vous savez que l'école de Florence se reconnaît à un dessein hardi qui, sur les pas de Michel-Ange, outre un peu la partie saillante des muscles.

"Raphaël eut l'expression, le dessein, l'imitation de l'antique. Sa perfection est dans les figures d'Apôtres et de Vierges. Il fut un peu froid et un peu sec dans le commencemens, comme le Perrugin, son maître. Le *Frate* lui apprit le clair-obscur, où il fut toujours faible. Ce fut une grande âme.

"Le Corrége a la grâce séduisante, le clair-obscur, les raccourcis; son âme était faite pour réinventer l'antique; mais il l'a peu imité. Ses tableaux, chefs-d'œuvres de volupté, sont à Dresde et à Parme.

"Le Titien, et tous les Vénitiens, ont la vérité de la couleur. Giorgione, grand homme, moissonné à l'entrée de sa carrière, en eut l'idéal.

"L'école de Bologne est presque, dans tous les genres, la perfection de la peinture.

"Le Dominiquin eut l'expression, surtout des affections timides, le coloris, le clair-obscur, le dessein. Pour l'expression, après Raphaël et lui, vient le Poussin.

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" Le Guide, âme Française, eut la beauté céleste dans les figures de femmes. Ses ombres peu fortes, sa manière suave, ses draperies légères, ses contours délicats forment un contraste parfait avec le style de Michel-Ange de Carravage.

" Le Guerchin fut un ouvrier doué d'un singulier coup-d'œil pour rendre le clair-obscur. Il copiait tout simplement les paysans du bourg de *Cento*, où il travaillait à la toise. Ses figures semblent se détacher de la toile, et conviennent aux gens qui louent, dans la peinture, l'*illusion*.

" La Galerie Farnèse, de Rome, met Annibal Carrache au rang des plus grands peintres. Beaucoup de gens disent Raphaël, le Corrége, Titien et Annibal. A Bologne, on lui préfère Louis Carrache.

" L'Albane, homme froid, a bien peint les enfans et les corps de femme, mais non leur âme. Il n'en avait pas ; l'envie l'occupa beaucoup." p. 179-181.

At Loretto he falls in with an English Colonel of seventy, who having been much in France before the Revolution, gives him a discourse, under three heads, beside an introduction and a conclusion, upon French and English society. It lasts through about twenty pages; and, as it was spoken when nobody was present, one is at a loss to account for the fulness of the report. To suppose that there is no such Colonel, would only remove the difficulty a step; for the remarks are, in style and acuteness, considerably above the Baron's usual performances.

On his journey through the States of the Church, he seems to have been fortunate in the company he met with; for, not to mention the ancient officer and the delightful society at Bologna, he found at Pesaro a lady 'who knew Latin better than he did himself.' We believe her accomplishments to be here rated far below the truth; at least the Baron so pertinaciously writes *Herculanum* wherever the word occurs, that he compels us to question the accuracy of the standard by which he estimates the fair linguist's proficiency. He makes from this place a somewhat precipitate flight, being on the point, if we comprehend the passage, of falling in love with an actress at the opera. He therefore retreats upon Padua, where, to avoid a similar danger, he forms an acquaintance with a celebrated Soprano of seventy, who lives there in retirement. 'J'ai plus appris de musique,' says the Baron, 'en six conversations avec ce grand artiste, que 'par tous les livres; c'est *l'âme qui parle à l'âme.*'

We must warn the reader, once for all, against too implicitly trusting the accuracy of this traveller, as to the anecdotes which he has told of individuals whom he either knew or heard of in his tour. It seems pretty clear that he has frequently mistaken one person for another; and has been very credulous in receiv-

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ing the stories which were told him. The best that can be said of this part of his notes is, that there is very little of it. He has laudably abstained from publishing most of what he had written upon private individuals in his Journal; he often talks of the many anecdotes which he could tell if he chose; and most justly adds, that a traveller who prints an account of what passes in any society where he enters without paying, is a spy. This rule is excellent; and, if our Baron ever breaks it, we must allow that he does so without any ill-natured design. That he has been deceived, sometimes, by persons who were disposed to laugh at his expense, we think pretty evident, from the story which he seriously tells of an English heiress whom he met at the house of a countryman at Venice. The young lady, it seems, was entitled to a fortune of between thirty and forty thousand pounds a year, and so much attached to her father, that she insisted upon going after him to Venice; and upon going alone. One of her guardians opposed this project; the other ('par respect pour la liberté') gave her a thousand guineas for her journey. Whereupon she set out, all alone; and found that her father had left Venice three days before she arrived. This rich heiress travelled in one diligence after another, and did not understand a word of French. The Baron describes her as very agreeable, and recommends her to the young *beaux* of Paris. If all the suppressed anecdotes in his Journal are as authentic and entertaining as this, the book has gained at least as much as the parties, by their omission.

It is not often that the Baron indulges in general reflections; but the following are perhaps among the best in his volume.

'Milan l'emporte sur Bologne. Comme individus, les Bolonais l'emporteraient peut-être; mais,

'1°. Milan est plus grande ville (cent trente mille âmes), et partant, beaucoup plus de sottises y sont méprisées, et l'exemple des temps passés y a moins de force. Il y est déjà ridicule de parler de ses affaires d'intérêt.

'2°. Milan a été quatorze ans la capitale d'un vaste royaume; on y a vu les grandes affaires de près et le jeu des passions. Pendant ce temps-là, Bologne était *jalouse;* il est vrai que, dans cette mauvaise carrière, elle montrait de l'énergie, elle se révoltait (1809).

'3°. Milan est près de la Suisse qui fournit des livres à la haute société; il y a un exemplaire du *Morning Chronicle* qui coûte trois mille francs au moins au noble qui le fait venir. Il y a dix ans, on n'eût pas trouvé deux personnes qui lussent les journaux; actuellement, on voit les domestiques qui vont les chercher au bureau, les lire dans les rues.

'L'éducation de quatorze ans (1800 à 1814), donnée par hasard sous un despote qui ne craignait au monde que l'éducation, y avait

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produit des héros. Qu'aurait-ce été de l'éducation donnée par un prince philosophe? Tout ce qui est grand a des droits particuliers sur le cœur de ce peuple. Beaucoup plus méfiant que le Français, il est meilleur juge de la grandeur dans ses princes. Un demi-siècle de l'ordre de choses qui l'a si rapidement élevé en quatorze ans, n'aurait pas remué une autre nation. La Lombardie se regarde pour le degré de liberté publique comme une appendice de la France; on y suit avec le plus vif intérêt les discussions de nos Chambres.' p. 312—314.

His remarks upon the English are far from being so just. Indeed he labours under some strange caprice, rather than prejudice, upon this subject; for he seems to praise all the individuals of our country whom he saw, and yet to hate us collectively; and not in the manner of Swift, who said he loved particular men, while he hated mankind,—but after a fashion of his own. Thus he says, that 'nothing can equal his liking for 'our législation, but his dislike of our persons;' and adds—'Si vous faites une prévenance à un Anglais, il en profite pour 'placer un signe de hauteur. Timides, en société, avec tout 'ce qui passe pour supérieur, ils sont presque insolens avec tout 'ce qui a l'air de céder. Il faut être juste: il y a chez ces gens-'là un principe de malheur; ils tirent du venin des choses les 'plus indifférentes. Ce sont les plus insociables des hommes, 'et peut-être les plus malheureux.' (p. 329, 330) Yet his whole volume is sprinkled with commendations of the English whom he saw in various societies; the beauty of the women; the talents and virtues of the men; nay, almost as often as he mentions an individual with approbation, he associates his praise with some national peculiarity. As to the Genevese, he seems to have for them an unmixed dislike. We trust there is little resemblance in the following picture of them, and that what there is of likeness, may have been the real cause of the Baron's general distaste for those good people.

'La pruderie des femmes est un article incroyable à force de ridicule et d'ennui. J'ai remarqué qu'elles disent exactement la même chose à chacun des étrangers qu'on leur présente. Etre aimables pour elles, c'est répéter la formule d'amabilité que leur a montrée leur bonne; rien ne peut les faire sortir de ce cercle; elles croiraient manquer à la vertu. Ainsi, vivacité, naturel, aperçus nouveaux, laisser-aller, qui font le charme de la société, tout cela est pétrifié à Genève. Je viens de m'apercevoir que c'est la caricature des Anglaises. Pour comble d'insipidité, la conversation est toujours guindée sur les grands sujets de liberté, d'amour, de bonheur domestique, de peinture des passions, etc., et là-dessus ces dames ont leur leçon faite et apprise par cœur, qu'elles vous débitent, toujours la même. Il faut voir la mine qu'on vous fait si vous vous avisez d'être

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naturel dans ces discussions interminables. L'autre jour, pour avoir admis la possibilité de l'amour, hors du mariage, à la soirée de la maison P., madame C***, qui m'avait présenté, m'a fait de gros yeux ; toutes les demoiselles ont rougi : j'ai vu que j'avais dit une sottise que j'ai raccommodée de mon mieux, et assez mal. Or, comme on voit, la possibilité de l'amour hors du mariage est en effet une chose inouïe.

' Il faut toujours discuter les grands intérêts de la vie, et être toujours hypocrite dans la discussion. Là-dessus je dis : A la bonne heure se gêner à la cour où l'on gagne des titres ou du pouvoir ; mais se gêner à Genève !

' Les femmes y sont belles ; mais cette incroyable pruderie, dont personne, je crois, n'a parlé, se retrouve jusque dans l'air des visages : cela donne aux figures un fond de froideur et un défaut d'intérêt qui repousse la sympathie. Je prends pour bonnes toutes ces vertus de Genève ; c'est la ville où il y a le moins de maris trompés, et je ne voudrais pas pour tout l'or du monde être marié à Genève. Malgré mon horreur pour la vie morale de Naples, je la préférerais à celle de Genève ; il y a au moins du naturel.' p. 323—325.

QUAR-

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

FEBRUARY, 1818.

No. LVIII.

ART. I. *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor-Laws, with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 4, 1817.*

IT appears from this important document, that the principle of compulsory provision for the poor, took its rise with the enactment of very harsh and barbarous laws for the suppression of vagrancy;—that by these laws, which were directed against 'strong beggars, persons whole and mighty in body,' such an offence was visited with slavery, mutilations, and death—that permission to beg, however, was extended to the impotent poor within certain districts—and that at length, with a view to prevent the burden of their support from falling exclusively on the charitable, an act was passed in the 5th of Elizabeth, whereby the Justices in each parish were empowered, along with the churchwardens, to assess for a weekly sum those who were unwilling to contribute. By a statute of the 43d of the same reign, those persons were further vested with the power, *first*, to provide for the gratuitous relief of those who were unable to work; and, *secondly*, to find work for those who were able, by giving them employment, or supplying them with the necessary tools and materials.

This statute continues to be the fundamental and operative law of the realm on this important subject: And the object of the very interesting Report now before us, is to expose the effect which, after the lapse of about two centuries, has resulted from the administration of this law on the comfort and character of the people of England.

We have often imagined, that, previous to those enactments,

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the whole of the matter to which they relate had come under the discussion of two political reasoners; and that one of them had merely expressed his doubts as to the efficacy of this compulsory provision, while the other felt quite assured of its final success in diminishing the amount of human suffering, if not in banishing all the miseries of extreme indigence from the land. Even in such a situation, we conceive, and anterior to all experience, there are many considerations which might have occurred to the former, and disposed him to be slow of confidence as to the anticipated good that was to flow from its operation. The very circumstance of its being untried, might lead him to suspect and to hesitate. And, independently of this general consideration, which always weighs so powerfully with men of a practical understanding, he would probably see, in the proposed measure, an attempt to wrest from the hands of Nature the management of a case, for which, by certain principles implanted in the constitution of man, she had already provided. He might see in it a tendency to enfeeble, if not altogether to suppress, the operation of these principles. He might fear lest this interference on the part of the State should relax the natural excitements to industry and foresight, and thus multiply the instances of wretchedness beyond its power of relieving them. Or, that it might relax the obligations of relationship; and thus, for the substitution of certain regulated services, withdraw from the helpless the far kindlier and more effective services of their own kindred or their own offspring. Or, that it might relax the sympathy and mutual dependence of immediate neighbours, and thus intercept those numerous, though unobserved supplies of beneficence, which, in parishes where assessments are unknown, still make up a sum of charity most honourable to the character of the lower orders. Or, that it might reduce the private ministrations of the wealthy, who, by the one act of a yearly contribution, might feel themselves acquitted of all those secret attentions and liberalities which the setting up of this legal machinery evidently tends to supersede. Or, finally, that by the publicity thus given to the relief of want, every dispensation of it would be made greatly more painful to the more delicate and deserving class of sufferers, who, rather than brave an exposure so humiliating, might choose to endure in silence; and that, with nothing to depend on but such compassion as the system in question has diverted away from them—with no chance of being discovered by the charitable, but through such inquiries as this system has superseded—with no source from which to look for any alleviation but such funds as this system is impairing by its perpetual and constantly augmenting encroachments: And

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thus it might be doubted, whether it might not only shift the misery, without alleviating it; and add another proof to the many that already exist, of the impotency of legislation, when it offers to interfere with the wiser provisions and the more efficient principles of Nature.

We are not now supposing that the man who musters up these various probabilities, could come to a decided conclusion against the scheme which has been suggested. But he might go so far, as most legitimately, upon the strength of them, to decline his positive approbation of it. He might look on it as a scheme which was at best uncertain and hazardous; and if his sturdier antagonist saw nothing but timidity in all these apprehensions—if he remained inflexibly assured of the wisdom of the regulations suggested—if he resolutely persisted in asserting, that augmented happiness to the lower orders, and augmented tranquillity to the State, would ensue from the enactments and the execution of them—if he looked, in short, to the experiment with undoubting confidence, while the other looked to it with feelings of suspicion and reserve—we leave it to the reader to judge, which of the two should have been designated by the name of theorist.

The experiment, however, has been actually made: And it has had the long development of two centuries,—out of which we may gather its actual effect on the circumstances of the people; and, as it were, to afford us every advantage for helping us on to our conclusion, the whole island presents us with parishes in every variety of condition, and under every variety of treatment as to the management of their poor. We can point to some parishes, where a compulsory provision has obtained ever since the passing of the original statute; and to others where it has been only introduced at various periods within the last half century:—to others where the elements of the method have been so recently put together, that the method itself is still in embryo; and, finally, to others where it is yet utterly unknown, and the whole relief of Poverty is left to the unfettered operation of Christian precepts, or of the kindlier feelings of nature on the heart and conduct of individuals. So that, if our two political reasoners were to rise from their graves, they would have the whole matter of their debate before them in real and living exemplification. The man of doubt would have experience instead of experiment, and proof instead of probability. And surely, whether, on looking to the parishes of England, he there perceived that, in the matter of supporting the helpless, every domestic tie had gone into dissolution, and that, in the

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coldness of a public administration, every kindlier charity was departing from the land—or, looking to the Border parishes, he saw them fast hastening to the lavish expenditure of England, and with as little too of sensible influence on the comforts of their suffering population—or, finally, looking to the parishes of the North, he beheld that, under their cheap economy, all the relative duties of kindred and of neighbourhood were still in unextinguished operation, and that a high minded, but uncomplaining peasantry, did, out of their own unborrowed resources, rear every family, and foster the declining years of every parent who belonged to them—would not he be entitled to look on these various parishes as so many archives on which, since he had left the world, the finger of time had graven in characters of certainty all his anticipations—would not he stand proudly vindicated in his claims to practical wisdom, and his antagonist be more strikingly convicted than ever, of being a most unsound and precipitate theorist?

But how comes it, then, that the reverse of all this takes place in very general estimation? How comes it that he who questions the expediency of poor-rates is usually regarded as a man of visionary, or at least of adventurous speculation; and that he who resists every change of habit, or of existing institution, is deemed to be a man of sound and practical wisdom, who, unseduced by any ingenious or splendid sophistry, sits immoveably entrenched within the safeguards of experience? He who would have been counted a theorist at the commencement of this great national scheme, is now conceived to have upon his side the whole authority of practice and observation;—and he who simply inherits the spirit and the impressions of his more judicious antagonist, is now branded as an audacious theorist. How comes it that the two characters have so strangely and so unwarrantably shifted places? What has happened during this intervening period of two hundred years, to justify such an exchange of reputation between them? The man who was then so proudly confident in his anticipations of good from the plan, has had every one of his anticipations most wofully blasted; and for this, the successor to his opinions and partialities, obtains the homage that is due to a sound experimental philosopher. The man who humbly expressed his suspicions of the plan, has had every one of them confirmed; and for this, he who now proceeds upon his conjectures as so many facts, because they have turned out to be so, is denounced as a rash and chimerical projector! So long as the theory was untried, it was practically wise to doubt it, and theoretical to befriend it. But now that the theory has been tried and found wanting, it would appear that he is the sound

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experimentalist who defends, and he is the theorist who disowns it!

All this, however, may be referred to that great law of the human constitution, by which we are led to associate with similar circumstances, the expectation of similar results; and which acts, in general, with all the force and certainty of an instinct. It is true, also, that it acts, for the most part, with the same salutary effects. It is very certain that Nature will never deceive us, and that she will always bring out the same result from the same circumstances. But circumstances may be similar, without being in every respect the same; and on this similarity may the strong propensity in question urge us to found an expectation in which we may frequently be disappointed. It is thus that children and the lower animals can be so easily imposed upon. Offer to their notice some general assemblage of objects which impresses them with a similitude to some former assemblage, and they will look for the same general results. They are not able to assign such particulars in the assemblage as have a causal influence on the production of the consequence which they anticipate. They cannot distinguish the essentials from the accessaries. It were well if the progress to manhood ensured a total deliverance from the errors of this propensity. But, in point of fact, there are many questions on which the heedless exercise of this propensity grows with the growth of men, and strengthens with their strength. If they have been accustomed to provide for some object in one particular way, they never think that it can possibly be provided for, unless in that very way, with all its insignificant specialities, to which they have been habituated. It is thus that they dread the very semblance of innovation, as carrying in it the ruin and overthrow of the whole concern that is at issue. It is utterly in vain to tell them that the thing may be done as well, without this or the other circumstance. They are such circumstances as were always present in their remembrance of the matter; and this is reason enough why they cannot conceive that there should be any comfort or security without them. Every appeal to the experience of other times, or to the practice of other places, would make no impression whatever over their own lively and personal recollection of all the details of their own time and their own parish. These practical men will take up indiscriminately with this or with that system, just as it happens to be the established one. If it only have the right of occupancy in their town, this is enough to vest it, in their eye, with all the honours of infallibility. Not one lesson is ever drawn from the great principle of the identity of human nature; out of which it may be inferred that such management as

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has been found to succeed with men in one part of the country, may be imported into another. Not one ray of light is ever admitted to shine upon them from the experience of other times or other places. All is blind and headlong imitation of that which is immediately before them. To talk of any thing beyond this, will sound visionary to men whose minds are occupied to the full with that which they handle with their own hands, and see with their own eyes. Of this much they will have a vivid recollection; and, by their constantly appealing to it, they will appear to stand on the vantage ground of actual observation. Their persons are so surrounded with the materials and the manipulations of practice, that they will both claim and receive the same authority as if their minds were constantly exercised with the lessons and the observations of practice. They, in consequence of this, will be listened to as men of observation. But it is just the observation of men who follow the mere instinct of experience without thought and without discrimination. They cannot tell what it is in the apparatus of their management that has a good, and what it is which has a hurtful influence—but, because familiarized to the sight of the apparatus itself, think that all would go to wreck should one sacrilegious hand offer to inflict upon it the slightest alteration.

It were very convenient to distinguish this class of persons by some short and expressive designation. It would not be fair, however, to call them *practical men*—for there are many of this description to whose services the community lie under a weight of the deepest obligation, and who, at the same time, by their just discernment of principle, and by their enlightened application of it to the operations of their own department, have earned a well merited title to true practical wisdom. Neither would it be fair to call them *merely practical men*—for there are many such who, most conscientious in transacting all the details of the actual system, and most patient in the performance of all its drudgeries, are nevertheless without pretension to any understanding, and are never heard to utter any dogmatic asseveration on the absolute merits of the system itself—and who are therefore entitled to the character of a most useful and deserving class of citizens. But there are others who, on the mere strength of a prolonged and manifold officiality, take a far loftier flight—who adventure, and that on the foundation of a hackneyed experience, which goes not beyond the precincts of their own municipality, to affirm of every innovation, that it is wholly visionary and inapplicable—on whom the collected experience of all the parishes in the empire would be utterly thrown away—who could read, for example, such a Report as

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that now before us, and, without borrowing from it a single hint for the amendment or the subversion of their existing practice, would still stand up for it as manfully and as determinedly as ever in all its parts, and in all its modifications—who are both most entirely ignorant of the principles of their business, and most entirely wedded to all its circumstantials—who not only cannot move themselves but just in the way in which they were first set agoing, but who pronounce, of every movement which diverges from theirs, that it is a divergence from the wise and cautious line of experience. Such persons stand in precisely the same relation to a man of truly correct and enlightened views on the subject of poor-laws, that a mere lawyer does to an enlightened statesman, or a mere merchant to a sound political economist. It is very true, that a lawyer may be an able legislator, and a merchant may be an able economist; and that there are many of both professions who, without aspiring to the character either of the one or of the other, do fill, and that most usefully and honourably, their respective vocations. But just as some lawyers, with no accomplishment beyond the art of special pleading, will confound one talent with another, in such a way as to think that, because they can skilfully point out the application of the existing laws, they can also profoundly and philosophically defend the wisdom of them; and just as some merchants, with no range of contemplation beyond the transactions of their own counting-house, can fancy in themselves a competency to vindicate all the bounties in which they have shared, and all the monopolies by which they have profited:—So are there many persons who, because they are expert and practised in the business of public charities, and versant in all the points and penmanship of the chamber which they occupy, think that, on this single ground, they may take their bold and comprehensive sweep through the difficulties of the general question—who call out most strenuously for matters as they are, and that just because they have shut out the light of all that wider experience which indicates the way to matters as they should be—who, without looking back upon other times, or abroad upon other parishes, have only looked, with the most intense confinement of all their faculties, on the little in-field of their own operations, and have gathered therefrom a fancied sufficiency of wisdom to overbear all the reasonings of all the theorists. Such a character, compounded of confident pretence on the one hand, and the merest practitionery on the other, it is certainly not easy to express by one brief and memorable designation. But we shall venture, for the present, to call him the disciple of mere localities.

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We may now be enabled to perceive where it is that the distinction lies between such a person, and the man of true practical wisdom. The latter, though often branded with the name of a theorist, never in fact rests a single position on any other basis than that of observation. But he has the art of observation; and knows how to turn it to its legitimate purposes. He can look to one case, and has the faculty of drawing a lesson from it, by which he can enlighten and determine other cases of the same kind; and avails himself of the constancy of Nature in such a way, as to rear upon it a general anticipation. From his daily observation of human nature, he has learned, for example, to infer, that dependence upon aid from others will impair the diligence of a man's exertions for himself; and that it both lies within the power, and is in general the disposition of the labouring poor, by the economy of a very slight and practicable retrenchment, to secure for themselves a provision against the wants of futurity; and that the strong instincts of relationship will, if not counteracted, draw a more secure and kindly protection around all its members, than ever can be offered by the cold hand of public charity; and that the sympathies of neighbourhood, if not relaxed by some ill judged and artificial process, will afford a more substantial relief to the indigence which resides within its bounds, than ever can be poured upon it out of the treasury of an almshouse; and that the wealthy, if left to give on the impulse of compassion, will at length find their way to a more useful and discriminating method of benevolence than ever can be practised by the official agents of a legal institution; and that while, in the one way, the rich and the poor often meet and exchange with each other such cordialities of affection and good-will as go to sweeten every offering, and to turn the whole of their intercourse into a scene of enjoyment; in the other way, every ministration of relief only tends to multiply their antipathies, and to widen the unfortunate distance which lies between them.—And surely if these be so many *facts*, authenticated by the habitual observation of his whole life, he is well warranted to conclude that it would have been greatly better had the institutions in question been dispensed with altogether; and if, as to stamp upon this doctrine its most striking verification, he can point to parishes where they are established, and compare them with parishes where they are not established, and then crown the whole of his reasoning with the triumphant allegation, that the actual result coincides in all its particulars with the conclusions of his own individual sagacity: —Surely, after this, there must be some delusion in pronouncing of such a man that he is a theorist.

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But the disciple of mere localities can be made to see nothing of all this. He is wholly taken up with the individualities of his own particular remembrance. Any change in the system of management would break up the entireness of that assemblage of means which he has been in the habit of contemplating in association with the object of relieving the poor; and he cannot conceive that, with a different assemblage, the same object can possibly be accomplished. Still less can he conceive that the utmost dexterity in managing the details of an existing scheme may meet, in the same individual, with the utmost incapacity of pronouncing aright on the wisdom of the scheme itself—that he in fact may be a clever accountant in the poor-house, and an active superintendant of some one of its departments, and the wisest of all his colleagues in the business of framing regulations, and yet be as little prepared, by all this official expertness, for the general question, as if his only business had been to preside over the cookery of the establishment,—to taste of its charitable soup, or to deal it out with pointed regularity to the repairing multitude. A kind of talent, no doubt, is requisite for all these operations. Nor are we to wonder how they who possess this talent carry a certain degree of influence along with them, when they denounce all who question present modes as theoretical, or how it is that this epithet, in the progress of time, has changed its application from one side to another, and how so many good people have been misled into the idea, that a whole host of practical authority and good sense stand opposed to the business of innovation—when they see such an array of resistance, and hear the contemptuous cry that is lifted up by clerks and vestrymen and city assessors, and the various subalterns or dignitaries of office, and the whole collected voice of council and committeeship.

Meanwhile, it is our earnest advice to Government to prosecute, and still further to extend these inquiries, of which the Report before us gives so instructive a specimen—not to shrink from the resistance which has now been adverted to, for in truth it is far more noisy than formidable—steadily to keep in their eye the deliverance of the country from a system, of which every new exhibition proves that it augments the wretchedness of the lower orders, and cruelly deceives them by a semblance of beneficence which it never can realize. And, to encourage them in this career of true and enlightened patriotism, we may venture to assure them, that the very men who are now so sensitively alive to the alarm of innovation, will, in a few months after the establishment of some practical reform, yield a most acquiescing compliance with it in all its particulars. The great maxim of 'whatever is, is

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right,' on the strength of which they are ever sure to raise an outcry against the enemies of an old establishment, will, in a short time, convert them to the steadiest and most determined friends of a new one. In fact, they will approve themselves to be good serviceable men under any system; and the terms 'theoretical' and 'practical' will, under another order of things, once more change their place and their acceptation.

Before taking up the Report, we beg leave to be indulged with one remark more in the way of general and introductory observation.

From every page, both of the Report itself, and of the evidence which accompanies it, we may gather testimonies to the deadly mischief that lies in the system which prevails in England, of providing for the necessities of the poor; and we carry our conclusions no further than has been already done by a Committee of one of the Houses of Parliament, when we aver, that this system ought to be entirely abolished. Now, there is nothing more natural for some people than to ask, after hearing such a statement as this—what system do you propose to substitute in its place? You are for destroying one set of positive regulations: But, ere you do this, is it not a fair demand upon you, that you furnish us with another set?

Now, it should be recollected, that it has all along been our main object to show, that the poor-laws of England are the result of a very bungling attempt, on the part of the Legislature, to do that which would have been better done had Nature been left to her own free processes, and man to the unconstrained influence of such principles as Nature and Christianity have bestowed upon him. We affirm, that the great and urgent law of self-preservation ought not to have been so tampered with; that the instincts of relationship ought not to have been so impeded in their operation; that the sympathies, and the attentions of neighbourhood, ought not to have been so superseded; that the powerful workings of generous and compassionate feeling ought not to have been so damped and discouraged, as they have in fact been by this artificial and uncalled for process of interference. We deem that, in this instance, the Legislature have given way to their usual passion for regulation—and that too on a matter which they ought no more to have meddled with, than any matter of trade or agriculture, or even of family arrangement. They should have kept within their own province, and left this great interest of the community to be provided for by the play of such feelings and of such principles as lie scattered in every direction throughout the great mass of the community. They have done

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as much mischief in this department, by stepping beyond the boundaries of a wise and legitimate superintendence, as they would most infallibly do in the department of agriculture, should they offer to legislate on the rotation of crops, and take into their own hands a concern which ought to be left to the judgment and the care of individual cultivators. We stop short at the simple demonstration, that there would have been vastly less of suffering in our land, and vastly less of jealousy and discontent among the people, and vastly more of friendly understanding between the higher and the lower orders of the State, and, in truth, a greatly more vigorous operation of those various elements which conduce to the peace and prosperity of a nation, and to the enjoyment of all its families—had the parishes of England, in respect of their poor, been left to the influence of such an economy as still obtains in the majority of Scottish parishes. We simply aver, that it would have been better for them had they never been visited upon this subject by the unwise and intermeddling spirit of legislation, and had the natural order of human feelings, and human arrangements, not been encroached upon. And we do think it a little preposterous to demand of him who deprecates the inroads of any artificial process, upon a concern which he holds to be better provided for by being left to itself, that he should substitute another process in place of that which he thinks ought to be simply abandoned—to ask of him, as the consistent way of following up his argument, that he should turn round on the very principle which lies at the basis of his whole demonstration, and come forth, in his turn, with his specific regulation, on a matter in which he holds all regulation to be impertinent and prejudicial.

Dr Smith, in his treatise on the Wealth of Nations, reasons, and, in the estimation of the soundest politicians, reasons incontrovertibly, against the doctrine of monopolies. He contends for the abolition of this particular regulation in matters of trade altogether;—but we have not yet heard of his ever being asked to substitute another regulation in its place. He has triumphantly exposed the impolicy of many a legislative enactment in the affairs of commerce; but he does not carry his demonstration to any other practical result than that these enactments should simply be rescinded. It has never been exacted, either from him or from his followers, that they should propose some specific enactments in place of those they would destroy. He throws the matter altogether open to the free and unshackled operation of the great principles of Nature—to the desire of gain on the part of merchants—to the desire of enjoyment on the part of customers—and, in a demonstration, every page of which is

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pregnant with true experimental wisdom, does he expose the impolicy of certain theories of trade which surely do not the less merit the opprobrium annexed to such theories, that, instead of lying dormant in speculation, they have actually been put in execution by Government, and accumulated into a system of practical administration. This is his terminating object. He stops short with the assertion, that it were better for trade, and for the interest of the country, that every positive interference on the part of Government were done away; and he escapes all the hazards of the theorist, by leaving the whole concern to the free operation of Nature, and presuming no aggression whatever on any of her provisions, or on any of her tendencies.

Now, it is in this very way that we humbly propose to stand clear of all participation in any of those theories which are now passing in such rapid succession before the eye and the imagination of the public. We certainly do not mean to advocate either the potatoe system, or the cow system, or the cottage system, or the village system of Mr Owen,—or any one system of miraculous achievement, by which, through some ingeniously constructed method of positive administration, it is proposed to combat that menacing hydra who now swells so gigantically, and stalks so largely over the face of our land. We would, in short, raise no positive apparatus whatever for the direct object of meeting and alleviating the ills of Poverty. This we leave to the theorists; and we satisfy ourselves with simply asserting, that unfettered Nature, working in individuals, can do the thing better than regulation can; and, on the obvious principles of human nature, verified by the actual result, in a way most striking and triumphant, throughout all the parishes of the kingdom, do we aver, that it would have been the wiser part in our Legislature to have let the matter alone.

But how, it may be asked, can we consistently disclaim the adventurous proposition of a positive apparatus? In a former Number of this work, did not we attempt to regale the fancy of the public, by a speculation about churches? Did not we propose a mighty transformation in the existing condition of our larger cities, and in the existing habits of their population? Was not this the proposition of a positive apparatus; and instead of altogether abolishing the methods of positive administration, did not we just propose to substitute one such method for another, recommending the dealing out of relief from the produce of collections, instead of that mode of dispensation now actually adopted out of the fund as now actually raised?

In answer to this, we must borrow another illustration from the

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reasonings of Dr Smith. There was none more hostile than he to any positive interference of the Legislature in matters of trade; and yet none more strenuous than he in contending, that, for the interest of trade, there was nothing more indispensable than the pure and ready administration of justice. And yet the object of a Court of Justice is not to lay any artificial regulation upon trade: It looks to a distinct and a higher object altogether—even the protection of society from such moral injuries as it might otherwise sustain from the passions or the selfishness of its members. But in the fulfilment of this object, it confers a most important benefit upon commerce—not by fettering its active and essential principles, but by spreading the mantle of security over their operation—not by thwarting Nature, but by removing the impediments and disturbances which lie in the way of her salutary processes—by securing to every labourer the fruit of his own industry, and to every merchant the fruit of his own speculations, and to every customer the fruit of his own purchases, and thus encouraging the full play of all those individual activities by which the great interests of commerce are sustained.

For the attainment of this object, courts of justice should be multiplied so as to meet the wants of the country, and be readily accessible to all its population. And churches and religion appear to us to occupy a similar place in relation to pauperism. Their great and primary design is, not that they should be linked in the way of direct subserviency with any of its ministrations: It is to moralize the people, and make them meet for eternity—an object which would remain as indispensable as ever, though there was no such thing as poverty in the land. But in the fulfilment of this object, the teachers of righteousness necessarily shed a most abundant blessing over this department in the concerns of human society. They liberalize the wealthy, and they dignify the poor; and they call forth the slumbering sympathies of the former, and the slumbering delicacies of the latter; and they, each in his own district of moral superintendence, draw into a closer acquaintanceship the people who live in it; and they give strength to the maxims of prudence, and the habits of economy, and the ties of neighbourhood, and the duties of relationship; and thus, on the one hand, diminish the number of the receivers of charity, and, on the other hand, augment the zeal and inclination of its dispensers. And it is by such an operation as this, and not by any direct or artificial agency, which has for its formal and assigned object the relief of human want, that they in fact mitigate or prevent the sufferings of want, greatly beyond what any such agency can possibly

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accomplish. It is not by the adaptation of a piece of skilful mechanism to the relief of poverty, as its immediate object, that this great problem in political economy is ever to be resolved. It is by leaving the whole matter to the operation of the mechanism of Nature, and by keeping in their right tone and action the principles which reside, or which may be implanted in the constitution of individual men :—And the use of churches is to foster these principles, and to supersede that system by which they have been checked and overborne.

It so happens, at the same time, that to each church in Scotland there is attached an organ of parochial distribution for the relief of the necessities of the poor ; and in many parishes there will be discharged from it a yearly sum of from ten to fifty pounds upon a population consisting of a thousand members. * Whereas, in such of the English parishes as we have had access to, the distribution amounts to from five hundred to fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*, on an equal population. †

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* The following are some examples of the population and expenditure in Scottish parishes,—*where there is no assessment.*

Parish.	*County.*	*Population.*	*Total Yearly Fund.*
Fraserburgh	Aberdeen	2271	L. 100 0 0
New Deer	Do.	3100	86 10 0
Lonmay	Do.	1627	25 0 0
Dunoon	Argyle	2130	46 0 0
Jura	Do.	1157	6 0 0
Redgorton	Perth	2216	99 0 0
Bathgate	Linlithgow	2919	124 0 0
Reay	Sutherland	2317	13 0 0
Farr	Do.	2408	18 17 0
Assint	Do.	2479	5 0 0

Of some of these parishes, it is reported, that the inhabitants are so connected as to provide for each other, or are assisted by private families ; and that there are none absolutely poor in them.

† Population and expenditure on the poor of some English parishes in Leicestershire.

	Population.	*Expenditure.*
Barrow-upon-Soar	1143	L. 1868 17 0
Belgrave	645	803 7 4½
Countesthorpe	623	901 7 0
Lileby	1200	1764 0 0
Hathirn	1160	1015 0 0
Blaby	794	1391 5 0

These sums are expended on the poor only, being separated fro the general sum, which includes church-rate, county-rate, and higl ways.

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Now, to what shall we ascribe the fact, that, in the former parishes, with all this parsimony of formal aid, there is greatly less of the complaint of indigence, and fully as little of the actual suffering of indigence as in the latter parishes? Wherein lies the mystery of these striking phenomena? Can any man be so absurd as to believe, that it lies in the superior skill or wisdom of administration, practised in the one country, and utterly incommunicable to the understanding or the habits of the other country? The English are always looking to the way in which we deal out our supplies,—to the operation of the visible and positive mechanism of our public charities, for the solution of the difficulty. But this is not the quarter in which they will ever find it. If one of their own parishes shall ever be so assimilated to one of ours, as to reduce its expenditure on the poor from fifteen hundred to twenty pounds a year, and yet, to uphold the population in as great comfort and sufficiency as before—it will not be by any notable sagacity in the disposal of this paltry sum, that a result so wonderful will have been accomplished. The truth is, that if a parish could stand the great reduction from 1500*l.* to 20*l.*, it could dispense with the 20*l.* altogether. And yet, superficial inquirers will always be looking to the way in which we conduct the ministration of our funds, and expect to find, in that way, the secret principle they are so anxious to obtain. We even think that we perceive the traces of such a misconception in the Report before us, enlightened as it is in its general spirit, and nearly as it has approximated to the truth in many of its valuable suggestions. * Let it be understood, once for all, that we look upon this as a wrong track of observation. It is not by changing the character or the method of administration that this great reform is to be brought about. It is by changing the character of the fund that is administered; it is by detaching from

* 'The efficacy however of this, as well as of any other experiment which can be suggested, must depend upon some of those who are most interested in the welfare of a parish, taking an active share in the administration of its concerns. Without this, the Committee are convinced no benefit will be derived from any amendment that can be made in the details of the system; and with it, even under the existing law, much may be effected, as it has been both in single and incorporated parishes, where such superintendence prevails; and they think no means are so likely to tend to this desirable practice as giving to such a part of the vestry as may bear some analogy to the heritors and kirk-session of Scotland, &c. The heritors and kirk-session continue to perform the duty of adjusting the list of the poor,' &c.—*Report*, p. 42, 43.

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this fund its present attributes of certainty and legality, and apparent capability of indefinite augmentation; it is by stripping it altogether of its pernicious influence in the way of undermining or of deadening the activity of those principles, to which the case of pauperism must ultimately in its main strength and magnitude be abandoned. And the apparatus of churches which we propose, is not so much for the sake of the organ that is attached to each of them, as for the purpose of recommitting this case to its proper and original securities:—Not so much for the advantage of an ingenious management on the part of the New Kirk-sessions, as for the purpose of restoring to its unshackled efficacy the management of Nature:—Not so much for the sake of setting up a cunningly devised system, with the power and the emanating influence of which we are to go forth among the people, as for the purpose of leaving the people to themselves; and warding off from them that soporific, which, in the shape of a legal provision, has been so unwisely and so cruelly dealt out to them; and awakening from their state of dormancy all those sympathies of neighbourhood, and all those sobrieties of individual conduct which are the only unfailing guarantees of a happy and prosperous population.

And here we cannot but advert to the way in which this plan of church-building has been most happily characterized, by one of its sagacious objectors, as being *no plan at all.* That very feature in it which recommends it to us, is the thing which makes it look so simple and silly and inefficient to the whole host of committeeship. The slow dissemination of a moral influence among the people, and their gradual return to the habits and arrangements of their forefathers, form a prospect of which they cannot at all see the effect or the reality, because they do not see the parade or the penmanship of a great civic institution going along with it. To satisfy them, there must be placed before their eyes a piece of curious organic structure, with many turns and many complications;—and unless there be a goodly provison of schedules and clerkships and accomptantships, with such various agencies and manipulations of office as in the routine of their own chamber-experience they have ever been accustomed to behold, any plan stript of such dear and such loved accompaniments, will ever appear to them to be no plan at all.

But, one word more about the plan in question. It is worthy of remark, that if a compulsory provision for the poor had never been resorted to, the people of an increasing town would have gone on in greater comfort without one, even though the number of its people had been suffered greatly to outstrip the ecclesiastical accommodations of the place. The Gorbals of Glasgow,

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for the population and for the parochial expenditure of which parish, we refer our readers to a subsequent page, furnishes a most splendid example of this observation. The mere absence, it would appear, of a system which turns away the eyes of the people from the true sources of their independence and their comfort, will suffice to keep that people in the noble and respectable attitude in which every lover of the species must rejoice to behold them, and that, though the number of the clergy and of the churches be most wofully inadequate to the extent of the population. But the case is totally altered after such a system has obtained a footing—and after a mighty annual contribution has gradually arisen out of it—and after a population has been turned into the habit of leaning on this deceitful foundation—and after the object has become, not the continuance of a present system, but the retracement of our path up to the state of matters which took place at its commencement. The simple abolition of the method, in these circumstances, would carry along with it the grossest cruelty and injustice to the present generation of paupers. They must be seen out—and in as great sufficiency too as they were led to expect under the present arrangement. Every expectation countenanced by the present state of things to the present race of people, ought, in all equity and humanity, to be realized. And the great practical difficulty is, how to combine this object with that of conducting the management of this city concern back again to its old footing, and the population of the city to their old habits and their old expectations. Had matters from the first been left to themselves, there might have been no necessity for a more extended ecclesiastical provision, in as far as pauperism is concerned; however imperiously such an extension might be called for on higher grounds, both political and moral. But, as the matter now stands in the larger towns of Scotland, and with the remainder that still exists of Scottish habit and of Scottish feeling amongst their population, we know not a single expedient so practicable and so efficacious, and into which all who are concerned will pass so easily as that, for the details of which we refer to a former Number of this Journal. Let the new cases be met exclusively by the method of collections. As old cases die out, let this method be extended by the building of churches. Let the fields of superintendence, ever narrowing, and ever becoming more and more manageble, be left to the pure operation of gratuitous benevolence, flowing in one great and public channel through the Kirk-session, but flowing, we will venture to say, in a degree of tenfold abundance, through the numerous

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and unperceived channels of private humanity. Let the present ponderous system melt away with the dying out of the old cases, and the parishes in town be as unentangled with each other as parishes in the country. It is not, we repeat it, to any power or productiveness in the organ of parochial distribution, that we look for the main success of this operation —though we have no doubt that, under such an arrangement, a mighty impulse would be given to all the collections of the city. But the substantial, though secret principle of the reformation would consist in the resurrection, partly of a more efficient kindliness on the part of givers, but principally of a more sturdy and determined habit of independence on the part of those who, but for this habit, would be receivers. We are quite sure that, when compared with what the poor can do for themselves, and what, if not cheated away from their true interest by the promises of a system which has done nothing but deceive them, they are most thoroughly inclined to do all that a Kirk-session will do, is but a humble and fractionary part of the operation; and it is for the sake of the former benefit, and not of the latter, that we have ventured to recommend a plan which, in respect of positive and productive administration, has been most truly characterized as no plan at all.*

Had the province of common sense never been invaded by the subtleties of scholastic argument, there might have been no use for the science of metaphysics. But when an acute metaphysician appears to darken the suggestions of this universal and infallible guide, he must be fought with his own weapon, and another metaphysician must arise to meet and to overmatch him; and a positive apparatus of defence and of controversy must be

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* In the parish of Dunblane, in Stirlingshire, there was, from 1775 to 1800, an assessment for the poor. The heritors at length, on finding that the number of the poor had increased, from the inducement of a regular provision being made for them, agreed for three years to contribute voluntarily a small sum. The experiment was made; the collections improved; and hitherto the funds have proved adequate, and no assessment has been levied for 15 years. The number of poor in 1775, when the assessment began, exceeded 50; but of these, 19 only could be prevailed upon to accept of aliment from the heritors. Shame soon wore off; and the number, before assessments ceased, was often above 40. At present, the number of regular poor is 10;—though there are 50 who occasionally share in the quarterly distributions.

The collections very naturally decline in those parishes where the method of assessment is introduced.

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raised, even though its simple and terminating object is just to restore to common sense all its prerogatives, and to reinstate this monitor in the original supremacy which belongs to it.

In our last article upon this subject, we confined our remarks very much to the pauperism of Scotland; and the main object of them was to recommend the adoption of an expedient, by which it was conceived that the whole of our own country might be defended from the inroads of this great moral pestilence; and even that part of it which had already sustained an infection from the contagious neighbourhood of England, might be restored to that pure and dignified system which has been bequeathed to us by our forefathers. We shall still reserve ourselves on the question, as applicable to the sister kingdom, to some future opportunity. In doing so, we imitate the caution that seems to have been observed by the Committees of both Houses of Parliament. We have no doubt, at the same time, that the mischief there is only to be exterminated by some such instrumentality as we recommend here for the purpose of reaching an application to the character and habits of the people. But we honestly confess, that we choose rather to wait for more documents, and to have leisure for more consideration, ere we venture beyond the general and elementary principles of the subject in reference to England, or confidently come forward with the proposal of a remedy for which, in its various details and modifications, we are not yet prepared. Meanwhile, we shall proceed to make such use of the information already collected, as may keep alive the vigilance of our own countrymen, confirm those whom the evil has not yet reached in their resistance to its very first approaches, and convince those who have suffered it to obtain an incipient footing amongst them, that, if they do not speedily retrace the unwise movement into which they have fallen, they will soon find themselves entangled in a path, where, at every footstep, they must entail a new burden on the wealth of their parish, and a new aggravation on the distress and poverty which abound in it.

And first, it appears from this Report, that after the principle of a legal assessment has begun to be acted upon, there is no one expedient within the reach of human skill by which the progress and increase of pauperism can be arrested. We often hear, in the course of argumentation upon this subject, that the evil does not lie in the system, but in the abuses of it. It would be most obliging to let us know what these abuses are, and what is the practical remedy against them. For this is a great deal more than has yet transpired during the experience of up-

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wards of two centuries. The people most interested in keeping down the mischief, have not yet made the discovery. The history of all the parishes in England evinces, that if the principle be admitted to exist, it sends forth a malignant influence, which cannot be stayed by any of the varieties of practical management that have yet been resorted to, or by any of the devices of practical wisdom which have yet been suggested. And thus it is, that there has been a steady progression of the evil, and that greatly beyond the progress of the wealth or population of the country. The chief and almost solitary example of a retrograde movement in the parochial expenditure which offers itself in the Appendix to this Report, is just such an example as, more than any other, will hold out a warning voice to our Scottish landholders. It is the example of a parish, where, by the wise and vigorous management of its clergyman, the maintenance of its poor has been reduced, in course of time, from 900*l.* to 500*l.* a year;—leaving this latter sum to be expended on the pauperism of a parish containing a population of about one thousand. * This is all the

* Examination of the Rev. Richard Vivian. How long have you been in the parish?—Nearly twenty years. What was the amount of the poor-rate at the time that you first came into the parish?—900*l.* a year: during the last twenty years of the last century, it got from 100*l.* by degrees to 900*l.* What has been its progress from the time you first came into the parish to the present time?—It has retrograded since; it has got from 900*l.* to 500*l.* Has it ever been lower?—Very little: perhaps 450*l.* Is 500*l.* the amount now?—It amounts this year to about 600*l.* from various circumstances; from the dearness of provisions, and the trouble of removing persons.—*Appendix to the Report, p.* 115.

A very great reduction also was effected by means of a vigilant superintendence on the part of Joseph Sabine, Esq. in the parish of North Mimms, Hertfordshire; and yet, after all, the yearly expense is 600*l.* to a population of 1001. The two following questions, among many others, were put to him. From your extensive knowledge of the labouring classes, what do you suppose has been the cause of the general increase of poor-rates, and the decrease of happiness among them?—Losing the feeling of independence they had, and their indifference about taking relief. Do you believe there is any thing can effectually apply a remedy, but renovating those feelings?—By not paying those who are not entitled to relief, you will reestablish it.

Who can doubt the desireableness of the former expedient, and who can but suspect the efficacy of the latter, when he contemplates the actual expenditure which still remains in each of these parishes? And, besides, it is a reduction effected by *extraordinary* vigilance

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fruit of a very rare and miraculous achievement; and it goes most strikingly to prove, that no modification which can be practised under the principle of a compulsory provision, will ever make head against the bare existence and operation of the principle itself. And even in Scotland, where some mysterious charm has been supposed to reside in the mere construction of our courts of supply, let this principle once make its appearance amongst them, and, as if by the rod of Aaron, all the divinations of all the wise men will be swallowed up and brought to nothing by it. The Kirk-session, with the minister at its head, which seems to many so goodly an apparatus, and to which, by our Southern neighbours, something like a fancied omnipotence has been ascribed, will oppose a barrier feeble and flimsy as cobweb, to the wide-wasting operation of a principle so pregnant with all moral and with all physical disorder. It is true, that in none, even of our contaminated parishes, have we yet attained to the strength and the virulence of disease which exist in England. But this, we are persuaded, is entirely owing to the want of time for the development of the mischief, and not to any superior wisdom of management. We know that many of our countrymen are like to be lulled into a very fatal security upon this subject, because the burden *yet* in the Scottish parishes is so small, when compared with the burden on the parishes of England. They look only to the present amount of the expenditure, when they ought to look to the rate of acceleration. It is saying but little, and marvellously little, in an English ear, that the assessment for the poor of Barony parish, containing a population of forty-three thousand, should be only three thousand four hundred pounds for the present year. But it really appears to us equivalent to pronouncing a sentence of extinction on the whole landed wealth of that parish, when we add, that the principle of a legal assessment was only introduced into that parish in 1810, at which time the heritors contributed just six hundred pounds to the poor; and that in the short space of seven years, their burden has thus increased nearly six times. †

and activity; and that surely is not a good legislative arrangement which requires, for its safe administration, such an agency as is only to be met with in very rare and uncommon instances.

† Till 1810, the heritors made up from themselves any deficiency in the ordinary funds of the Session, without having recourse to any assessment upon the landholders; and the whole expense of maintaining the poor seldom exceeded 600*l.* per annum. Since that period it has considerably increased, till this year (1817) it will be considerably above 3000*l.* And all this is independent of the extraordinary relief granted to meet the pressure of last winter.

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We have not yet, indeed, in any of our parishes where the compulsory method has been introduced, nearly come up to the average expenditure of England.§ But, in the great mass of such parishes, we are in full and rapid career towards it.‡ It is this which ought to convince us, that after the principle is once admitted, it is mockery to think of counteracting it by any thing that can be done in the way of modification or detail. It is this which ought to alarm us into the conclusion, that if the disease is to be exterminated at all, it must be combated in its principle; and that we must stop at nothing short of rooting out the principle where it exists—of repelling it where it is unknown.

And, that this is very nearly the opinion of the Committee of the House of Commons, appears evident, from their utter hopelessness of any substantial reformation being effected by any thing short of a radical change of the whole system.‖

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§ The following are some examples of the expenditure in Scottish parishes where assessments have been introduced, which the reader will do well to compare with the expenditure already quoted, of parishes which are yet free from assessments.

Parish.	*County.*	*Population.*	*Total Funds.*
St Boswell's,	Roxburgh,	508	L. 63 4 0
Galashiels,	Selkirk,	986	225 10 0
Innerleithen,	Ditto,	672	95 0 0
Selkirk,	Ditto,	2466	224 16 0

‡ The following are some examples of this increase in parishes where assessments have been introduced into Scotland. Wilton in Roxburghshire, in 1790, had an assessment of 92*l.* 18s. The average from 1812 to 1815 was 288*l.* 17s. 11d. The corresponding numbers for Hawick are 311*l.* 1s. 8d., and 886*l.* 19s. 6d.; and for Roberton 61*l.* 5s., and 142*l.* 10s. 6d. Parishes of equal population in Fife, where there are no assessments, occur with expenditures below 20*l.*, and 50*l.*, and 120*l.* In East Kilbride, the supply to the poor in 1790, was 34*l.* 6s. 8d.; and in 1810, was 213*l.* 2s. 5d. In Coldstream, it was at the rate of 208*l.* yearly in 1790; and 628*l.* in 1815. At Linton, 20*l.* in 1790, without assessments; and 90*l.* in 1815 with them. In Jedburgh, the assessment in 1790, was 141*l.* 8s. 5d.; and the average from 1811 to 1815, was 350*l.* 6s. 4d.

‖ 'Your Committee forbear to expatiate on these considerations which have pressed themselves on their attention. They have said enough to show the grounds which induce them to think that the labouring classes can only be plunged deeper and more hopelessly into the evils of pauperism, by the constant application of additional sums of money to be raised by the poor-rate. True benevolence and real charity point to other means, which your Committee cannot so well

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It is true, that the Committee of the House of Lords have pronounced a different opinion upon this subject; and that is, that the general system of the English poor-laws ought to be essentially maintained, because so interwoven with the habits of the people. * Still, however, the lesson held out to Scotland, instead of being weakened, is made more impressive by this testimony than before. For, granting this to be a sufficient reason why a people should retain poor-laws who have got into the habit of them, there surely cannot be a stronger reason alleged why a people who have not poor-laws should keep out of the habit of them; or against the introduction of a system oppressive to one order of society, and productive, not of comfort, but of corruption to another, than to be told, that after it is introduced and persisted in, all recovery from it is hopeless or impossible.

On this subject we cannot offer a more distinct or judicious testimony, than that given by a Committee of the last General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who are now accumulating, in communications from the various parishes of the country, a very rich and valuable mass of materials. ¶

As the progress of the evil, then, cannot be arrested when once introduced, it is of importance to know what is the kind of consummation in which it terminates. And here we are unfortunately not left to the mere exercise of anticipation; for the consummation has already taken place in several parishes in England, and a number more are upon the very verge of it; and the great majority of them are tending to it, and that most

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express as in the emphatic language of Mr Burke.—" Patience, labour, sobriety, frugality, and religion, should be recommended to them; all the rest is downright fraud." ' *Report, p.* 2.

* ' The Committee are decidedly of opinion, that the general system of these laws, interwoven as it is with the habits of the people, ought, in the consideration of any measures to be adopted for their amelioration and improvement, to be essentially maintained.'—*Lords' Committee Report.*

¶ The Committee of the General Assembly state—' That it is clear to them, that in almost all the country parishes which have hitherto come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor, and the extent of the assessment, have gradually and progressively increased from their commencement; and that it does appear to be a matter of very serious interest to the community at large, to prevent, as far as possible, this practice from being generally adopted—to limit the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them inevitable, and, wherever it is practicable, to abandon them.'

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rapidly and resistlessly. From the clear and comprehensive Report before us, it appears that the poor's-rates, in some parishes, form so large a deduction from the rents of the land, that it has at length ceased to be an object to keep it in cultivation! It has been actually vacated by its proprietors; and as their place of superintendence cannot be occupied by others who have no right of superintendence, the result is, that whole estates have been as effectually lost to the wealth and resources of the country, as if buried by an earthquake under water, or as if some blight of Nature had gone over them, and bereft them of their powers of vegetation. *

We know not if the whole history of the world furnishes a more striking demonstration than this, of the mischief that may be done by attempting to carry into practice a theoretical speculation, which, under the guise, and even with the real purpose of benevolence, has for its plausible object to equalize, among the children of one common humanity, the blessings and the fruits of one common inheritance. The truth is, that we have not been conducted to the present state of our rights, and our arrangements respecting property, by any artificial process of legislation at all. The state of property in which we find ourselves actually landed, is the result of a natural process, under which all that a man earns by his industry is acknowledged to be his own; or, when the original mode of acquisition is lost sight of, all that a man has retained by long and undisturbed possession, is felt and acknowledged to be his own also. Legislation ought to do no more than

* 'The consequences which are likely to result from this state of things, are clearly set forth in the petition from the parish of Wombridge in Salop, which is fast approaching to this state. The petitioners state, "that the annual value of lands, mines and houses, in this parish, is not sufficient to maintain the numerous and increasing poor, even if the same were set, free of rent; and that these circumstances will inevitably compel the occupiers of lands and mines to relinquish them; and the poor will be without relief, or any known mode of obtaining it, unless some assistance be speedily afforded them." And your Committee apprehend, from the petition before them, that this is only one of many parishes that are fast approaching to a state of dereliction.' *Report*, p. 20.

It appears, by the petition sent up from the parish, that it has a population of 1900, of whom 620 are chargeable to the parish as paupers—that the whole annual sum rateable to the support of the poor is 1605*l.* 3s. 7d.—that the expenditure for three months was 602*l.* 7s. 4d.—and that, of course, at this rate, the expenditure for a whole year would greatly exceed the yearly value of the property liable to this assessment.

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barely recognise these principles, and defend its subjects against the violation of them. And when she attempts more than this —when she offers to tamper with the great arrangements of Nature, by placing the rights and the securities of property on a footing different from that of Nature—when, as in the case of the English poor-laws, she does so under the pretence, and doubtless, too, with the honest design, of establishing between the rich and the poor a nearer equality of enjoyment;—we know not in what way violated Nature could have inflicted on the enterprise a more signal and instructive chastisement, than when the whole territory of this plausible but presumptuous experiment is made to droop and to wither under it, as if struck by a judgment from Heaven, till at length that Earth, out of which the rich draw all their wealth, and the poor all their subsistence, refuses to nourish the children who have abandoned her, and both parties are involved in the wreck of one common and overwhelming visitation.

Let us not lose sight, however, of the main object to which we have restricted ourselves, that of keeping our own part of the country untainted by this sore evil; and for this purpose, let us go back and offer a few remarks upon it, in its incipient and least repulsive form. And first, we are in great danger of being betrayed into an imitation of the English system, in many of our parishes, by a desire to rid our respective neighbourhoods of the annoyance of begging. Now, it should always be kept in mind, that the great and original purpose for which this vicious system was instituted, was the suppression of vagrancy. * For our own part, we will confess we have long thought, that in the zeal of regulation against the nuisance of public begging, some of the clearest principles, both of Nature and of Christianity, have been violated. As disciples of the New Testament, we cannot but think that, if told by our Saviour to give to him that *asketh*, there must be something radically wrong in an attempt, on our part, to extinguish that very condition on which he hath made the duty of giving to depend. It appears to us, that to commit an act of direct and formal disobedience against the precept itself, is not more rebellious than to point an act of prohibition against the offering, or the existing of those circumstances under which the performance of the precept is required of us. At all events,

* 'It may be sufficient to state, that the statutes antecedent to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were generally directed to the relief of the impotent poor, by the contributions of the church, and the alms of the charitable, and to the suppression of vagrancy and idleness.' *Report*, p. 1.

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we see no alternative between an entire and authoritative suppression of mendicity, and an obligation on the part of the authors of this suppression, to ascertain the circumstances of those whom they have thus interdicted, and to make provision for all the actual want that is made known to them in the course of their investigations. Those who are destitute, must be relieved somehow—and must have some way of making their wants known: and therefore we see no alternative between the allowance of mendicity under some modification or other, and the establishment of the very system which is now bearing so oppressively down upon the country. And we do confess, that, rather than have such a system, we would sit down under mendicity in its very worst form; we would let it roam unrestricted and at large, as it does in France; we would suffer it to rise, without any control, to the height of unlicensed vagrancy; and are most thoroughly persuaded, that, even under such an economy, the whole poverty of the land would be disposed of at less expense to the higher orders, and with vastly less both of suffering and depravity to the lower orders of society. ‡

But at present, we are only speaking in terms of comparison between a very bad thing, and a thing that we conceive to be much worse. Considering the matter absolutely, we hold this last state of things to be very far indeed from right or desirable, and should wish to see the distinction well established in the public mind between the two states of Mendicity and Vagrancy. The latter brings to my door a host of unknown cases from all parts of the empire. The former may be so restricted as to bring to my door only such cases of a small and manageable parish as could be ascertained by an easy act of inquiry, and as, in fact, might become the familiar objects of my habitual kindliness and regard. In all the aspects, indeed, of this interesting question, are we constantly met by the mighty advantage

‡ We cannot withhold from our readers the following extract of a communication from the parish of Maybole, in Ayrshire. 'It is also to be observed, as to the parish of Maybole, that, while some pains were taken to discourage itinerant beggars from remote places, the aged and infirm belonging to the parish were not prevented from begging within the parish. It is believed, that an interference to prevent the seeking of alms by the aged and infirm within their own parish is unwise, and necessarily attended with many bad consequences. The system, therefore, of suppressing all begging in the country parishes, is, it is apprehended, the first step to the evils of a poor's-rate; and although proposed, was not adopted, in the parish of Maybole.'

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of a more extended parochial subdivision. Let a large town be thrown into manageable and independent districts, within each of which the moral influence of Christian education, and all the delicacies of acquaintanceship may be so concentered as to tell with effect on the general habits of the population—and, though permission to beg were granted within the limits of every such district, the practice of begging, we are persuaded, would never obtrude itself on the community as a glaring and insufferable nuisance. There is, we are aware, a prevailing, but we conceive a most erroneous opinion, that the poorer districts of the town could never be upheld at this rate—and that, unless a stream of relief comes to them from the wealthier quarters, they must sink under the burden of a poverty, for the alleviation of which they possess no means within themselves. Now we can venture to affirm, and to the infinite honour of the lower orders of society, that *all which the rich give to the poor in private beneficence, is but a mite and a trifle when compared with what the poor give to one another:* And, on the strength of this remark, which may be verified in many different ways, we do confidently maintain, that, under a system of parochial mendicity, established in a town which had carried to its right extent the method of parochial subdivision, there would not be one case beyond the reach of the gratuitous benevolence which issued through the organ of the Kirk-session, which would not be met and provided for by the gratuitous benevolence of those who gave to them that asked;—and more, that, were this economy instituted, and in full operation, even the last resource of mendicity would, in by far the greater number of instances, be anticipated by the desirable and salutary influence of other principles. For the poor, at least in our country, have honourable feelings; and, ere they made so degrading a transition in the eyes of their immediate acquaintances, they would, generally speaking, put forth all the industry and all the economy of which they are capable. And neighbours have compassionate feelings; and, ere they suffered one of their own familiars to make such an exposure, they would ward off his evil day by a thousand little acts of liberality. And such rich persons as may be connected with the district, have compassionate feelings too; and many of them would rejoice in the object of keeping an honest family from the street, as one of the noblest and most gratifying achievements of benevolence. And thus, the consequent mendicity of such an arrangement, that looks at present so appalling, would never, in fact, go beyond the limits of a very small and manageable concern. At our present distance from this arrangement, we do not say that it could be summoned up by an instantaneous act of creation. But surely, it were well,

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in our cities, to take a commencing movement towards it; and we are assured that, by throwing the entire mass into such sections, as should afford to individual charity a certain and well known range for its operations, they would do what never can be done with the unwieldy whole, by all the strength and sagacity of committeeship. *

There is another cause through which a parish might be betrayed into the adoption of poor-rates; and that is, a desire to equalize the burden of the expenditure among all who are liable. We have occasion to know that this has acted as a powerful temptation to resident heritors in many of our parishes. And it may, on the other hand, act as a salutary remembrance to them, that this seems to have been one of the great and impelling causes which gave rise to the pauperism of England. † Let

* There is an attempt now making to restrict mendicity within parochial limits in Fifeshire; and the plan has already taken effect in some of the parishes. Dysart is, mainly speaking, a manufacturing parish, and contains upwards of 6000 inhabitants. Its average annual expenditure on the poor, for the last six years, has been 277*l.* 18s. This is exclusive of subscriptions raised to meet one or two extraordinary pressures on the operative population. In this parish, badges have lately been issued by the Kirk-session, to the number of twenty-two, authorizing those who wear them to beg within the limits of the parish. They are restricted to one day in the week, on which they make their round, and leave the inhabitants an entire exemption from this annoyance for the remaining six days. It is to be remarked, however, that this number of beggars is very greatly beyond the average of the other parishes in that neighbourhood. Among nine adjoining parishes, from which there are definite statements as to this point, it appears that the whole number of beggars is twenty-one.

We cannot but remark that, under every possible arrangement, our main dependence must still be laid on the spirit and principle of the population; that if the *morale* of a parish be neglected, even this well-looking arrangement may come in time to be oppressive; and we must therefore beg leave to state it as our apprehension, that, if the means of Christian instruction are greatly short of the number, this very mendicity may come at length to be so counted on, and so overdone, as altogether to transform that parish out of the Scottish character which originally belonged to it. And we should feel it as a reproach to any parish, if the previous expedients of secret relief from neighbours, and of discreet and timely ministrations on the part of the Kirk-session, were not effectual in saving from this humiliating resort every one individual who had sustained a decent reputation in his better days.

† 'This new and important principle of compulsory provision for

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them rest assured, that it were greatly better for themselves to sustain, at all times, the burden of the poor, so long as they are provided for by gratuitous benevolence, than to sustain, at all times, their legal fraction of that burden, after the method of a compulsory provision is introduced—that it were better for them to be singly at the expense of warding off this mischievous system from their parishes, than with the view of compelling those who are unwilling to take a share, to be jointly at the expense of an assessment with the other heritors: And we trust that this consideration will have its seasonable influence upon them, at those times when they are most likely to be led astray by the very just and natural desire for an equality of parochial burdens among all the proprietors.

But by far the most prominent, and by far the most useful lesson which this Report holds out to us, is the mighty influence of habit and of character among the people over the whole of this speculation. In the course of the examination, this is always obtruding itself as the main and indispensable element of the whole business. When we read of such a difference of expenditure between a Scottish and English parish of equal population and apparent means, as that of 50*l.* and of 1500*l.*, we are apt to wonder by what power or process of arithmetic such a phenomenon can be explained. Now, the single element of character explains it.‡ The arithmetic of the question finds its entire solution in the actual savings of economy, on the one hand, and in the actual squandering of inconsideration and profligacy, on the other: And when, to this, we add the dissolution of the ties of relationship which obtains in the latter country, we have, in fact, the whole materials of the computation before us. Now, this is the precise point upon which the present helplessness of England turns. There, they have to recover a character for their population, which, here, we have only to perpetuate: There, they have to implant a new habit, while here we have only to ward off con-

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the impotent, and for setting to work the able, originated, without doubt, in motives of the purest humanity, and was directed to the equitable purpose of preventing this burden falling exclusively upon the charitable.' *Report*, p. 7.

‡ We of course deduct from this observation all that part of the expenditure which goes, in the shape of poor's-money, to the payment of wages—a consideration into which we have not yet entered, but which must be admitted to an important place in the argument, whenever we count ourselves prepared, in all its bearings, and all its details, for the question of English pauperism.

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tamination from an old one: There, they have to emerge from an abyss in which they have been fastening and deepening for 200 years, while here there is not yet a city of our land where, by a measure of promptitude, the population may not still be recalled from that descending way upon which they have entered. It is upon this consideration, not less powerful than it is important, that we ground our appeal to the whole influence and patronage of the country—that we would turn their eye to that which, after every species of mechanism has been tried and found ineffectual, must at length be recurred to as the essential and elementary principle of the health and well-being of our nation. And we call upon them to have a care lest, by a corrupt exercise of patronage, or by the power of an example which blasts the virtues of every neighbourhood that lies within the sphere of its contagion, or by any one act which bespeaks a contempt for Christianity, or an indifference to the great cause of spreading its lessons among the towns and families of our land, they do not become the guilty authors of a system, under which, all that has hitherto shed a moral glory over Scotland, and all the dignities and delicacies of character which have adorned its interesting population, must ultimately disappear. *

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* 'Are you of opinion, that where men have acquired habits of economy, it is probable that many of these men, at the latter end of their life, would be like to have recourse to the poor-rates?—No; I seldom meet with an instance of a person applying for parochial relief, where they belong to a benefit society, even when what they get is reduced from fourteen to two shillings; for they have a scale to go by. Such has been their moral conduct, and their good character, that, from the hands of the neighbours, or some society, they are taken care of.' *App. p.* 76.

'I have others, who pride themselves in saying they never take weekly money; and those individuals who never take weekly money are much more regular in their work; they earn more; they are more economical and more industrious; and, generally speaking, they do their work better. I have never known an instance scarcely of families of that description coming to want, or having recourse to parochial relief. But those who are in the constant habit of drawing money every week, let them earn what they will, if they are out of work a week or two, are destitute.' (p. 73.) 'A man who would come for parochial relief, and a man who would spend all he got, is the same thing.' (p. 75.) 'Do you think they would be likely to resort to the parish for relief, men who were of an economical character? I think it would be impossible for them, according to the feelings which they would then acquire, to apply for parish relief?' (p. 101.) 'Do you not conceive that the habit of providence and the feeling of ne-

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And here we cannot omit another class of interesting testimonies about Savings Banks and Benefit Societies. We

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cessity, on their own part, to provide for themselves has decreased? Certainly it has;—that feeling of independence has certainly decreased—the desire of maintaining their families by their labour has decreased I fear.' (p. 85.) 'Have you known instances of their receiving that (from 18s. to 25s.) for weeks together, and, on the occasion of temporary want of work, come to the parish? Not among the persons we employ; they are of a different description; but among the coal-heavers, and those whose business requires them to drink a good deal, they spend the whole, and are not provident; therefore, if they are a week out of work, many of them are upon the poor-rates; and that is the reason why I consider, if they had not the dernier resort of the poor-rates, they must reserve something.' (p. 86.) 'Do the poor do their utmost to maintain themselves before they come to the workhouse? I fear there are exceptions to that. There are some we cannot keep out of the workhouse, do what we will, and others are unwilling to come in; some, if they are put out to-day, will get in in a few days time.' (p. 94.) 'In those parishes in which you are so much interested, and in which such pains are taken to avoid new settlements, in what way have the present persons who have settlements acquired them? By perjury some of them. Are early marriages frequent in your parishes? Certainly. Do you think the morals of the lower classes have been much deteriorated of late years? Very much.' (p. 134.)

'Do children often apply, and say their parents will not support them? Not very often; the parents generally come with them. Have you many cases of individuals abandoning their families, and leaving them to the parish? Not many.' (p. 91.) 'Do the young poor show, in many instances, a disposition to help their parents? We do not know much of that.' (p. 95.) 'Do you see any disposition in the young poor to help their parents, by giving them any of their earnings? No; the poor-rate prevents that; they must go to the parish. Have you many public houses in your parish? Yes; we have five; we had another; and I did all I could to make them scarcer. Does much of the parish money find its way there? A great deal; the publicans are so poor, from being numerous, they are supposed to do any thing to get men into their houses. Do you think limiting the number of public-houses in parishes, generally, would be a measure that would tend to diminish the poor-rates? I think very much; I think the difference between three houses and six would turn many drunken men into sober.' (p. 124.)

From the above it appears, as was to be expected, that the abandonment of parents by their children is far more frequent than the abandonment of the children by their parents; and yet the writer of this has at present before him a printed advertisement of last July,

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cannot but think that some of the witnesses ascribe too much power to them, in the way of forming a character among the

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containing a list of 54 parents who had absconded from their families, and left them chargeable to the township of Manchester, of whom 41 had disappeared during the course of the preceding twelvemonth. This cruel and unnatural practice, the legitimate offspring of the system against which we are contending, is now beginning to be exemplified in some of the Border parishes of Scotland.

It is worthy of remark, that the last quotation from page 124, relates to the parish of the very able and intelligent Mr Vivian, who appears to have done all that can be done, under the method of a compulsory provision, for reducing the expenditure on the poor. He has effected a reduction of from 900*l.* to 600*l.* in a parish, while there are many parishes in Scotland, of the same population, that require an expenditure only of 20*l.* Sterling. We consider his last statements, then, as containing in them the chief elements of that arithmetic by which the difference of charge between a Scottish and an English parish is to be explained. For let it be observed, that Mr Vivian has most wisely, and with great success, discouraged the practice of allowing, out of the poor-money, any regular supply to the wages of labour, as appears from the following extract of his examination. 'Is it not, then, the practice of your parish, to advance regularly, weekly, a sum in addition to the wages earned by your labourers? Never; and to that I ascribe, as much almost as any thing, the diminution of the rates. If a man has six young children, no one of which can maintain itself, you do not give any permanent relief beyond his earnings? Never; occasional presents, and that very seldom. How did you prevail on the parish to put an end to that practice? By strong persuasion, and by desiring them to try the experiment; and it answered. They immediately got into task-work, and got five-and-twenty shillings a week.' (p. 116.)

We cannot close this long extract of testimonies to the connexion that obtains between the Pauperism of England and the dissolution of moral and domestic ties among its people, without offering, from the work under review, one touching specimen of the agency by which all the duties, both of society and of relationship, are again to be restored to the land. 'Have you any parochial schools for the infant poor in your parish? A great number. I have stated that the morals of the lower classes have greatly deteriorated in consequence of the drinking of spirits; but there is a circumstance which has operated to improve the morals—and that is, the number of schools to educate the poor; but for the increase of drinking spirits, their morals would have been considerably better, and, but for these schools, they would have been much worse. When did they begin? From the period the Lancasterian and Bell scheme came before the public; I suppose about seven or eight years ago. Can you say you see any

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people. We rather think that they presuppose such a character; and that, in order to their taking effect, the process of extending such establishments must be seconded, or, rather, must be synchronized by the great process of moralizing and christianizing the country. They still leave this element as indispensable as ever; and it is such an element as they never can supply by their own unaided operation. And we hold nothing to be more certain, than that, after these wise and salutary institutions have drawn around them all who are willing and industrious, there will still, in every country where education is neglected, be such a remainder of unreclaimed profligacy, as to afford a sufficient basis for the whole superstructure of our present pauperism. *

But there is still another consideration which might serve to

visible effect on the morals of those children at this time? Yes; and for this reason:—the individuals who send their children to these schools go with them to the respective places of worship that these children attend on the Lord's day; the children of all the schools are expected to attend at a place of worship. Many of their parents, who, before, were not in the habit of going to any place of worship at all, have been induced to go, because their children attend there. Thus, they have been prevented from immoralities in conduct, in keeping the Sabbath, and felt interested in letting their children appear decent and clean; and this also has tended to increase habits of economy and cleanliness in the individual parents themselves.' (p. 79, 80.)

* 'Do you think that the misery of the lower classes has increased in proportion to the increase of the sum for their maintenance?—I speak of that class of the poor who have been in the habit of taking regular parochial relief; for there are many who can still say, "thank God, I have never been a pauper;"—many of them belong to Benefit Clubs. It is rarely we have an application from any one who belongs to a benefit club, and very rarely that I observe any individuals apply for relief who have been in the habit of saving any money; but it is the individuals who have never saved any thing, let their earnings be what they will. They know they can take parochial relief, and with them their present enjoyment is better than future comfort. Have you many instances of the lower description of people making savings?—A great many. What are the wages out of which they can have saved?—Perhaps not so much as those who take relief. In proportion as individuals save a little money, their morals are much better; they husband that little; and there is a superior tone given to their morals; and they behave better, from knowing that they have a little stake in society. There are men who can earn thirty-five or forty shillings a week, with the help of their family and children; and

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reconcile many to poor-rates, and which has had its influence in leading to the adoption of this provision in several places of Scotland, and that is, the imagined necessity for it which lies in the peculiar state and circumstances of a manufacturing population. Now, it appears from this Report, that there is just as ready a principle of coalescence with this system on the part of the people in the agricultural districts; and that, if we estimate the need for the fund by the extent of the drafts which are actually made upon it, there is little or no difference observable in England between the one and the other description of parishes. It further appears, that, in seasons of depression, there has uniformly been as great a call for something extraordinary and additional to the common method of supply in parishes burdened with poor-rates, as in those parts of the country where no compulsory provision had been established. And it still further appears, on comparing England and Scotland, that in manufacturing towns, of various business and population, the extent of their pauperism is not at all in proportion to these circumstances, but in proportion to the time which the compulsory method has had for the development of its own mischievous principle of acceleration. We may gather also, from this comparison, that in times of great fluctuation or scarcity, the distress has always been much

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if they are out of work a week, they become paupers.'—*Mr Hale's examination.*

'Do you conceive that this establishment has had a material influence upon the character of the working classes of your parish?—Very great indeed. What do you suppose would be the effect, if Friendly Societies were general?—That there would be no occasion for this Committee.'—*Mr Vivian's examination.*

'Do you believe that such establishments would have the effect of reducing the poor's-rate in proportion as they should succeed?—I think that such establishments, if general throughout the country, would have the effect of abolishing the poor's-rates; it would entirely alter the character of the poor. I think, with general education, saving banks, and such an equalization as I have stated, in a few years the rates would vanish of themselves. Do you believe that such establishments would have a tendency to improve the morals of the lower class of people?—In an incalculable degree.' (p. 100.)

It is the belief of the writer of this article, that the mere setting up of a saving bank in a neighbourhood, would render a very small and subordinate contribution towards the improvement of the general mass of character; that, at best, it is but an auxiliary towards the production of this effect; and that nothing great or serviceable can be effected in this way by any thing short of the direct instrumentality of education, and more particularly of Christian education.

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greater in towns where this method had long been established, and less in those where it had been recently instituted, and least of all in those where it was utterly unknown: All serving to prove, that, under every variety of human condition and employment, this mischievous contrivance goes to supplant far more effectual securities against the sufferings of indigence, than it ever can replace; and that, wherever it obtains a footing, it aggravates the distress which it proposes to do away; and that, let the mode of life, or the mode of industry be what it will, individual man can far more easily find his own way to his own preservation from all the ills and vicissitudes of fortune, without such a regulation than with it; and that the only effect of this regulation has been, not to provide for such peculiar necessities as are found to prevail in one district, and to have no place in another; but to assimilate all the districts of the land into one common condition of clamorous and unrelieved poverty, fostered by the hand that was lifted up to destroy it, and embittered by the misery of a system that has done nothing but delude the people by its deceitful smiles, and its unsubstantial promises. †

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† As a proof that the augmentation of poor-rates grows as rapidly in agricultural as in manufacturing districts, we have presented to us, in the Report, the increase of expenditure in the two most agricultural counties of England. In the county of Hereford, the expenditure, in 1776, was 10,593*l.* 7s. 2d.; and in 1815, it was 59,255*l.* 19s. In Bedfordshire, the expenditure, for each of these years respectively, was 16,662*l.* 17s. 1d., and 50,870*l.* 10s. 11d.

In the parish of Christ-Church, Spitalfields, the poor-rate seems to have come to its limit last year; and subscription for the poor was their last resort. 'Provided there had been no subscription, would it not most considerably have increased the rate?—The rates could not have been increased; for I believe, now, if we were to attempt (and it is the opinion of more persons in the parish) to raise the rate to eight shillings instead of six, many would not be able to pay the eight who now pay the six. What would have been the consequence to the parish, if they had not had the subscription?—I have always contemplated, with the greatest horror, the consequences, if this association had not been established.' (p. 68.) 'Is there any limit to the relief given by the poor's-rate?—In some cases we give as high as five shillings a week. In the case of a large family, of four, or five, or six children, five shillings a week would not sustain them; then, what would be done?—There are several humane societies in the neighbourhood, and they get something there. There is a great deal of money comes from the benevolence of the public, the Benevolent Society, and others.' (p. 74.) 'You have a subscription in aid of your

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We have not time at present to dilate on this interesting part of the subject; but if facts are of more value than arguments, we have them to offer in abundance: And we will venture to say, on the strength of these facts, that the cry of distress from our manufacturing population is uniformly louder in proportion to the extent of the compulsory provision. There are many manufacturing towns in Scotland where there is no such expedient at all. In Kirkaldy and its neighbourhood, there is a contiguous population of 13,000, of a decidedly manufacturing character; and there the yearly expense comes to little more than fifty pounds for each thousand of the population. In the small parish of Carmunnock, about four miles from Glasgow, there are eighty looms at least among a population of 839, and the whole expenditure of last year was 22*l.* 10s. 9d.; and there was not one application for extraordinary relief produced by the deficiency of wages under which they laboured, in common with the whole country. The Barony, one of the suburb parishes of Glasgow, with a population now of 43,000, might have been quoted as an example of the same kind so lately as 1807, when its expenditure was only 687*l.* 3s. 9d.; but, though at present dead in respect of its peculiarly Scottish character, yet, by the record of its former and later years, it still speaketh. But all these minor cases of illustration are lost and forgotten, in the princely example of Scottish independence held out by the Gorbals of Glasgow;—a parish, of which we are substantially correct as to the argument, when we say, that it extends not by a single inch beyond the masonry of its work and its dwellinghouses—a parish, of which we believe that it claims not a single acre of ground beyond the site that it is built upon—a parish, at all events, which has not one fraction of territorial revenue or importance attached to it, but which includes, within the little sweep of its boundary, a busy and in-

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poor-rate?—Yes, to the amount of 1600*l.* for selling necessaries at a reduced price to the poor.' (p. 75.) In the same manner, it appears that private subscriptions were raised in many other places, to meet the difficulties of last winter. That for St Mary, Islington, was 1600*l.* to a population of 15,000. That for St George's, Hanover-Square, with a population of 42,000, was from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* additional to the poor-rates. That for the Gorbals of Glasgow, where there are no poor-rates, but a population towards 20,000, was just 835*l.* So it appears, that the legal charity does not supersede the gratuitous charity, but renders it more indispensable; and this resource is open to the people of those parishes where there is no legal charity, and that, too, in a state of less exhaustion, and with more readiness, of course, on the part of the benevolent.

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dustrious population of nearly 20,000 individuals. * Had it stood by itself, we confess we should not have looked on the history as in any way miraculous. But, standing as it does within the walk of one minute from a great pestiferous vomitory, that sends a withering influence on every side of it, upon all that is delicate or noble in the character of our Scottish population—it would be a most violent suppression of the gratitude and the estimation which are felt by us, did we refuse to acknowledge, that though we had travelled for evidence over the whole length and breadth of our land, we could not have met a more wondrous or substantial testimony than the one which this parish affords. And when it is told, that the average of its regular annual expenditure is a gratuitous sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, and that the whole sum required for the extraordinary wants of last year was 835*l.*, which was also raised by voluntary subscription, and that, among the administrators for the poor,—who does not feel a desire that this stately monument of the truth may ever remain unimpaired; that, standing on the brink of a great moral contagion, it may serve as a protecting van-guard of resistance to the country in its rear, and be our proudest bulwark of defence against such an invasion as England has long been threatening, and in which, if she succeed, she will do more to destroy and to desolate our land, than she ever has done, or ever could do, by the invasion of her arms?

The ground upon which it is conceived that a compulsory provision for the poor, is more necessary to a manufacturing than to an agricultural population, is not, that the average of wages among the former, is beneath those of the latter, (for the reverse of this is the truth), but that they are more subject to unlooked for vicissitude. It is not to supply a constant deficiency that the system is contended for in the trading towns of our nation, but to equalize an occasional deficiency. Now, we humbly conceive,

* It may here be right to state, that in assigning a population of nearly 20,000 to the Gorbals, we do it on a most respectable private authority. The census of 1811 makes it considerably less. But we have access to know, that in other parts of that neighbourhood, this census falls short by a fifth part of the present population. It is also right to mention, that a great part of the present parish of Gorbals was added to it lately by an annexation from the parish of Govan—and that there still remains a debateable subject of parochial expenditure between these two parishes, in virtue of which a certain part of the expense of the former, may at times be shifted away to the latter parish. At all events, this expense is considerably less, and certainly not more than seventy-four pounds Sterling.

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that, for this object, the plan of a regular and compulsory provision is the very worst that could possibly be devised. For, once establish this system, and there is not one attribute belonging to it that is more certainly and more universally exemplified than its peculiar aptitude of growing;—so that, even in the very best of times, if you only take periods of sufficient length, as of ten years, you are sure to find, that, in point of magnitude and oppressiveness, its increase just keeps pace with the length of its duration. And, corresponding to this, there is a peculiar inaptitude in the system to retrograde; so that if, in the worst of times, the poor-rates are resorted to for the purpose of meeting some urgent and occasional visitation, they are sure to obtain from this circumstance, not an occasional but a permanent augmentation;—and therefore, in this way, there is not a more effectual method of converting a temporary into a lasting burden on the community. The public know this, and they are up in alarm about the evil consequences of it;—and a pressing calamity, instead of being met, as it ought, by the willing liberalities of the rich, who, if they knew how they could safely provide for the whole emergency, would have a pleasure in doing so, is looked at with an eye of jealousy and dread from the brooding pregnancy of the mischief with which it is known to be associated.

It is indeed a striking demonstration of the utter unsuitableness of a settled and compulsory method to the needs of a manufacturing population, that it is in those very towns where this method has been longest in operation, that you are sure to meet with the largest surplus of distress, and that, after all, voluntary exertions are most called for. So that the legal charity, it would appear, does not supersede the gratuitous charity, though it certainly serves very much to limit and to discourage it. For, a delusive confidence in poor-rates, keeps back many from concurring in a benevolent subscription; and an exhaustion of funds, produced by this system, keeps back many more; and the apprehension that, by accustoming people to receive, you are just raising and nourishing recruits for ordinary pauperism, has a mighty effect in damping the charity of any humane enterprise that may be set afloat for the purpose of alleviating the pressure of any existing fluctuation: so that, in all these ways, a legal establishment of charity has just failed as egregiously in this particular object, as in any other that can possibly be assigned for it. It is, in truth, peculiarly adverse to all such temporary devices as may be employed for the purpose of weathering a temporary emergency. In other words, it has aggravated those peculiar distresses which are incidental to the

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trading districts of the land: And, so long as it is suffered to exist, it will lie as a dead weight on the promptitude and the vigour of the only expedients by which it is in the power of one part of the community to lift, with effect, a helping hand for relieving the miseries of the other.

And, after all, let it not be forgotten, that every case of distress among our manufacturing population, arises from there being too little work for the operatives, or, which is the same thing, too many operatives for the work;—that to reach the cause of such a distress, even a subscription is powerless, unless it detach so many of them to some other employment;—and that if expended on the mere object of ekeing out a subsistence to men who have insufficient wages, it has no other effect but that of keeping them together at an employment which does not pay, and of keeping down the wages of that employment, and of perpetuating a glut in the market, which can only be dissipated by withdrawing a certain number of the workmen to some other objects. And it is truly mortifying to observe, that even the well-looking scheme of an ample and munificent subscription, is just another cruel and deceitful mockery of the lower orders;—that the money, thus raised, in fact passes by them into the pockets of their employers;—and that, in the whole range of possibility, there does not appear to be one other solid expedient for the relief of such an emergency as this, beside the possession of such a fund among the operatives themselves, as could afford them the means of a livelihood for a certain time, without the necessity of working. This would clear away the whole mischief at once. This would give our workmen such a fair and reciprocal control over our manufacturers, as every genuine philanthropist would rejoice to see them invested with. This would elevate them at once to that command over the comforts and the condition of their own body, which they have a right to maintain. This would indeed raise them to the state of a great, independent, and coordinate interest in our commonwealth. But this they never will obtain, till they have purchased it by their own exertion and their own economy. It is nothing but the produce of their savings in good years, that will enable them to treat with their employers in bad years, and to hold out to them the dignified and the respectable language—that, rather than work for unfair and inadequate wages, we will repair to the fund of our former retrenchments, and, out of that fund, we will keep for a season ourselves and our families. Such a noble attitude as this, on the part even of a small portion of our weavers, would bring the manufacturers to reason, and invest them with that power of prompt and equal adjustment which,

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we are sure, it would be for the interest of both parties, and for the general interest of the country, that they possessed. Now, they can only come to this power through the avenue of their own frugal and industrious habits. It is a power that never will, and never can, be *given* to them; and which they can only acquire, by working their own way to it—by accumulating in good years, and laying by the fruits of them in store for the evil day of some dark and adverse fluctuation.

This, and this alone, will smooth all the asperities, and equalize all the vicissitudes of fortune, to which a manufacturing population is liable;—but this is what the false show of relief, held out by an established pauperism, most effectually prevents, by cheating away the attention of the people from the only true sources of their independence and comfort. We know that, upon this subject, there are some who call evil good, and good evil—who malign as hard-hearted, a doctrine which would restore to the methods of benevolence all that is kind and compassionate and friendly—and who brand with hostility to the lower orders of the State, a proposal, by which alone they can be upheld either in respect or sufficiency. Such writers have leave to go on with their plausibilities and their hard sentences. But we confess, that our patriotism and philanthropy incline us to different counsels. We want no such ignominy to come near our Scottish population as that of *farming our poor*. We want no other asylum for our aged parents, than that of their pious and affectionate families. We can neither suffer them, nor do we like the prospect for ourselves, of pining out the cheerless evening of our days away from the endearments of a home. We wish to do, as long as we can, without the apparatus of English laws and English workhouses; and should like to ward for ever from our doors, the system that would bring an everlasting interdict on the worth, and independence, and genuine enjoyments of our peasantry. We wish to see their venerable sires surrounded, as heretofore, by the company and the playfulness of their own grandchildren; nor can we bear to think, that our high-minded people should sink down and be satisfied with the dreary imprisonment of an almshouse, as the closing object in the vista of their earthly anticipations. Yet such is the goodly upshot of a system which has its friends and advocates in our own country—men who could witness, without a sigh, the departure of all those peculiarities which have both alimented and adorned the character of our beloved Scotland—men who can gild over, with the semblance of humanity, a poisoned opiate of deepest injury both to its happiness and to its morals—and who, in the very act of flatter-

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ing the poor, are only forging for them such chains as, soft in feeling as silk, but strong in proof as adamant, will bind them down to a state of permanent degradation.

And we submit it to the attention of our Legislature, if, in the moment of rescinding a statute, which, however friendly in aspect, has been most injurious in effect to the best interests of the labouring classes, it were not the true and the right accompaniment of such a measure, that they rescinded every other statute of interference which bears against them an expression of direct hostility. We should like, in fact, if the Government of our country never interfered with the concerns of trade, but for the objects of revenue; and, on this general principle alone, we would venture to recommend an immediate abolition of the Corn Bill, which proved so obnoxious to the whole of our manufacturing population. But, when coupled with any act tending to the extinction of poor-rates, we consider this measure as imperiously called for. We know nothing, in fact, that more demonstrates the impolicy of all State interferences with such matters as should be left to the natural operation of individual feeling and principle, than the way in which these interferences go to counteract and to neutralize each other. By way of serving the interests of the poor, there was established, in the first instance, a method of compulsory provision, which, without serving their interests at all, has brought a most intolerable burden on the agriculture of the country; and then, by way of relieving the agriculture, there comes out a Corn Bill, which has surrounded Government with the cries of an indignant population. Would it not be better that all this bungling and mismanagement were cleared away at once?—that every interference, either in the way of help or of hostility, were conclusively put an end to—and, more particularly, that our labourers were made to feel that there was a free range of industry before them, from which Government had removed every unnatural obstacle, and on which they were invited to make their own unfettered way to their own independence? We are quite sure, that such a frank and liberal accommodation as this would enthrone the Government of the country in the hearts even of the lowest of the people. And in the same spirit we would recommend the abolition of every direct tax upon those who were in the condition of operatives; and would either rescind, or administer more impartially, these laws against combination, which have ever been a dead letter against the more oppressive combination of the masters, and very frequently an unjust restraint on the defensive associations of the workmen.

In concluding, we must add one word of explanation. We

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have spoken in terms of very strong regret of the establishment of a legal charity in some of our Scottish towns. We did not intend, however, to use them as terms of censure, either against the administrators or the receivers of this charity. The truth is, that this corrupt system has only had a fractional influence, as yet, on the general habits of our population. The body of the community is still sound; and we know not a town in Scotland which is not still in circumstances for that great retracing movement, by which it might be conducted back again to the happier arrangement of former days.

ART. II. *Beppo, a Venetian Story.* 8vo. pp. 50. London, 1818.

THOUGH there is as little serious meaning or interest in this extraordinary performance, as can easily be imagined, we think it well entitled to a place in our fastidious Journal—and that, not merely because it is extremely clever and amusing, but because it affords a very curious and complete specimen of a kind of diction and composition of which our English literature has hitherto afforded very few examples. It is, in itself, absolutely a thing of nothing—without story, characters, sentiments, or intelligible object;—a mere piece of lively and loquacious prattling, in short, upon all kinds of frivolous subjects,—a sort of gay and desultory babbling about Italy and England, Turks, balls, literature and fish sauces. But still there is something very engaging in the uniform gayety, politeness, and good humour of the author—and something still more striking and admirable in the matchless facility with which he has cast into regular, and even difficult versification, the unmingled, unconstrained, and unselected language of the most light, familiar, and ordinary conversation. The French have always had a great deal of this sort of poetry—though with a very severe regard to the purity of the diction—and the Italians also, in a looser and more extravagant tone; but, in England, it seems never to have been naturalized. The nearest approach to it is to be found in some of the tales and lighter pieces of Prior—a few stanzas here and there among the trash and burlesque of Peter Pindar—and in several passages of Mr Moore, and the author of the facetious miscellany, entitled, the Twopenny Post Bag. Chaucer and Shakespeare had ease and gayety enough for the style of which we are speaking—but it belongs intrinsically to the silver, and not to the golden age of poetry; and implies the existence of certain habits of dissipation, derision, and intelli-

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gence in general society, and of a sort of conventional language, for the expression of those things, which were still to be formed in the days of these great masters.—It is scarcely necessary to add, except for our duller readers, that this same familiar, lively, conversational poetry, is perfectly distinct both from the witty, epigrammatic and satirical vein, in which Pope will never be surpassed—or equalled; and from the burlesque, humorous and distorted style which attained its greatest height in Hudibras, and has been copied abundantly enough by humbler imitators. The style of which we are speaking is, no doubt, occasionally satirical and witty and humorous—but it is, on the whole, far more gay than poignant, and is characterized, exactly as good conversation is, rather by its constant ease and amenity, than by any traits either of extraordinary brilliancy, or of strong and ludicrous effect. There must be a certain allowance of sense and sagacity—and little flying traits of picturesque description—and small flights of imagination—and sallies of naïveté and humour—but nothing very powerful, and nothing very long. The great charm is in the simplicity and naturalness of the language—the free but guarded use of all polite idioms, and even of all phrases of temporary currency that have the stamp of good company upon them,—with the exclusion of all scholastic or ambitious eloquence, all profound views, and all deep emotions.

The unknown writer before us has accomplished all these objects with great skill and felicity; and, in particular, has furnished us with an example, unique we rather think in our language, of about one hundred stanzas of good verse, entirely composed of common words, in their common places; never presenting us with one sprig of what is called poetical diction, or even making use of a single inversion, either to raise the style or assist the rhyme—but running on in an inexhaustible series of good easy colloquial phrases, and finding them fall into verse by some unaccountable and happy fatality. In this great and characteristic quality it is almost invariably excellent. In some other respects it is more unequal. About one half is as good as possible, in the style to which it belongs; the other half bears perhaps too many marks of that haste with which we take it for granted that such a work must necessarily be written. Some passages are rather too foolish, some too snappish, and some run too much on the cheap and rather plebeian humour of out-of-the-way rhymes and strange sounding words and epithets. But the greater part is very pleasant, amiable, and gentlemanlike.

It is not perhaps worth while to give any account of the subject of a work which almost professes to have no subject. But

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as it has a name, and a sort of apology for a story, we shall proceed, according to our laudable custom, to teach our gentle readers all we know, by informing them, that after some prolusion about the Carnival, Venice, and Cavaliere Servente, we are informed that a Venetian lady, some forty years ago, had a husband called Guiseppe, or Joseph,—or more familiarly Beppo, which is the Venetian diminutive of that patriarchal name, and answers to our Joe. This Beppo, it seems, was a merchant; and, sailing away on one occasion, forgot to return, and left his faithful spouse a little disconsolate for a year or two. At length, however, she recovers her spirits—takes a *Cavalier Servente*—and glitters in the fashionable circles as gaily as ever. One night at a ball, she is struck, and rather flattered, with the marked attention of a Turk, who stares at her the whole evening; and, on stepping out of her gondola at her own door, with her *cavaliere*, she is still more astonished to find the Turk waiting to receive her. Her attendant remonstrates against this importunity, when the worthy Mussulman informs them that he is Beppo, who, after playing the part of a renegado for some time with great success in the Levant, is now come home to reclaim his wife, house, and religion. The lady rallies her returning prodigal in a very witty way, on his adventures; and he and the cavalier, and she, all live very happily together till the end of their lives.

This story, such as it is, occupies about twenty stanzas, we think, out of the ninety-five of which the poem consists. The rest is made up of digressions and dissertations at the author's discretion; and these form unquestionably by far the most lively and interesting part of the work, of which we must now give our readers a few specimens—to explain and make amends for our critical disquisitions. We may begin at the tenth stanza.

'Of all the places where the Carnival
Was most facetious in the days of yore,
For dance, and song, and serenade, and ball,
And mask, and mime, and mystery, and more
Than I have time to tell now, or at all,
Venice the bell from every city bore,
And at the moment when I fix my story,
That sea-born city was in all her glory.

'They've pretty faces yet, those same Venetians,
Black eyes, arch'd brows, and sweet expressions still,
Such as of old were copied from the Grecians,
In ancient arts by moderns mimick'd ill;
And like so many Venuses of Titian's
(The best's at Florence—see it, if ye will),
They look when leaning over the balcony,
Or stepping from a picture by Giorgione.' p.

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'Shakespeare described the sex in Desdemona
As very fair, but yet suspect in fame,
And to this day from Venice to Verona
Such matters may be probably the same,
Except that since those times was never known a
Husband whom mere suspicion could inflame
To suffocate a wife no more than twenty,
Because she had a "cavalier servente." p. 9.

It may be right now to give a small sample of the narrative part, to show how airily the author deals with his story. After Beppo's disappearance, the condition of his lady is thus represented.

'And Laura waited long, and wept a little,
And thought of wearing weeds, as well she might;
She almost lost all appetite for victual,
And could not sleep with ease alone at night;
She deemed the window-frames and shutters brittle,
Against a daring house-breaker or sprite,
And so she thought it prudent to connect her
With a vice-husband, *chiefly* to *protect her.*' p. 15.

The charms of the cavalier are then described—and the tale proceeds.

'No wonder such accomplishments should turn
A female head, however sage and steady—
With scarce a hope that Beppo could return,
In law he was almost as good as dead, he
Nor sent, nor wrote, nor show'd the least concern,
And she had waited several years already;
And really if a man won't let us know
That he's alive, he's *dead*, or should be so.

'Besides, within the Alps, to every woman
(Although, God knows, it is a grievous sin),
'Tis, I may say, permitted to have *two* men;
I can't tell who first brought the custom in,
But "Cavalier Serventes" are quite common,
And no one notices, nor cares a pin;
And we may call this (not to say the worst)
A *second* marriage which corrupts the *first.*

'The word was formerly a "Cicisbeo,"
But *that* is now grown vulgar and indecent;
The Spaniards call the person a "*Cortejo,*"
For the same mode subsists in Spain, though recent;
In short it reaches from the Po to Teio,
And may perhaps at last be o'er the sea sent.
But Heaven preserve Old England from such courses!
Or what becomes of damage and divorces?

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'But "Cavalier Servente" is the phrase
Used in politest circles to express
This supernumerary slave, who stays
Close to the lady as a part of dress,' &c. p. 18, 19.

At this point the author breaks off into one of those lively digressions which give its charm and its character to this curious little work. Nothing can possibly be better, in its way, than what follows.

'For all these sinful doings, I must say,
That Italy's a pleasant place to me,
Who love to see the Sun shine every day,
And vines (not nail'd to walls) from tree to tree
Festoon'd, much like the back scene of a play,
Or melodrame, which people flock to see,
When the first act is ended by a dance
In vineyards copied from the south of France.

'I also like to dine on becaficas,
To see the Sun set, sure he'll rise to-morrow,
Not through a misty morning twinkling weak as
A drunken man's dead eye in maudlin sorrow,
But with all Heaven t' himself; that day will break as
Beauteous as cloudless, nor be forc'd to borrow
That sort of farthing candlelight which glimmers
Where reeking London's smoky cauldron simmers.

'I love the language, that soft bastard Latin,
Which melts like kisses from a female mouth,
And sounds as if it should be writ on satin,
With syllables which breathe of the sweet South,
And gentle liquids gliding all so pat in,
That not a single accent seems uncouth,
Like our harsh northern whistling, grunting guttural,
Which we're oblig'd to hiss, and spit, and sputter all.

'I like the women too (forgive my folly),
From the rich peasant cheek of ruddy bronze,
And large black eyes that flash on you a volley
Of rays that say a thousand things at once,
To the high dama's brow, more melancholy,
But clear, and with a wild and liquid glance,
Heart on her lips, and soul within her eyes,
Soft as her clime, and sunny as her skies.' p. 20–22.

In these last lines, it will be observed, that the author rises above the usual and appropriate pitch of his composition, and is betrayed into something too like enthusiasm and deep feeling for the light and fantastic strain of his poetry. Neither does the fit go off immediately; for he rises quite into rapture in the succeeding stanza—in which he seems to have caught a spark from the ardent genius of Byron.

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'Eve of the land which still is Paradise!
Italian beauty! didst thou not inspire
Raphael, who died in thy embrace, and vies
With all we know of Heaven, or can desire,
In what he hath bequeath'd us?—in what guise,
Though flashing from the fervour of the lyre,
Would *words* describe thy past and present glow,
While yet Canova can create below?' p. 22, 23.

This, however, is the only slip of the kind in the whole work—the only passage in which the author betrays the secret—which might however have been suspected—of his own genius, and his affinity to a higher order of poets than those to whom he has here been pleased to hold out a model.

The following lines on England form a fair counterpart to the preceding on Italy—though the taste, we think, is less pure, and the style rather too smart and epigrammatical.

'"England! with all thy faults I love thee still,"
I said at Calais, and have not forgot it;
I like to speak and lucubrate my fill;
I like the government (but that is not it);
I like the freedom of the press and quill;
I like the Habeas Corpus (when we've got it);
I like a parliamentary debate,
Particularly when 'tis not too late;

'I like the taxes, when they're not too many;
I like a seacoal fire, when not too dear;
I like a beef-steak, too, as well as any;
Have no objection to a pot of beer;
I like the weather, when it is not rainy,
That is, I like two months of every year.
And so God save the Regent, Church, and King!
Which means that I like all and every thing.

'Our standing army, and disbanded seamen,
Poor's rate, Reform, my own, the nation's debt,
Our little riots just to show we are free men,
Our trifling bankruptcies in the Gazette,
Our cloudy climate, and our chilly women,
All these I can forgive, and those forget,
And greatly venerate our recent glories,
And wish they were not owing to the Tories.' p. 23, 24.

There are traits of Lord Byron, again, in the following whimsica verses.

This is the case in England; at least was
During the dynasty of Dandies, now
Perchance succeeded by some other class
Of imitated imitators:—how

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Irreparably soon decline, alas!
The demagogues of fashion: all below
Is frail; how easily the world is lost
By love, or war, and now and then by frost!

'Crush'd was Napoleon by the northern Thor,
Who knock'd his army down with icy hammer,
Stopp'd by the *elements*, like a whaler, or
A blundering novice in his new French grammar;
Good cause had he to doubt the chance of war,
And as for Fortune—but I dare not d—n her,
Because, were I to ponder to infinity,
The more I should believe in her divinity.' p. 30.

Nothing can be cleverer than this caustic little diatribe, introduced *à propos* of the life of Turkish ladies in their harams.

'They cannot read, and so don't lisp in criticism;
Nor write, and so they don't affect the muse;
Were never caught in epigram or witticism,
Have no romances, sermons, plays, reviews,—
In harams learning soon would make a pretty schism!
But luckily these beauties are no "blues,"
No bustling Botherbys have they to show 'em
"That charming passage in the last new poem."

'No solemn, antique gentleman of rhyme,
Who having angled all his life for fame,
And getting but a nibble at a time,
Still fussily keeps fishing on,—the same
Small "Triton of the minnows," the sublime
Of mediocrity, the furious tame,
The echo's echo, usher of the school
Of female wits, boy bards—in short, a fool!

'One hates an author that's *all author*, fellows
In foolscap uniforms turned up with ink,
So very anxious, clever, fine, and jealous,
One don't know what to say to them, or think,
Unless to puff them with a pair of bellows;
Of coxcombry's worst coxcombs e'en the pink
Are preferable to these shreds of paper,
These unquenched snuffings of the midnight taper.

'Of these same we see several, and of others,
Men of the world, who know the world like men,
S—tt, R—s, M—re, and all the better brothers,
Who think of something else besides the pen;
But for the children of the "mighty mother's,"
The would-be wits and can't-be gentlemen,

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I leave them to their daily "tea is ready,"
Smug coterie, and literary lady.

'The poor dear Mussulwomen whom I mention
Have none of these instructive pleasant people.' &c.
p. 36—38.

One little bit more, for the breaking up of the ball.

'The morning now was on the point of breaking,
A turn of time at which I would advise
Ladies who have been dancing, or partaking
In any other kind of exercise,
To make their preparations for forsaking
The ball-room ere the sun begins to rise,
Because when once the lamps and candles fail,
His blushes make them look a little pale.

'I've seen some balls and revels in my time,
And staid them over, for some silly reason,
And then I looked, (I hope it was no crime),
To see what lady best stood out the season;
And though I've seen some thousands in their prime,
Lovely and pleasing, and who still may please on,
I never saw but one, (the stars withdrawn),
Whose bloom could after dancing dare the dawn.

'The name of this Aurora I'll not mention,
Although I might, for she was nought to me
More than that patent work of God's invention,
A charming woman, whom we like to see;
But writing names would merit reprehension,
Yet if you like to find out this fair *she*,
At the next London or Parisian ball
You still may mark her cheek, out-blooming all.

'Laura, who knew it would not do at all
To meet the daylight after seven hours sitting
Among three thousand people at a ball,
To make her curtsey thought it right and fitting.' &c.
p. 40—42.

We must add the scene of the final *anagnorisis* of Beppo, and the pathetic discourse which the modern Penelope addresses to him on his return.

'They entered, and for coffee called,—it came,
A beverage for Turks and Christians both,
Although the way they make it's not the same.
Now Laura, much recovered, or less loth
To speak, cries "Beppo! what's your pagan name?
"Bless me! your beard is of amazing growth!

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" And how came you to keep away so long?
" Are you not sensible 'twas very wrong?

" " And are you *really, truly,* now a Turk?
" With any other women did you wive?
" Is't true they use their fingers for a fork?
" Well, that's the prettiest shawl—as I'm alive!
" You'll give it me? They say you eat no pork.
" And how so many years did you contrive
" To—Bless me! did I ever? No, I never
" Saw a man grown so yellow! How's your liver?

" " Beppo! that beard of yours becomes you not;
" It shall be shaved before you're a day older;
" Why do you wear it? Oh! I had forgot—
" Pray don't you think the weather here is colder?
" How do I look? You shan't stir from this spot
" In that queer dress, for fear that some beholder
" Should find you out, and make the story known.
" How short your hair is! Lord! how grey it's grown!' "

p. 45, 46.

We are not in the secret of this learned author's incognito; and, at our distance from the metropolis, shall not expose ourselves by guessing. We cannot help thinking, however, that we have seen him before, and that 'we do know that fine Roman hand.' At all events, we hope we shall see him again; and if he is not one of our old favourites, we are afraid we may be tempted to commit an infidelity on his account,—and let him supplant some of the less assiduous of the number.

ART. III.—1. *A Delineation of the Strata of England and Wales, with part of Scotland, exhibiting the Collieries and Mines, the Marshes and Fenlands originally overflowed by the Sea, and the varieties of Soil according to the variations of the Substrata, illustrated by the most Descriptive Names.* By W. SMITH. 15 sheets, coloured. Carey, London. August, 1815.

2. *Geological Section from London to Snowdon; showing the varieties of the Strata, and the correct Altitudes of the Hills, coloured to correspond with his Geological Map of England and Wales.* By W. SMITH. 1817.

3. *A Memoir of the Map and Delineation, &c.* By W. SMITH, Engineer and Mineral Surveyor. 4to. pp. 51. London, 1815.

4. *A Series of County Maps, on a much larger scale than that of the General 'Delineation, &c.' coloured to correspond with the large Map, from Documents in Mr Smith's possession.* Carey, Strand, London, 1817.

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5. *Strata identified by Organized Fossils, containing Prints on coloured paper of the most characteristic Specimens in each Stratum.* By W. SMITH. 4to. Published in Numbers. London, 1816.

6. *Stratigraphical System of Organized Fossils, with reference to the Specimens of the original Geological Collection in the British Museum, &c.* By W. SMITH. 4to. London. E. Williams, Strand, 1817.

A MAP may not, at first sight, appear to come within the scope of our publication; but the performance now before us, with the other works connected with it, has more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the public. It contains a great deal of information, of practical importance as well as speculative interest. It is the first work of the kind that has ever appeared in England; and it is the production, after the labour of more than twenty years, of a most ingenious man, who has been singularly deficient in the art of introducing himself to public notice.

Mr Smith is by profession a civil engineer, and, we are informed, is particularly skilled in that department of his business which relates to draining, and the structure of canals. It appears that, in the course of the inquiries to which his occupations naturally led him, he had occasion, many years ago, to observe the regularity and steadiness of the order exhibited by the strata in the vicinity of Bath; and in the year 1790, he drew up a tabular view of the stratification there, which in fact contained the rudiments of all his subsequent discoveries, and was in itself a proof of great sagacity and application. In the course of different journeys afterwards made, he not only recognised, among the strata in the north of England, several of his old acquaintances at Bath, but was surprised to find them in the same company with which they are associated in that neighbourhood: And, after full investigation, he became at last convinced, that the series of beds was uniform throughout the whole of the south-eastern portion of the island; and that the edge of every stratum, with very few exceptions, might be traced uninterruptedly from one shore to the other, in a direction from S. W. to N. E. These curious observations, which were made, we have no doubt, without any acquaintance with any previous publication on the subject, led very naturally to the project of a map, in which they might be embodied and combined, and gave birth to the valuable works at present under our consideration.

In an early stage of his Inquiry, Mr Smith communicated

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his observations to the Reverend Joseph Townsend, the author of a well known and valuable book of travels in Spain, and subsequently to Mr Farey, who was, at that time, we believe, his pupil; two gentlemen who must, in fact, be considered as the editors of Mr Smith's opinions; for the Memoir which he has himself connected with his map, is extremely brief and unsatisfactory. The title of the book in which Mr Townsend has given an account of Smith's discoveries—'*The character of Moses established for veracity as an Historian*' *—has apparently very little connexion with the Geology of England; but the ingenious author conceived the credibility of the Mosaic account of the creation, to derive important support from the existing appearances of the globe; and, for the purpose of illustrating those appearances, he has entered into a full description of the British strata; which he very candidly professes to have derived almost entirely from Mr Smith, of whom, after stating, that, with a view to the completion of his own work, he had lost no opportunity of conversing with foreign mineralogists of eminence, he thus expresses his good opinion.—'The discoveries of this skilful engineer have been of vast importance to Geology, and will be of infinite value to this nation. To a strong understanding, a retentive memory, indefatigable ardour, and more than common sagacity, this extraordinary man unites a perfect contempt for money, when compared with science. Had he kept his discoveries to himself, he might have accumulated wealth; but, with unparalleled disinterestedness of mind, he scorned concealment, and made known his discoveries to every one who wished for information. It is now (1813) eleven years since he conducted the author in his examination of the strata which are laid bare in the immediate vicinity of Bath; and subsequent excursions in the stratified and calcareous portion of our Island have confirmed the information thus obtained.' (Vol. I. p. iv. v.)

Mr Farey, the other person whom we have mentioned as the friend of Mr Smith, is himself a geological observer of great activity, and of unwearied perseverance; and, if zeal were the only qualification of an editor, there could not have been any person better fitted for the task. But the patronage of this gentleman is really a little too vehement,—and of such a sort, that if we wished to ensure the failure of a valuable performance, we should begin by recommending it to his protection. One great topic with him, is the absolute originality of his friend's speculations—a subject into which we do not propose directly to enter, further than just to remark, that Mr Smith, having developed the struc-

* Two Vol. 4to. 1813. 1815. Bath, Gye & Son, and Longman, London.

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ture of the neighbourhood of Bath, made known the facts he had observed there, and the inferences which they suggested, with the warmth and liberality—we may add, with the want of prudence—that are frequently characteristic of men of talents. Geology was, at that period, in its infancy in England; but the importance of these observations could not fail to attract attention. The enumeration of the West-of-England strata was circulated extensively in manuscript; maps also, and sections of the stratification in other parts of the island were shown by Mr Smith himself at different agricultural and commercial meetings; and printed proposals for a book upon the subject, to be accompanied by a *general* map and section, were distributed in 1801. The elements of the present performance being thus in fact made public, they have had a very important, though unobserved effect, upon the labours of all succeeding inquirers, who have been, perhaps unconsciously, but not less really, indebted to the author for very essential assistance in their progress.

Taking leave, however, of all controversy, and regarding the publications before us as an acquisition of great value, we shall premise to our account of them, a sketch of some points in the history of preceding discoveries, that our readers may be enabled to distinguish the portion of Mr Smith's communication that is truly original, from the mere filling up of outlines which others had previously traced:—a field of inquiry, that, with regard to our present subject, may be confined, in a great measure, to the newer and more regularly stratified portions of the globe.

The French Encyclopedie Methodique contains, under the article Physical Geography, published in 1796 by the late M. Desmarest, a full account of some of the principal publications upon that subject, to the middle of the last century; from whence may be obtained some valuable facts, diluted very plentifully with speculation about the primeval state of the globe. But, on the whole, these volumes have not much increased our respect for the Geologists of the last two centuries,—the perusal of them having irresistibly brought to our minds the speech of the knavish old gentleman, in the Vicar of Wakefield, whose opinion, after all, comes very near the truth.—'You talk, Sir, 'of the world! the world is in its dotage: and yet the cosmogo-'ny, or creation of the world, has puzzled the philosophers of 'every age.—What a medley of opinions have they not broach-'ed upon the subject! Sanconiathon, Manetho, Berosus, and 'Ocellus Lucanus, have all attempted it in vain.' We shall attempt, however, to select from this chaos of philosophers,

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the names of a few only, who have given something real to the science of geology, with the addition of some others not mentioned by Desmarest: But it is only fair to add, that we are far from supposing Mr Smith to have been acquainted with these writings.

In the 'medley of opinions' so learnedly alluded to by Mr Jenkinson, there is none more extraordinary than that maintained about the close of the 17th century, by Ray, Lister, and other eminent naturalists, respecting the substances now universally considered as the remains of organized beings. It will seem almost incredible to those who are acquainted with the works of Cuvier, and other inquirers of our days, that such a notion could at any time have found supporters. 'The great 'question, now so much controverted in the world,' Dr Plot tells us, in 1677, was, 'Whether the stones we find in the 'form of shell fish, (and in his plates they are, with the cau-'tion usual at that period upon this subject, denominated 'form-'ed stones,') be *lapides sui generis*, naturally produced by *some* '*extraordinary plastic virtue*, latent in the earth, in quarries 'where they are found; or whether they rather owe their form 'and figure to the shells of the fishes they represent, &c.' *— And this learned writer gives seven weighty reasons for adhering to the former of these opinions, in opposition to the sentiments of Hook, and other persons, who entertained more rational views. This curious absurdity affords a good illustration of the danger of hypothesis in natural history; having originated entirely from the assumption, that the general deluge was the *only* cause that could have occasioned the deposition of the bodies in question: and as that great event was evidently too transitory, for the production of appearances observable at great depths from the surface, the shortest road of explanation was chosen; and it was boldly denied, that the fossils of the solid strata had ever been endowed with life. Palisey, indeed, is praised by Fontenelle, for having refuted this opinion long before;—yet afterwards, in 1708, a book was published by Scheuchzer, under the title of '*Piscium Querelæ et Vindiciæ*,' where the unhappy fishes, entombed in stony substances, are represented as deploring, in very pathetic language, the indignity under which they suffer, in being degraded from the animal kingdom, to the rank of mere brute matter. † This remonstrance, however, does

* Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 111.

† The fanciful tendency of this last writer's understanding might weaken his authority upon this point, if it stood alone; for, in his

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not seem to have been effectual; for Woodward, in 1729, still thought it necessary to reason against the doctrine we have mentioned: And afterwards, and so late as 1752, M. Bertrand, a Swiss clergyman, made a last effort in its favour, contending that fossil-shells, &c. are nothing more than links in the progressive series by which unorganized matter is connected with the animated world; or perhaps the unfinished materials, ('*in fieri*,' as Dr Plot had long before expressed it), out of which the Creator might have formed, and in part did form, the existing races of similar beings.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1684, there is published, '*An ingenious proposal for a new sort of maps of countries*, 'together with tables of sands and clays, such chiefly as are 'found in the north parts of England, by the learned Martin 'Lister, M. D.'; and the paper is there stated to have been drawn up about ten years before.—'We shall then,' the author begins, 'be the better able to judge of *the make of the earth*, and of many phenomena belonging thereto, when we shall have well and duly examined it, as far as human art can possibly reach, beginning from *the outside downwards*. As for the inward and central parts thereof, I think we shall never be able to refute Gilbert's opinion thereof, who will not, without reason, have it altogether iron.'—'And for this purpose, it were adviseable that a soil or mineral map, as I may call it, were devised.'—Under the term '*soiles*,' however, he enumerates *chalk*, *flint*, *sandstone*, *coal*, *ironstone*, *lead ore*, &c. intending evidently to signify the solid strata, as well as the looser materials of the surface; and he adds—'Now, if it were noted how far these extended, and the limits of each soil appeared upon a map, *something more might be comprehended from the whole, and from every part, than I can possibly foresee*, which would make such a labour well worth the pains. For, I am of opinion, *such upper soils, if natural, infallibly produce such under minerals, and for the most part, in such order*. But I leave this to the industry of future times.' So far, therefore, as the *project* of a Geological Map, (for the author does not appear to have executed his design), the credit of originality is due to Dr Lister; and may be allowed to atone for his adherence to the hypothesis we have just condemned, as to the origin of fossil remains.

'*Herbarium Diluvianum*,' a catalogue of the plants submerged by the waters of the deluge, he has undertaken to determine the period of the year at which that event occurred, which he asserts must positively have been about the latter end of May, from the appearance of a certain fossil that he calls a spike of barley; but which, it is quite evident from his engraving, was a body of a very different description.

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The labours of WOODWARD deserve to be mentioned more distinctly; though his views were warped by the then prevailing taste for Antediluvian history. He not only devoted himself with great perseverance and success to the collection of organized fossils, upon which he has given many valuable remarks; but he appears to have had some very correct notions as to the general structure of the globe, and the proper method of pursuing the investigation of it.—'I made strict inquiry,' he tells us, 'wherever I came, and laid out for intelligence of all places where the entrails of the earth were laid open, either by nature (if I may so say) or by art and human industry. And wheresoever I had notice of any considerable natural spelunca or grotto, any sinking of wells, or digging for earths, &c. or the like, I forthwith had recourse thereunto.—The result was, that in time I was abundantly assured, that the circumstances of these things in remoter countries were much the same with those of ours here,' &c. *—The collection of minerals and fossils left by Woodward to the University of Cambridge, is to this day of great value as an object of reference, from the fidelity with which he recorded the native places and situation of the various specimens it contains.

The writings of BUFFON contributed much to attract the attention of naturalists to the discrimination of organized remains, and to the important light which may be drawn from them upon the structure and history of the globe. But the most valuable observations of that period, were unquestionably those of ROUELLE, whose opinions, as stated by Desmarest, deserve in many respects attentive consideration. He was the first who pointed out—'que ces corps n'étoient pas jettés au hazard ni dans l'état de confusion que l'on avoit imaginé communément avant lui—au lieu de cette confusion, on reconnoit un ordre constant dans l'arrangement des coquilles, *dont certains individus font bande à part*, et ne se confondent point avec d'autres qui ont aussi leurs familles separées;—que ces coquilles n'étoient pas les mêmes dans toutes les contrées;—que certains individus se rencontroient constamment ensemble, *tandis que d'autres ne se trouvoient jamais dans les mêmes lits, dans les mêmes couches*;—que ces collections de coquilles fossilles, à la surface de certaines parties de nos continens, étoient dans le même état d'arrangement et de distribution, que dans le bassin de la mer, où certains animaux testacées affectent de vivre ensemble attachés aux mêmes parages, et d'y former ces espéces de sociétés ou familles, de même que certaines plantes, qui croissent toujours ensemble à la surface de la terre.' † We need not stop to point out the close

* Nat. Hist. of the Earth 1723. pp. 4. 6.

† Encyclop. Method.:—Geographie Physique, tom. I. pp. 416–417. (LXIV Livraison.)

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coincidence between what is here expressed, and the principle that has furnished Mr Smith with the title of one of his publications—'*Strata Identified by Organized Fossils*,'—and of which the French naturalists have made such excellent use in their examination of the country round Paris.

If the statements of Desmarest be not incorrect, it would further appear, that Rouelle not only anticipated, or was coincident with Lehman in the distinction (previously intimated, we believe, by Steno and Targioni) between the primary and secondary mountains; but that he had also perceived the division that exists in nature between the older and more recent of the secondary depositions, the former of which he distinguished by the judicious title of *Travaille intermediaire*; a discrimination and a name coming evidently very near to the *Transition Class* of Werner, with whom Rouelle still more remarkably coincides, in noticing the comparative rarity and the peculiar character of the fossils contained in the *Intermediate rocks*. * It is impossible, without specimens or detailed information, to judge of the precise value of this discrimination of Rouelle; but, on the whole, if Desmarest, who was his pupil, is to be relied upon, (for he himself, like Werner, delivered his principal geological opinions in lectures only), the correctness of his views is very remarkable.

In a treatise which LEHMAN published in 1756, † he claims for himself the credit of being the first to observe and describe correctly the structure of stratified countries. He supposes, however, that *coal* beds are the lowest of the stratified substances; that various 'pierres feuillettes' occupy the middle portion, and the beds that afford the saline springs (fontaines salantes), the uppermost of the strata; which arrangement, he asserts, is universal: And, after detailing the order, composition and thickness of the series surrounding the nucleus of the Hartz mountains, and that occur in some detached portions of the north-east of Germany, he points out the identity of certain beds in some of the places described, though distant from each other several miles,—without, however, asserting that the corresponding strata are absolutely continuous. His treatise is also interspersed with very good remarks upon the nomenclature and relations of strata; and on the important purposes in practical mining, which might be served by the study of them.

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* Encyclop. Method. pp. 412. 413. 417. 815.—and compare with Jameson's Geognosy, p. 80. 81. 146.

† Versuch einen geschichte von Floetz Gebürgen. Berlin, 1756. Translated by Holback; with other productions of Lehman, under the title of 'Traités de Physique,' &c. Paris, 1759. Vol. III.

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But the most important observations, we think beyond comparison, that have ever yet appeared on the subject of Stratification, are those of the Reverend JOHN MICHELL, in a paper 'On the Cause and Phenomena of Earthquakes,' published in the Philosophical Transactions of 1760. * In this most ingenious production, the author not only states the general appearances of strata, their identity of character, continuity, and uniform thickness, 'in length and breadth, for many miles,'—the great inclination of the beds in mountainous countries, and their approach to the horizontal position in flat ones; but he explains, most clearly, the arrangement of the strata in England; and this, not as confined to Britain, but as exemplifying a general and beautiful law, which, he asserts, holds universally in all parts of the globe. The situation, he tells us, of the strata, may not unaptly be represented in the following manner:—'Let a number of leaves of paper, of several different sorts or colours, be pasted upon one another; then bending them up together into a ridge in the middle; conceive them to be reduced again to a level surface, by a plane so passing through them as to cut off all the part that had been raised; let the middle now be again raised a little, and this will be a good general representation of most, if not all large tracts of mountainous countries, together with the parts adjacent, throughout the whole world. From this formation of the earth it will follow, *that we ought to meet with the same kinds of earths, stones and minerals, appearing at the surface, in long narrow slips, and lying parallel to the greatest rise of any long ridge of mountains;* and so in fact we find them.'—'The Andes of S. America,' he adds, 'exemplify this structure;' and, 'in N. America, the great lakes, which give rise to the river St Lawrence, are kept up by a long ridge of mountains, that run nearly parallel to the Eastern coast; and, in descending from them towards the sea, *the same sets of strata, in the same order, are generally met with throughout the greatest part of their length.*'—'In Great Britain,' he continues, 'we have another instance to the same purpose; where the direction of the ridge varies about a point from N. by E. to S. by W.'—'Of which,' he subjoins in a note, 'I could give many undoubted proofs, if it would not too far exceed the limits of my present design.' And he further mentions, as an example of the great extent of strata in level tracts—'the chalky and flinty countries of England and France; which (excepting the interruption of the Channel and the clays, sands, &c. of a few counties) compose a tract of about 300 miles each way.' But he states also, that the highest rise of the ridge, and the inclination of the strata, have very considerable irregularities:—'and this often makes it difficult to trace the appearances I have been relating; which, *without a general knowledge of the fossil bodies of a large tract of country, it is hardly possible to do.*'

* Vol. LI. Part II. p. 566. Sect. 37 to 49.

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We know not whether the structure of the districts in America, above referred to, has been confirmed by more recent observations; nor whether by 'fossil bodies,' in the passage last quoted, the author intended to signify organized remains, as well as mineral productions: But nothing, we think, can be more clear than his exposition of the principle of the stratification of England: And, that he was also acquainted with the detail, is proved, not only by his intimation in the note above alluded to, but by a very interesting document, discovered a few years since among the papers of Mr Smeaton, in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks;* in which Mr Smeaton has enumerated, as 'Mr Michell's account of the south of England strata,' several of the principal beds, with their respective thickness, from the chalk down to the coal, associating as parts of the same stratum, detached portions several miles distant from each other.

The next author of note is WHITEHURST, whose 'Inquiry 'into the Original State and Formation of the Earth' was first published in the year 1778, and reprinted, with considerable improvements, in 1786. A great part of this book is infected with that taste for cosmogony which had misled many of the author's predecessors: But if the reader be not repelled by the formidable chapters '*of the component parts of chaos, whether ho-*'*mogeneous or heterogeneous,*' and '*of the period of human life* '*before and after the flood,*' he will find some excellent remarks on the organized fossils; and in the latter part of the volume, especially the chapter 'on the Structure of Derbyshire and other 'parts of England,' abundant proofs of the acuteness and fidelity of the author's observations. His statements, indeed, concur precisely with those of Mr Michell; 'the arrangement of the strata being such,' he tells us, 'that they invariably follow each other as it were in alphabetical order, or as a series of numbers. *I do not mean to insinuate, that the strata are alike in all the different regions of the earth, with respect to thickness or quality—for experience shows the contrary*; but that in each particular part, how much soever they may differ, yet they follow each other in a regular succession.' p. 178–9. 2d edition.—'It was my intention,' he says in another place, 'to have deposited specimens of each stratum, with its productions, in the British Museum, arranged in the same order above each other as they are in the earth; being persuaded, that such a plan would convey a more perfect idea of subterraneous geography, and of the various bodies enclosed in the earth, than words or lines can possibly

* This document is so interesting, that we shall insert it in a subsequent page of this article, after the detail of Mr Smith's enumeration. (See hereafter, pp. 332–3.)

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express;' (p. 204, 205)—a project which has since been executed by Mr Smith. But it is remarkable, that, at the close of his work, the author dwells with much more apparent pleasure on that part which relates to the early ages of the world, and the condition of its Antediluvian inhabitants, 'who slept away their 'time in sweet repose upon the ever verdant turf,' than upon the truly important and substantial part of his performance.

It is difficult to trace the history of WERNER's doctrines,* his printed publications being few, and the most important of his tenets having been delivered only in the form of lectures. His 'Kurze Klassifikation,' a brief but valuable arrangement and description of rocks, published in 1787, has no allusion nor hint at the doctrine of *Formations*, of which we have given an outline in the preceding Number of this volume, (p. 71.), that term not once occurring in the tract in question. Nor was the distinction of the *transition* from the flœtz class introduced into his arrangement for some years afterwards, grey wacke being placed, in the list of 1787, among the flœtz sandstones. The opinions of Werner, as to the origin of the basaltic rocks, were formed after the examination of the Scheibenberg in 1787. ‡ The doctrine of *formations* was delivered in his lectures only, and may be dated as of 1790 or 1791; that of the *transition* class not until 1795 or 1796. But his theoretic views, as to the deposition of rocks in general, and the configuration of the earth's surface, which, after all, if what relates to the *overlying* formations be excepted, are little more than a selection from the doctrines of preceding writers, may be collected from his work on Veins, first published in November 1791; at which time it is certain that he was acquainted with the works of Whitehurst, for he has quoted them in the book last mentioned. Mr Jameson has informed us †, that the structure of geological maps, upon

* We regret that we have not found, in the scientific journals, any biographical memorial of this distinguished naturalist; but the last public action of his life deserves to be specially recorded. His collection of minerals was singularly rich in valuable and instructive specimens, the accumulation, in fact, of a life devoted solely to mineralogy; yet he surrendered the whole to the School of Mines at Freyberg at a price considerably below the valuation: And, in consequence of the distressed state of Saxony at that period, he accepted only a small part of the reduced sum, reserving a moderate interest upon the remainder, under the form of an annuity, and bequeathing the capital, after his death, to the academy, in which he had been for more than forty years the most distinguished professor.

‡ Bergmannisches Journal, 1788, Vol. II. p. 845.

† Transactions of the Wernerian Society, I. p. 149.

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the plan of representing by colours the succession of the strata or formations, was also devised by Werner; so that it would seem, upon the whole, that a system coincident with the principles of Mr Smith, so far as they extend, had been delivered in the publications and lectures of Werner (mixed, it is true, with a great alloy of theory) before the period when the latter began his investigation of the neighbourhood of Bath.

Since the date of Lister's project for 'a soil, or mineral map,' there have been published, we believe, some attempts at a geological map of England,—but we have not been so fortunate as to see them; and of the numerous continental maps, those of the older German writers, of Guettard in France, and the recent publications of the Wernerian school, are the only ones that have fallen within our examination. The maps which *Buache* published between 1745 and 1761, are described as relating more properly to physical geography than to geology; and they proceed upon a visionary hypothesis, about a certain frame-work or skeleton of the earth, which the author imagines to consist in chains of mountains, traversing the islands as well as continents throughout the face of the globe. The object of Guettard, in his improved collection of 1775, was merely to mark upon ordinary maps, in the characters employed by chemists, the several mineral substances found at each place; a plan obviously very defective, and radically different from that which expresses the order of the strata, by colours. The maps referred to by the late M. Desmarest, as annexed to the Encyclopedie Methodique, have not yet appeared. But that author judiciously insists upon the great instruction to be derived from combining vertical sections, with horizontal maps, and the benefit arising, in general, from even the attempt to reduce to maps, the results of geological investigation.

But it is full time to close these prolegomena; for the length of which it might be necessary to apologize, if the increasing importance of the subject did not render the history of its earlier progress an object of great interest.

It is not very easy to give, in a small compass, a correct notion of a performance expressly directed to the eye; but, with the assistance of an ordinary map of England, our readers may probably be enabled to follow us, while we attempt to convey a general idea of what is represented in Mr Smith's Coloured Map and Section, which are now expanded before us, and which have certainly a very striking appearance.—The whole

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of England may be considered as composed of a series of flat or undulating beds, placed one above another, and sloping very gently upwards, from S. E. to N. W.; the general surface, also, of the island, rising pretty uniformly from the east and southern shores, to the mountainous districts of the west, and the beds emerging from beneath each other in succession; so that a traveller from London to North Wales would pass over the 'out-crop,' as it is called, or the terminating edge of every stratum in the series.* This accordingly is the course of Mr Smith's vertical section; and in his horizontal map, the portions of the strata which successively appear at the surface, are marked throughout the whole of their course in different colours.

If a line be drawn from Eyemouth, on the coast of Berwickshire, to Liverpool, and through Montgomery in North Wales, Ludlow east of Hereford, and thence to the sea at Teignmouth, on the coast of Devon, (a course sufficiently accurate for this very general view), it will leave to the west the mountainous tracts of Cornwall and Devonshire, Wales, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Scotland; and after tracing the margin of the range of Transition mountains, which traverses the south of Scotland, from St Abb's head to Solway Firth, it will, in England, mark the boundary between the Primary and Transition rocks to the west, and the more regularly stratified and newer depositions to the eastward. This line coincides, we believe, in its direction, with that of the 'ridge' pointed out by Mr Michell; and we shall find that the structure of England in other respects accords with his description.

If, again, a line be drawn northwards, from Exmouth through Taunton to Tewksbury, and thence, with a moderate curvature, to the east, through Stratford upon Avon, Leicester eastward of Nottingham, Newark, Gainsborough and York, to the mouth of the Tees, it also will divide the island into two portions; of which the western will now include, besides the mountainous regions above mentioned, the remaining metalliferous tract, and all the coal districts; that to the eastward being composed entirely of the more recent stratified rocks; a division, which is attended with a corresponding difference in the pursuits of a proportion of the inhabitants of the two tracts, —and constitutes, in fact, a sort of natural boundary between the agricultural and manufacturing population. This concurrence, throughout so large a part of the island, of the metallic minerals with the coal, which is indispensable to the extraction of

* Kidd's Geol. Essay, p. 24.

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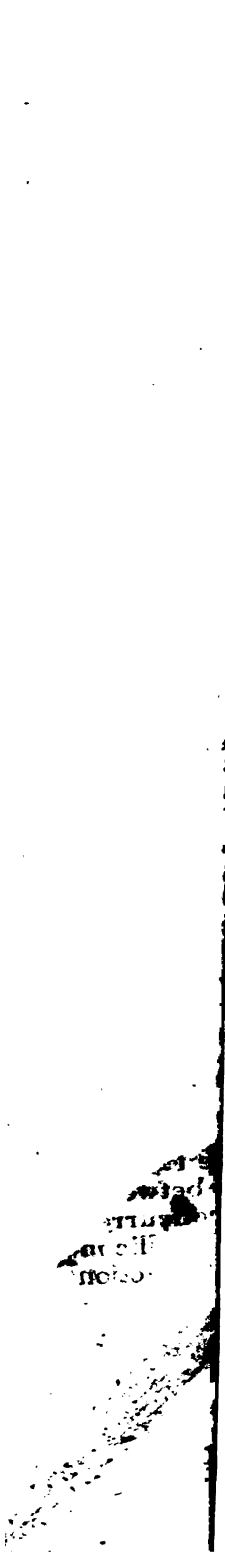

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	NA	SYNONYMES.
Plains.	1	Fossils agree with those of *Calcaire Grossier* of Paris.
	2. gh of Poole.	Plastic clay, *Argile plastique.*
	3.)	
Chalk-hills.	Surry, &c.	
	5. .	
	6. —	(Includes the Kentish rag as a bed.—*Webster.*)
	of Pewsey.	
Clay Vales.	7. stone, Kent.	Tetsworth clay—Oaktree soil.
	8. nd Alesbury.	
	g with shale	
	9. & Purbeck.	
	10.	
	11.	
		Ferruginous sand.—Woburn sand.
	Hogstye-End.	
	12.	[Calne Wiltshire—Shotover-hill.]
	13.	
	14. nd Bedford.	Oxford—or Fen-clay.
	15.	Kelloway bridge—Wiltshire.
Stone-brash Hills.	16. -	Red-Backs of Northamptonshire.
	e, Wiltshire.	
	17.	
	18. thamptonsh.	
	19. eous matter—	Bath freestone—Ketton-stone—Barneck-stone.
	20. andshire, &c.	
	21.	
	22.	Bastard Oolite.
	amptonshire.	
	23.	
	24.	Maidwell limestone.
Marl Vales.	25. ales of Glou- shire.	
	26. -	Watchet—Aberthaw—Southam.
	27.	Jura limestone of Saussure.
	28. and clay, - -	Rock marl—Redground. New red sandstone—2d flœtz sandst. of *Werner.*
	29. Cheddercliffs oberley-hills.	Red land limestone.
	30. d clay ironst.	Independent coal formation—*Werner.*
Mountains.	31. - -	Mountain Lime, or Mountain limestone.—1st flœtz limestone—*Werner.*
	32. - -	Old red sandstone.
	umberland.	Red rhab—1st flœtz sandstone—*Werner.*
	imestone, &c.	
	33. - -	(?) Transition slate of *Werner.*
	ll—Scotland.	
	34.	

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their contents, has been one of the principal sources of the commercial wealth and greatness of England.

The direction of the beds to the S. E. of the last mentioned line, appears, at first sight, to be very irregular, from the various indentations of the strata at their 'outcrop;' but it is soon perceived, that, in a general view, their edges may be considered as parallel in a direction from S. W. to N. E.; the detached portions of the inferior beds, which, in some instances, appear within the boundaries of the superior ones, having been unveiled by the action of rivers, or other causes of 'denudation,' which have carried away, irregularly, certain parts of the original surface. The 'outcrops,' however, although nearly parallel, have a slight convergence to the S. W.; so that a circle, about 50 miles in diameter, around Bath, would include almost the whole series. It was fortunately at this point that Mr Smith commenced his investigations; and having unravelled the perplexity which the beds in that neighbourhood exhibit, he obtained, as it were, a key to the structure of the remaining portion of the island.

The following, then, is the list of entire series of beds exhibited upon the map and section; in which we have endeavoured to reconcile some variations between the different enumerations of Mr Smith in his Memoir, &c.—though we are not sure that, in every instance, we have been successful. We have added brief notes of the composition of some of the beds, with a list of synonymes. But, with a view to the history of the subject, we have thought it best to preserve the order and the names of Mr Smith himself, without introducing any corrections. (*See* LIST, *opposite.*)

In this list there are, it must be confessed, too many hard names; but we believe it to be a correct one, with the exceptions we shall presently mention—a numerous series of beds of inferior note being, of course, included under those of principal importance. The denominations are all taken, either from places where the characters of the beds are very distinctly visible, or from the local names which the strata bear in certain districts; and, such as they are, they have come insensibly into very general use among the geologists of England. It has not yet been found that many of the strata correspond with those of the continental formations; but we have mentioned, with the synonymes of the Table, a few, that are supposed to do so.

The succession of the strata is never seen to depart from one unvaried order; but, in several instances, certain members of

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the series are altogether wanting. Thus Dr Kidd has stated, * that, at Sidmouth, the green sand strata (No. 6.) are found resting on the red marl (No. 28); no trace appearing of the intermediate formations, from the lias upwards; a fact which he considers as not well accounted for.

The whole series of beds is composed of clay, limestone, and sandstone; the varieties of which, in several instances, are scarcely to be distinguished by the ordinary characters of mineralogists: A number of other circumstances must therefore necessarily be made to assist in their discrimination; and, with this view, Mr Smith expressly affirms, that certain of the fossils, which the beds in general contain in great profusion, may be considered as infallible guides in recognising them; each bed, as he supposes, having its peculiar fossils, which do not occur in any of the remaining members of the series. To a certain extent, we have no doubt that this remark holds true; and its value, as a source of distinction, will be proportioned to the number of organized species which concur in any doubtful stratum. Dr Kidd, however, has justly stated, that 'the mutual connexion of the strata, and the organic remains contained in them, is at least not so exclusive as has been asserted: for the remains of animals concluded to be characteristic of the newest formations, have been found in some of the earlier; and *vice versa*' †—of which he gives some very striking instances. The organized bodies, then, are probably to be considered, not as infallible guides, but as very useful assistants in the distinction of similar strata; and such we should have expected them to be, if the views of Rouelle be well founded as to the correspondence of the situations of such bodies with that of shell fish at the bottom of the sea.

The thickness of the strata (that is to say, the length of the perpendicular from the top of the uppermost bed to the bottom of the lowest) is a point of great interest, upon which Mr Smith has not recently published any thing; and the statements of Mr Townsend upon this point are not in general correct. The dip, with some local exceptions produced by obvious disturbance, is uniformly directed to the S. E., till we pass the magnesian limestone, No. 29; but the coal strata are inclined in every direction;—and, beyond the coal, the inclination of the primary beds is various, and in general very considerable;—nor, in the newer strata, is the angle of the dip the same throughout the series, in consequence both of original differences of position, and of

* Geological Essay, 1815, p. 34. † Ibid. p. 37.

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the unequal thickness of the beds. The chalk, in general, falls about 15 or 20 feet in a mile; but, in the Isle of Wight, the beds, in some places, are vertical. The *range* of all the beds above the coal is shown to be from S. W. to N. E., not only by geological observation, but by the direction of the valleys and of the heights formed by the emerging strata, as well as by the course of the principal rivers.

Thus far we have spoken of the strata generally; and it is impossible, within our limits, to describe them in detail. There are, however, certain members or groups in the series more prominent than the rest; the *chalk*, for example, perhaps the *ferruginous sand*, the numerous beds included under the *great oolite*, the *lias*, and the *red marl*; and if these be held in view, they will enable our readers to preserve a proper keeping, in the perusal of the desultory remarks that we can offer upon some members of the list.

The beginning of the enumeration published by Mr Smith requires several corrections; and we shall insert below ‡ the true order of the upper strata, as given by Mr Webster at the close of H. Englefield's very beautiful work upon the Isle of Wight, and the adjacent coast of Dorsetshire, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large in a subsequent article.

The *alluvium* of Webster, is composed principally of water-worn fragments of flints, mixed with sand and clay; the next six beds are those described in a former Number, (Edinburgh Review, Vol. 28.), agreeing with part of the formation above the chalk in the vicinity of Paris, and other parts of the Continent. The sand of this formation, at Alumbay in the Isle of Wight, is considered as the best material which England affords for flint glass. The *London clay*, (No. 1. of Smith), so called from its constituting the bason within which London is placed, is described by Mr Parkinson, in the first volume of the Geological Transactions. The mass of this, and the next stratum,

‡ Order of the Beds enumerated by Mr Webster, as occurring in the Isle of Wight, and coast of Dorsetshire.

Alluvium.	Green sandstone, (No. 6. S.)
Upper fresh water formation.	Kentish rag—a subordinate bed.
Upper marine formation.	Blue marl—(No. 7. S.)
Lower marine formation.	Ferruginous sand—(No. 13. S.)
Sand without shells.	Purbeck shell limestone, (No. 8. S.)
London clay, (No. 1 of Smith).	Clay with gypsum.
Plastic clay, (No. 8.)	Portland oolite, (No. 9. S.)
Chalk with flints, ——— without flints. (No. 5. S.)	Bituminous, &c. shale, containing Kimmeridge coal.
Chalk marl.	

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rises in various places considerable heights above the chalk, as at Highgate, Harrow, and Shooter's Hills. It abounds in organic remains, and affords the Septaria, from which Parker's Roman cement is prepared. The *brick earth*, (No. 2), or plastic clay, which is ably described by Mr Buckland, § occupies a very extensive portion of the S. E. of England, particularly in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, and constitutes the well-known clay of *Poole* in Dorsetshire.

The more recent portion of the British strata, from No. 1 of Smith to No. 27, may be considered as divided into two by the N. W. boundary of the *chalk district*, which forms an irregular line considerably curved to the S. E., occupying the high grounds in the contiguous parts of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Berks, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, where it is interrupted by the Wash of Lincolnshire; on the north of which, it is resumed at Candlesbury, and is continued from thence to the sea at Fyley Bay. The chalk throughout is naturally divided into three great beds; which are distinguishable by the layers of flint nodules in the first; by their absence in the second, of which the beds are also thicker, and the substance of greater hardness; and the third, or chalk marl, (not noticed in Smith's enumeration), by the admixture of clay, and by its falling to pieces on being exposed to the atmosphere. The stratum formed by the union of these beds, which is certainly not less than 700 feet in thickness, constitutes the most considerable range of hills in the eastern and southern parts of England; its course being everywhere marked by dry plains of great extent, such as the wolds of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the downs of Surrey, Kent and Sussex, which have nothing like them in any other part of the island: and in several places it bears very fine woods of beech. This great deposite is evidently continued under the clays above mentioned, (Nos. 1 and 2 of the Table); for wherever the latter are pierced by wells or shafts, the chalk is discovered, and it is unveiled naturally in several places by the deep course of rivers that cut through the superincumbent matter. In Sussex, where the chalk itself is wanting through a considerable space, it has evidently been removed by some great denuding operation, which has swept away a portion of it as well as of the superior beds.

Mr Townsend has justly observed, that many of the flint nodules which characterize the upper bed of chalk, contain zoophytes, particularly the alcyonium, the sponge, and the 'cup-coral.' Indeed he says, that zoophytes 'appear to have form-

§ Geol. Trans. IV. Part II.

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'ed universally the nuclei of the nodules of coated flints. In 'some the zoophyte has vanished, and left a vacuity which has 'been subsequently occupied by flint, agate, or calcedony, ma-'ny specimens of which, exhibiting beautiful mamillæ, are '(chiefly) found at the bottom of the chalk incumbent on the 'greensand of Pewsley Vale.' This interesting subject, we are glad to perceive, has been since pursued by Mr Buckland of Oxford. * Mr Smith has given a wrong place to the limestone found at Maidstone in Kent. It is found in great breadth in the Vales of Aylesbury and Whitehorse, and on the south and west of Oxford; and its occurrence under the green sandstone has occasioned the formation of the remarkable *undercliff* in the Isle of Wight,—the decay of the blue marl causing the subsidence of the incumbent sandstone, in very large and continuous masses.

The stratum which, in reality, is the next in succession, is the *ferruginous sand* (No. 11. of the Table) which Mr Smith has erroneously placed *beneath* the Purbeck and Portland limestones; which is perhaps the most remarkable mistake that he has committed, this bed of sand being a principal member of the series, and, in several respects, of considerable importance. It is composed of an alternation of siliceous sand, much charged with oxide of iron, clay, and limestone; the sand being cemented, where the iron is in large proportion, into a solid substance, known locally under the name of Carstone. The course of the stratum is in various places much obscured by planting; but it is very conspicuous in Bedfordshire, under the name of the *Woburn-sands*; and the fuller's earth of that neighbourhood is found as a subordinate bed about the middle of it. This last mentioned substance (which appears again in the series, and in the Great Oolite No. 20.), is probably one of the most valuable products, in a commercial view, of the more recent strata of the island. It was formerly thought so much of, that its exportation, even to Scotland or Ireland, was made felony by an old act of Parliament; and Woodward, who is very proud of the productions of his native country, is warm in its praise. 'Those, says he, 'who are not rightly acquainted with the uses of this, would very probably laugh at any man who should take upon him to set forth how precious a commodity it is; though, in truth, it be a thing of much higher advantage, and bringing in a much higher revenue to this Crown and kingdom, than the *delves* † of *dimonds* in Golconda,

* Geol. Trans. IV.

† The employment of this word here (if it was not in frequent use at that period) may possibly have occasioned its introduction in a stanza

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the silver mines of Potosi, and the gold of Brazil, bring in to the Great Mogul, the King of Spain, or Portugal.' †

A good account of the pits of fuller's earth in Bedfordshire, was given in a letter to Woodward from a Dr Holloway, which appeared in 1723. The author speaks of the 'ridge of sand-hills' in which this substance occurs, as extending itself from east to west, at about the distance of eight or ten miles everywhere from the *Chiltern Hills* (a portion of the ridge of chalk); 'which two ridges,' he says, 'you always pass in going from 'London to the N. N. E. and N. W. counties; after which, 'you come to that vast vale which takes in the greatest part of 'the midland counties;—from whence I make a question, whether fuller's earth may not probably be found in other parts 'of the same ridge of hills, among like matter.'

The Purbeck limestone, which comes next in the order of Webster, (but is placed erroneously under No. 8. of Smith, *above* the iron sand), is remarkable for containing fresh-water shells and bones of the turtle. It is the first building stone in the descending series. The *Portland oolite* (No. 9.) is well known as the stone which fronts many of the public buildings in London. Some of its beds contain numerous fossils; and the shale which contains the *Kimmeridge* coal, is the next bed below it, in the correct order. The term '*Rag*,' is a sort of technical generic name, applied, by the English quarrymen, to all flag-stones that break with a rough surface; and the '*coral* rag' (No. 12.) is in fact composed almost entirely of coral: the Mytilus crista-galli is one of the most remarkable fossils of this bed.

The '*Cornbrash*,' (No. 16.), Mr Smith tells us, 'is very aptly described by its name;' we suppose because it exhibits what he terms a 'brashy' or ragged appearance, and produces a soil which is very fertile in corn. The name is used in Wiltshire, where this bed is distinctly seen. Its course is, in general, distinguished by several considerable market-towns 'which are situate mostly at places where the outcrop of the stratum crosses 'the rivers;' and Mr Townsend explains satisfactorily the cause of this concurrence. The intersection of the harder strata with

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of the only poem, according to Dr Johnson, ever written by the celebrated Bentley.

'Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know;
Must high with lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as *delving Woodward* low.'

Boswell's Life, &c. 4to, II. 341.

† On Fossils, pp. vi. & vii.

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the stream, occasions shallows, and renders the river fordable. 'The *fords* attracted passengers, and established the highways; and as these were liable to be interrupted by floods, on each side of the ford public-houses were constructed for the accommodation of the traveller, which laid the foundation for villages and towns. In process of time fords gave place to bridges; yet the appellation continued to be used when the reason for it had been long since forgotten.' p. 189.

The name of *Freestone* has been given to the beds of the *Great Oolite* (No. 20.), from the ease with which they are cut for building, when in a recent state. 'This is the rock by 'which Bath is almost everywhere surrounded, and to which it 'is indebted for the exquisite beauty of its edifices.' It may be traced 'from S. W. to N. E. through the centre of the king-'dom, in the intermediate space between the coal districts and 'the chalk; but is nowhere so much rent and separated by 'deep valleys as in the neighbourhood of Bath.' Wherever the great oolite extends, its beds of clay and fuller's earth (No. 21.) invariably appear:—And the under oolite (No. 22.) is often closely blended with the upper, in the southern part of its course; but is detached from it in Oxfordshire, Northampton, and Rutlandshire.

A very considerable thickness of sandy and argillaceous beds next succeeds, among which the *Blue Marl* (No. 25.) occupies the extensive vales of Gloucestershire, Evesham, and Belvoir; but the bed next in importance after the Oolite is No. 26., the *Lias*, which is, upon the whole, the best marked stratum in the whole series. The beds 'crop out magnificently' at Kelweston, near Bath, and may be seen to great advantage at Turweston and Keynsham, between Bath and Bilton; and, as we have mentioned in our last Number, on the authority of Mr Horner, these relations may be very well seen in the N. W. of Somersetshire. The stratum is continued along the southern coast of Wales, from Milford Haven to Cardiff; and in its course to the north it forms, very distinctly, the boundary of that natural division of the British strata, which we have already mentioned. The upper beds, of a blue colour, are remarkable for affording a lime which has the valuable property of hardening under water; and the *white* lias has been employed in a newly invented process for engraving on stone. The whole stratum abounds in organized remains; and the blue beds of the vicinity of Charmouth in Dorsetshire have afforded a very remarkable specimen, preserved in Mr Bullock's museum, containing the remains of a creature, supposed by Sir E. Home §

§ Phil. Trans. 1814, p. 571.

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to be more nearly allied to the tribe of fishes than to any other classes of animal; but which, we are informed, is by the French naturalists considered as belonging to the Lizard tribe.

The *Red Marl* (No. 28.) is one of the most remarkable and perplexing of the British series of beds, from its great extent, and from the nature of its composition and arrangement. It occupies a considerable portion of Devon and Somersetshire, and, passing northward along the course of the Severn, in a narrow band, spreads over a large part of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and nearly the whole of Cheshire, on the N. and W. of the great Derbyshire coal-tract, to the east of which it stretches in a long band from the vicinity of Nottingham to the sea at the mouth of the Tees. Mr Buckland has detected its presence also in the vale of Carlisle, and in the vicinity of Whitehaven, † thus adding to its territory a large tract to the N. W. of the Great Northern Coal District, which has previously been supposed to belong to the old-red-sandstone or dunstone (No. 32.) of Mr Smith; a determination of considerable importance, which tends to remove a great deal of the obscurity that has hitherto involved the relations of the *two* red-sandstones, (Nos. 28. and 32.), one of which was well known to occur in certain situations beneath the coal.

The surface of the district occupied by the red marl is everywhere nearly horizontal; and the soil above it affords some of the best land in England. The formation itself consists of a great number of different substances, in the form both of beds and of anomalous masses—limestone—breccia—gypsum—rock-salt—and several varieties of sandstone. And it is very remarkable, that in every other country where rock-salt has hitherto been found, it is accompanied by reddish clay and sandstone, resembling those of Cheshire red marl. 'In North Cheshire,' says Mr Townsend, 'all the town, and most of the villages, 'are built with the stone of this extensive stratum, which in 'Exeter gives the name to Rougemont Castle; and, in various 'parts of its course, has had a share of the denomination of 'places; as at Radford, Redford, Redhill, Rotherham,' &c. And Dr Kidd thinks it not improbable, that the two rivers of America, both called 'Rio Colorado,' owe the colour from whence they derive this name to their passage through a district similar to our rock marl. ‡

The northern portion of the *Magnesian Limestone* (No. 29.), which extends from the sea-shore beyond Sunderland to Nottingham, is remarkable for the steadiness of its course, and the

† Geol. Trans. IV. Part I. ‡ Kidd, Geol. Essay, p. 105.

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uniformity of its character; and it derives considerable importance from the station which it thus occupies immediately above the coal. But at the place last mentioned, it suddenly disappears; and its relations, where it is said to be reserved in the midland counties, and has been ascertained to exist in the south and west of the island, are still somewhat obscure. Two valuable papers have recently appeared upon this subject, by Dr Bright and Mr Warburton, and by Dr Gilby, which render it probable that this rock forms a bed within the lowest portion, or is perhaps the very lowest bed, of the red sandstone: And at St Bees, near Whitehaven, on the north-western shore, it has been found by Mr Buckland below the red marl, and immediately above the coal strata; a situation precisely the same with that which it maintains throughout its course from Nottingham to the sea.

30. 'The mass of strata,' says Mr Smith, 'usually called *coal metals*, is known to be deprived of much of the superficial space which it would occupy, by the overlapping of the *red earth*: When this unconformability of the red earth shall be more generally known, and its irregular thickness more correctly proved, it is highly probable that much more coal may be discovered, and the coal metals be found as regularly connected as other strata.' (*Memoir, p.* 49.) The coal strata in general appear to have been deposited in the form of detached basins, within corresponding cavities of the subjacent limestone; but it is doubtful how far any continuity can be ascertained between the beds, in distant portions even of the same basins; and, upon the whole, the relations of the coal, with those of the incumbent and subjacent substances, forms a subject well deserving of investigation. One of the best known of the British coal districts, is that of South Wales, described by Mr Martin in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806; which is remarkable, as being the seat of some of the most wealthy and extensive manufactories in this country; a very large proportion of all the British copper being smelted at Swansea, on the southern verge of this great basin—and the ironworks of Merthy Tidvie, on its northern boundary, being probably the greatest of the kind in the world. The difference of quality in the coal of South Wales, which, in some places, is bituminous, in others wholly destitute of bitumen, like that of Kilkenny, is a fact that deserves attention, but which has not hitherto been explained.—Besides this tract, and various detached portions of coal country, in the neighbourhood of Bristol, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and North Wales, an uninterrupted range of coal strata occurs in the north of England, which is bounded on the east by the magnesian

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limestone, and on the west by an irregular line from Berwick on the Tweed to the neighbourhood of Liverpool, thence again eastward, through Manchester, by Newcastle under Line, to Nottingham; the coalfields of Cumberland, &c. being, as it were, a lateral offset from this great tract. Mr Smith has marked, we have no doubt with great fidelity, the situation and boundaries of some of these coal districts: but, in Northumberland and Durham, his map is very erroneous; as will be evident upon comparing it with that which accompanies Mr Winch's Memoir on this part of England, in the Geological Transactions, Vol. 4.

31. 'The limestone of the peak of Derby, which rises from beneath the coal measures, being brought up, as it were, in several places, by local causes of disturbance, and consequently exposed by denudation, is a part of the same kind of rock which appears at intermediate distances, under the same circumstances, from thence up to its termination in the sea near to Berwick on Tweed.'—'In a part of Westmoreland, and Cumberland also, it seems to underlay the coal. It reappears, under the same circumstances, in Flintshire; and may be thence traced to the corresponding point in the sea in South Wales. The greatest mineral districts are in the course of this limestone.' *Smith's Memoir, p.* 49, 50.

Mr Farey, who has given an excellent account of this rock, under the name of *Mineral Limestone*, states, that the beds beneath the coal strata are six in number, namely, three of limestone, and three of toadstone; the united thickness of the former being 170 yards, that of the toadstone 70, and of a *fourth* bed of limestone below these, 190. These beds are intersected by numerous veins, productive of valuable ores, especially of lead; which, according to Whitehurst, do not pass through the intermediate toadstone strata, but are nevertheless continued through all the three beds of limestone: A statement, from whence it has been inferred that the toadstone must have been injected, or forced in between the limestone beds, subsequently to the formation of the veins. But the correctness of this inference is denied by Mr Farey. The *fourth* limestone forms by far the thickest mass, without division into obvious beds, of any in the British series. The deep vales of Dovedale and Wettendale being excavated wholly in this stratum to the depth of at least 250 yards; yet a large part of it seems to be still above. It is the first, or lowest of the flœtz rocks of Werner, that occurs in England. *

* Our readers will now be enabled to appreciate the value of Mr Michell's list of the strata already mentioned, at p. 319; the date of which was about 1788 or 1789. We have subjoined to each *item*

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We shall here close these detailed observations on the strata enumerated by Mr Smith; his delineation of the mountainous portion of the island, in which the older rocks occur, being obviously very general and incomplete. It would perhaps have been better, if, in the first instance, he had confined his publication to the beds above the red marl, with which he is evidently much better acquainted than with the remaining members of the series. The various and important uses of the determinations we have already detailed, are too obvious to require much illustration. In mining, and the search for coal,—in the structure of canals, of roads,—in building, draining, and the judicious search for, and management of springs,—the advantages of an acquaintance with the strata are incalculable. Mr Townsend mentions an instance where the Commissioners of the Bath roads sent ten miles for flints, while their waggons actually passed, without their knowing it, over a bed of flints for the greatest part of the way; and while a bed of excellent rock was situated beneath the sand of which the surface was composed. And he states, that the pits from whence all the stone was taken for building the city Cathedral of Bath, were opened in the Great Oolite (No. 20.), at four miles distance, although the same kind of stone was immediately at hand, but concealed, till some quarries were long afterwards opened. But the lavish waste of mo-

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the corresponding number of Smith's enumeration, principally on the authority of Mr Farey; by whom this interesting document has been published in the Philos. Magazine, Vol. XXXVI. p. 102.

'*Mr Michell's Account of the South of England Strata.*

	Yards. (Of Thickness.)		Yards. (Of Thickness.)
'Chalk (No. 5. of Smith)	120	'Sand of Newark, (?) about	30
'Golt, (part of chalk marl, No. 5, and blue marl, No. 7.)	50	'Red clay of Tuxford, and several red marl (No. 28.)	100
'Sand of Bedfordsh. (No. 11.)	10 or 20	'Sherewood forest, pebbles and gravel, (alluvial ?)	50 *unequal*
'Northamptonsh. lime and Portland limes, lying in several strata, (Nos. 9. to 25.)	100	'Very fine white sand, (*Qua* bed in No. 28.)	*uncertain.*
'Lyas strata (Nos. 26. & 27.)	70 or 100	'Roche Abbey and Brotherton limes (No. 29.)	100
		'Coal strata of Yorkshire	....'

It will be perceived, that the author of this list accords with Mr Webster, in placing the ferruginous sand *above* the Portland limestone.

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ney in the fruitless search for coal, affords one of the strongest practical illustrations of the benefit that may be expected from the present publication. Mr Townsend having mentioned several cases (and we could add some others) in which large sums have been employed with that object, in sinking through the *upper strata* of the series, a project which the slightest knowledge of the subject would have shown to be quite hopeless; for, if the coal be continued every where beneath the superior beds, it must obviously be placed, in such cases, at depths from the surface, altogether beyond the reach of art. Yet, in one instance, more than 30,000*l.* were expended in thus sinking through the clunch clay, No. 14.; and 'at Bruham, near the *chalk hills* of 'Bradley Nole, a pit was sunk for coal to the depth of 600 feet; 'and the bottom of it was still in the uppermost beds of the 'Great Oolite, (No. 20.)'—*Townsend*, p. 128.

Among the consequences resulting from the stratified structure of the globe, as connected with the purposes of human life, there are few more interesting than one pointed out by Mr Townsend, respecting the distribution of water below the surface. 'Had the strata been all porous, every shower of rain, even the dew, had sunk down to the centre of the earth; to prevent this evil, every filtrating stratum has its bed of clay. But, had these alternate strata of rock and clay been horizontal, the whole produce of rain and dew had been retained, to form either one wide expanse of water, or a bed of mud, unfit for the habitation of the human race. By the inclination of the strata, the filtrated water descends on a bed of clay, till some fissure or some extensive fracture gives it an opportunity to issue under the form of springs.' Vol. I. p. 317.

In considering the general inferences deducible from a comparison of the structure of the British islands, with that of other countries, it would appear, 1*st*, That in districts small in comparison with the surface of the globe, but of great extent with reference to our limited powers of contemplation, an actual continuity and identity exist in the composition and order of the strata. 2*dly*, That in detached and distant quarters of the world, a very striking *similarity* between the composition and character of the formations has been demonstrated. Thus, in the great primary assemblages, Granite, Mica Slate, and Clay Slate, &c.; in the various coal formations, Coal, Sandstone, Ironstone, &c. are found universally to be associated. But, 3*dly*, That the *detail* of these groups is very different, in different countries; the number, order and qualities of the several rocks that compose primary divisions,—or of coal, sandstone, &c. in the coal formations,—being infinitely diversified. And, consequently, 4*th*, That the law of *Formations*, so far as it has been hitherto established, is of a very general character; the inves-

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tigation of any one tract of country, by no means affording a formula by which the arrangement of others can be anticipated:—In short, that the several parts of the globe are, in their geological structure, analogous, but not the same.

The various detached basins of the coal strata in England, may perhaps afford an example, on a small scale, of the structure mentioned in the second of these passages:—it is certain, at least, that no correspondence has *yet* been demonstrated between them. And it is not impossible that all the stratified rocks of England may exemplify the first, in forming only a portion of some great European tract or basin, throughout the whole of which the continuity of the principal beds may be hereafter ascertained. 'The sand of the inland sand hills above Bulloine, 'in Picardy,' says Dr Lister, in 1673, * 'is the very same 'with that on the sea shore at Calais; and, although this is not 'England, yet *the sea hath but accidentally divided us;—for from 'Dunstable*, ex. gra. *in England, even as far as the walls of Pa-'ris by Calais*, is, as it were, a continued woolds of chalk and 'flint.'—We have seen, that Mr Michell also considered the chalk of England as having been once continuous with that of France; and Mr Townsend is of opinion, that our chalk hills may be regarded 'as the margin of a deep and extensive basin, 'enclosing channels, lakes, &c. and alluvial districts in England, 'Lower Saxony, and Swedish Pomerania, and that we may 'look for the north-eastern margin of this basin in the Isle of 'Rugen, where, in the two promontories of Jasmund and 'Wittow, we see chalk cliffs, in the former 200, and in the 'latter 360 feet high; this margin appearing again in Zealand 'and Mona' (? Moen)—p. 324–5. The similarity of the Continental formations above the chalk, to that of the Isle of Wight, confirms this idea; and though many of the beds beneath our chalk seem to be wanting on the Continent, there is already reason to suppose that some of our more remarkable strata do exist there.

Our readers will have collected, in the course of the preceding pages, our opinion as to some of the principal defects of Mr Smith's map; and we need not dwell upon them minutely. The whole space to the west of the coal, may be considered as very defective; and this deficiency is rendered more remarkable by the minuteness of the divisions in the remainder of the map. Wales, for example, with the exceptions of the coal districts, is occupied by two shades only of colour, those of 'red rhab' and 'killas;' and Cornwall by those only of killas and granite.

* Phil. Trans. vol. xiii. xiv. p. 741.

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It would have been much better, if the colours had been confined to places respecting which the author was possessed of certain and accurate information: for his readers (if that term be applicable) would thus have known where information was wanting, and could have relied with more confidence on what was expressed. As the map stands, there is no mode of distinguishing the correct from the inaccurate portion.

We have already pointed out the most important errors at the beginning of the series, in the S. E. of the island, on the authority of Mr Webster. The maps in the Transactions of the Geological Society will point out other defects, particularly those of the London clay, Vol. 2.; of part of Somersetshire and of Lincolnshire, Vol. 3.; and those of Durham and Northumberland, Vol. 4. The comparison is in general unfavourable to Mr Smith; but we believe that his delineation of a large part in the interior and west of England is very accurate: indeed, when the great labour and extent of the task are taken into the account, its correctness is surprising. The scale of the map, five miles to an inch (the whole occupying a space of 5½ feet by 7½), is, we think, considerably too large. It would have been much better if the general map had been more portable, and the minuter details left for separate maps of counties: and, if a second edition be published, we recommend the adoption of this plan.

We have seen several of the county maps announced at the beginning of this article, in which the beds were laid down to considerable minuteness, from documents in Mr Smith's possession, and we do not hesitate to recommend them strongly to our readers:—A series of such maps, connected by a general one, would be a capital acquisition to country gentlemen, naturalists, and travellers in England. But the great defect of the work is the employment, without explanation, of a nomenclature perfectly new. Even if the barbarism of many of the names be forgiven, they must still be unintelligible to all persons but the inhabitants of small districts, in which the terms have a local circulation. We should have thought that the proper scientific names of the substances composing the strata, with a series of brief descriptions, might have been easily obtained for the Memoir; and that some such table as we have attempted above, might have been inserted on the map itself. The determination of the meaning of the terms employed in a work of such magnitude, would form, it appears to us, a very fit object for the labours of the Geological Society; and, if proper application was made to that learned Body, we have little doubt that a Committee would willingly assist in rendering more useful the result of Mr Smith's researches. We can hard-

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ly imagine a more grateful occupation for men of liberality and scientific acquirements, than thus to give effect to valuable observations, and, at the same time, essentially promote the welfare of an ingenious and deserving man, who is dependent solely upon his own exertions for support.

In the examination which we have now concluded, we have deduced our inferences and statements from such documents only as are already in possession of the public, that we might avoid all risk of trespassing on the rights of those who are engaged in following out and correcting the investigations, in which Mr Smith has so well taken the lead. It is no small gratification to reflect, that developments of such great usefulness and interest have been effected by an Englishman, untaught and unassisted; and that he has been enabled to produce, with all its imperfections, one of the best Geological Maps that has hitherto appeared: for to this high praise we do think Mr Smith is fairly entitled. It has therefore given us peculiar pleasure to bring before the public this performance; and we are persuaded that the enlightened persons to whom we have just now alluded, will partake of our satisfaction in thus attempting to mark an era in the history, where their own names cannot fail hereafter to occupy that elevated place, which zeal in the pursuit of science, guided by intelligence and liberality, is always sure to obtain.

ART. IV. *Verhandlungen in der Versammlung der Landstände des Königreichs Würtemberg.* Stuttgart, 1816-17. (Proceedings in the Assembly of the States of the Kingdom of Wirtemberg.)

THE late Ruler of Wirtemberg, by whom the stock of Buonaparte has been engrafted into the royal tree of the House of Brunswick, enjoyed the distinction of being the most insignificant king in Europe. The crown was first fitted upon his head by the child and champion of Jacobinism; and therefore it is probable that the splendid bauble would have fallen off again, if it had not been replaced and settled there by purer hands,—the Congress of Vienna having permitted him to squat down at the very extremity of the royal bench, in the august assembly which is facetiously termed the *Confederation* of Germany. When King Frederick was yet a Suabian Duke, he was well indemnified for the cession of Mumplegard (since called Mont-Belliard) to the republic 'one and indivisible;' and his domi-

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nions were afterwards greatly enlarged by the bounty of the Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine; so that, when he had rounded and compacted his kingdom by obtaining possession of the tempting 'enclavures' within its boundary, and of sundry outlying parcels, it contained nearly as many inhabitants as are to be found in a brace of good English counties, or French departments.

Authority, in such small states, when exercised with justice, assumes somewhat of the old patriarchal character. It is easier for such a sovereign to rule in love than in majesty,—he is more on a level with the hearts of his subjects: And King Frederick of Wirtemberg, within the narrow frontier of his monarchy, might, like the good Duke of Weimar, or like Duke Christopher, his worthy ancestor, have cherished and fostered the little flock which fortune had entrusted to his care. He was not one of the earthly gods born to look down upon the empires over which they soar; but he might still have been the tutelary genius and protector of the hearth and household. His unfortunate temper, however, provoked him to other courses. The demons of evil were striding over the world; and he too would rage and storm—though, like the little cub-devil of Father Rabelais, the 'diablotin' of Papefiguiere, he could do no more than raise a tempest over a parsley bed.

Wirtemberg weighs lightly in the balance of power; but its history is singularly interesting. None of the communities of ancient or modern times, with whose names we associate so many ideas of popular freedom, enjoyed a happier government than Ducal Wirtemberg; and its obscure annals are not unworthy of being placed by the side of the volumes which record the rise of the liberties of Holland, or Switzerland, or England, or America. On the other hand, no race of thralls ever smarted under a more galling tyranny, than that which was experienced by the Wirtembergers, when their constitutional government at last gave way to the 'full sovereignty' of the pretty personage whom we are about to introduce to the notice of our readers. The lesson derived from the contemplation of arbitrary power cannot be repeated too often; and in this instance it is the more likely to be instructive, because the presence-chamber of the little despot was unvisited by the delusive glare which, unfortunately for the quiet of mankind, plays round the throne of great oppressors. A petty state does not give its monarch a *qualification* to play the tyrant—it is not for him to run down human game. This bad prerogative can only be assumed by the mighty hunters who range over wide extended domains. The blood of an empire flows to purchase empires; and the slaves of the stern

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conqueror forget their vassalage in his glory. They have toiled indeed in the quarry, and have sweated and groaned beneath the burden; but, when the edifice is at last raised, they march with pride beneath the columned arch of triumph, which owes its splendour to their labours. The acts of the despot in duodecimo cannot thus disguise their atrocity. With strength enough to be terrible to his own subjects, he is contemptible to all the world besides. Involved in crime as deeply as the oppressor of myriads, he can obtain no adequate compensation for the guilt which weighs him down. The one resembles the Caliph Vathec, who boldly devotes himself to Eblis, and earns at once the power and wisdom of the immortal principle of evil. The other is a spiteful witch, who sells her soul to Satan, in order that she may receive 'five pounds Scots in name of tocher,' and permission to scab her neighbours' sheep, and make their sows cast their farrow. The tyrant of a great nation, too, commands something like respect from the dangers which surround him. His station requires the constant exertion of vigilance and activity. He is a hard rider on the back of a generous courser; the spurs are dyed in gore, the animal champs the bit, and rears and curvets; and though we sympathize with the sufferings of the steed, yet we cannot help admiring the skill with which the horseman keeps his seat, and manages the reins. But he who tyrannizes over a small community is safe in his brutality. He is a chimney-sweeper drubbing his jack-ass; he is a coward who is cruel, because he knows that he can glut his malignity with impunity.

If the King of Wirtemberg had lived in a superstitious age, when it was thought that faithlessness and misrule were visited on this side the grave by the wrath of heaven, the loathsome diseases with which he was afflicted would have been chronicled as the visible punishment of his transgressions. But it is not our intention to speak with undue harshness of this departed monarch, or to insult his memory. We find no pleasure in dwelling on those kingly acts by which royalty is degraded. Amongst the evils which result from the present state of public affairs, one of the greatest is the slur which kings, or the ministers of kings, have cast upon the high office of royalty. The Holy Alliance has created more unbelievers in the sanctity of the regal character, than ever could have been effected by the heresies of the Jacobin Club; and many are scared by the sceptre, who never would have been attracted by the tree of liberty. In many parts of the Continent, men are compelled to pause and reason, when they would wish to allow full scope to feeling,

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Governed by those whose conduct inspires neither confidence nor affection, they dare not be true to their masters, lest they should cease to be true to themselves.

In order to enable us to pass a fair and unbiassed judgment upon the conduct of the late King Frederick, a view must be taken of the constitution of Wirtemberg as it existed previously to the year 1805, when he assumed the royal title, and subverted the liberties of his subjects. The sovereigns of almost all the provinces of the empire had succeeded in depriving the 'States' of their respective dominions of all participation in the rights of government. In those countries where they were still allowed to assemble, they acted with the freedom of a chapter, electing a bishop under a *congé d'élire*. They had in theory a '*votum consultativum*' with respect to the imposition of new taxes—which a celebrated German jurist defines to be 'the right of saying *yea* to the propositions of the Prince,' but not of refusing them. The only countries which formed an exception to the general rule of servitude were two, namely, the principality of East Friesland, now united to the kingdom of Hanover, and the dutchy of Wirtemberg.

If it were not foreign to our purpose, a curious parallel might be instituted between the English Parliament and the General Assembly of the States, or Diet of Wirtemberg. Mr Fox once said, there were only two constitutions in Europe, the British constitution, and that of Wirtemberg. Latterly, the Diet consisted only of two estates, namely, the Lutheran prelates, the representatives of the church, and the deputies of the towns and country districts. The 'Imperial knighthood' seceded from the meetings of the States in the reign of Duke Ulrick, early in the 16th century. The legislative authority thus devolved wholly upon the clergy and the commons; and it is perhaps to this circumstance that we are to attribute the near approach which the legislative body made towards the establishment of a democracy; for, according to the spirit of the constitution of Wirtemberg, the Duke was little more than a president or stadtholder. When the doctrines of the Reformation were received in Wirtemberg, under the reigns of Duke Ulrick and his son, the ample possessions of the church were neither seized by these sovereigns, nor diverted to worldly uses. In some of the fourteen principal monasteries, schools were founded; but in all of them, the domains which had been held by the monks became the *corps* of the endowment of a Protestant prelate, who received the revenues, and enjoyed all the rights and dignities of the Catholic abbot. The third estate appears to have been always represented in the Diet. In the reign of Count Eberhard, in 1481, the States petitioned un-

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der the style of the 'knights prelates, and we *poor commons.*' In 1492, mention is made of the 'clergy, nobility, burgesses, and commonalty.' When the States were suppressed by the late King, in 1805, the right of sending deputies was enjoyed by 69 towns and country districts. In the towns, the right of election was chiefly vested in the magistracy. All the landholders, not including those who held by base tenures, had a share in the elections in the country districts. The number of deputies varied at different times. Sometimes one deputy only was sent, generally two; but in 1737, the district of Maulbronn petitioned the 'permanent deputation' for leave to send three deputies to the approaching diet. It was, however, of no moment whether a town or district appeared by one or more deputies, as in the latter case they possessed only a collective vote. The deputies, according to the ancient practice of the English House of Commons, whom they so nearly resembled, received *wages* from their constituents. This expense sometimes fell heavily on small towns and districts; they were therefore allowed to unite in deputing a member to appear for them, who then voted according to the number of towns which he represented. This concentration of votes must have led to many abuses. But, in the year 1797, the States decided, that, in future, no member should hold more than three votes. In certain cases, the 'permanent deputation,' of which we shall soon speak, or the towns of Stutgard and Tubingen, had the right to pray a convention of the States; but the Diet could only assemble by virtue of the summons or letter of convocation of the sovereign. They were always convened on the accession of a new duke. They also met when the necessities of the State rendered the imposition of new taxes necessary, or when new statutes were to be passed, which would have had no force without their sanction. According to the constitutional forms, it was indispensable that the 'letter of convocation' should set out the propositions or demands which the Duke intended to make at the approaching diet. At the diet in 1659, this form was neglected; and they declined considering the Duke's propositions, unless the deputies were allowed to return home, and to confer with their constituents; which permission was immediately granted. Yet, when the letter of convocation had issued in proper form, the deputies were not bound to wait for the instructions of their constituents, as the powers which were delivered to them under seal by the towns and districts, authorized them to act in all things freely, and according to their own consciences. The prelates appeared in their own right.

The Duke could neither raise money nor alter the laws without the concurrence of the States; but they were assembled rare-

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ly, and the *permanent deputations* were the real and efficient protectors of the constitution. There were bodies of this nature in Castille, and Navarre, and Arragon; and the institution was renewed by the projectors of the constitution of Cadiz. They were also to be found in several of the provinces subject to the French King; in Burgundy, for instance, where the '*Elus*' of the three orders represented the States during the intervals between their triennial sessions. In the reigns of our King John and Henry the III., many attempts were made to check the royal authority, by instituting permanent councils; and such deputations would certainly have formed themselves in the English Parliament, if successors had been given to the twenty-five barons who were chosen as guardians of the great charter, or if the provisions of Oxford had remained in force.

The '*deputations*' of Wirtemberg were two in number; the lesser and the greater. The *lesser deputation*, which consisted of two prelates and six deputies, formed a kind of close corporation;—the members elected their successors, and they had the right of meeting whenever they thought fit, on giving notice to the Sovereign. The lesser deputation selected two more prelates, and six more deputies from the general assembly; and when these were called in by the *lesser deputation*, the sixteen members constituted the *greater deputation*, which was considered as representing and standing in the place of the full assembly of the States. In one respect, these deputations were not unlike our Lords of Articles in Scotland; no proposition could be made by the Duke to the general assembly of the States, until it had been adopted first in the lesser and then in the greater deputation; but this course of proceeding was not a grievance, as amongst us. The Duke alone had the initiation; and thus the *veto* of each deputation was an additional protection against his demands. Invested with far higher powers than the general assembly or diet, the members of the deputations, both collectively and individually, were bound to watch their sovereign with jealousy; they were sentinels always at their posts, always interposed between the throne and the people. The taxes were applied towards the public service, under their direction. The deputation communicated in its own name with the foreign powers, who were the guarantees of the rights of the States. When the body was not sitting, any of the members residing at Stutgard had the right of 'remonstrating' with the Duke, if any step was taken which appeared contrary to the constitution, and of calling an immediate meeting of the deputation in case of need.

All these prerogatives, however, would perhaps have long ceas-

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ed to exist, if the deputation had not also possessed the sole management of their '*secret chest*' or treasury, without any control either on the part of the Sovereign or of the Diet. This was a most important trust, and might be considered as dangerous to the latter. It might have converted the government of this free state into an oligarchy; yet, however wonderful it may seem, the members of the deputations seem never to have abused their trust, or attempted to obtain an illegal authority over their fellow citizens. The reestablishment of the 'secret treasury' was one of the chief points to which the present King objected, when the Estates were reassembled. It was a maxim, that the members of the States, either in the general assembly, or in the deputations, were completely independent of the Sovereign. They enjoyed the right of receiving petitions of grievances from public bodies or individuals, and of course of petitioning the Sovereign for their reform.

This constitution, which was in full force in 1805, had not been hastily struck out by hot-headed theorists. The rights and privileges of the Wirtembergers had been slowly acquired. The national representation had existed from time immemorial; but its prorogations arose principally out of the compacts and treaties ('Vertrage') which the Dukes of Wirtemberg had found it expedient to enter into with their undaunted subjects. The earliest of these constitutional acts is the treaty of Mursingen, in the reign of Count *Eberhard* the First, in 1482, and which was confirmed by the Emperor Maximilian. Duke *Ulrick* was impatient under the ties which had been imposed upon his predecessor; he attempted to levy taxes without the consent of the States, and a civil war ensued between him and his subjects. Peace was restored by the mediation of the Emperor, the Elector Palatine, Baden, and Wurtzburg; and, in 1514, he sealed the treaty of Tubingen, the Magna Charta of the land,—and which confirmed to the States the right of granting taxes, the right of petitioning, and, above all, that no future Duke should claim the allegiance of his subjects until he had sworn to fulfil the obligations imposed upon him by the treaty. Each Duke accordingly signed a new compact on his accession; and, according to the treaty of Tubingen, he swore that he would maintain the rights of the Wirtembergers, and conform himself to the grants of his predecessors: And, till he had taken this oath, and sealed the charter of confirmation in the general diet or assembly of the States, his subjects owed him neither fidelity nor obedience; —and a new confirmation of the charters on each accession was also granted by the Emperor.

Attempts were not unfrequently made by the Dukes to a-

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bridge their subjects of their lawful rights. These attempts were foiled, and greater stability was given to the constitution of the dutchy. In the year 1733, the three most powerful protestant members of the German Empire, viz. Hanover, Holstein, and Brandenburgh, guaranteed the faithful observance of the treaties which Duke *Alexander* had entered into with his people,—a security which was then thought necessary in consequence of his conversion to popery. It was afterwards proved, by the course of events, that arbitrary power would follow quite as readily in the train of a protestant prince. It became necessary for the States to call for the interposition of the guaranteeing powers under the reign of Duke Charles, who, misled by Montmartin, a minister whose name is yet detested in Wirtemberg, ran riot in extravagance, raised taxes without the consent of the States, instituted monopolies, and attempted to make himself as absolute as the rest of the princes of Germany. In Burgermaster Klupfell's late Historical Sketch, the enumeration of the acts of oppression committed by Duke Charles, are all printed in great letters, in order, as we greatly fear, to induce the reader to draw a very odious comparison between the living Prince and the departed one.

The evil, however, brought its own remedy. The permanent deputations, finding that their remonstrances were of no avail, exerted their rights:—they were not to be awed or controlled. They despatched plenipotentiaries in the name of the States to the courts of Great Britain, Denmark, and Prussia, and claimed the fulfilment of the guarantee. Neither did these powers shrink from their duty. His present Majesty, in his Electoral character, communicated with the head of the empire, by a note or rescript, dated at '*St James's*, 21*st August* 1764;' and this document has now assumed a singular character. The grievances of the Wirtembergers are stated by George the Third in terms which would now be considered as very indecorous and jacobinical, if such people as we are were to use them. His Majesty accuses the Duke of Wirtemberg of oppressing his subjects by keeping on foot a military establishment unsuited to the extent of his dominions, and which his people were unable to maintain; and concludes by most earnestly entreating the Emperor, not only to grant an imperial '*protectorium et conservatorium*' to the States and inhabitants of Wirtemberg, but also to issue against the Duke a '*mandatum inhibitorium cassatorium et de non amplius gravando sed restituendo in statum pristinum legalem*, in due form, according to the laws of the empire.' The Kings of Denmark and Prussia also pray process in like manner against the Duke; and the latter re-

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quests that the execution of it may be entrusted to some 'respectable' member of the empire. In the following year the three courts sent their ambassadors to Stutgard, for the purpose of supporting the cause of the Wirtembergers, and which they all urged most strenuously at the court of Vienna. It is amusing to read the despatch addressed by Frederick to his representative Count Schullenburgh. On this occasion Fritz—strange to say—appears as the sincere friend of limited authority, and expresses his hopes that the Duke will soon be checked in his '*acts of despotism*' by the impartial decision of the Imperial commissioner. The proceedings were tedious, and the Imperial 'dehortations' and mandates and commissions were more than once renewed; but, at length, the disputes were concluded in as satisfactory a manner as the States could desire, by the agreement or 'Vergleish' to which the Duke assented in the year 1770, and the true performance of which was again guaranteed by the mediating powers. At the late Congress of Vienna, the States claimed the fulfilment of the guarantee, but without any effect. The following extracts, however, will show the extent of the obligations entered into by George the Third for himself and his successors in the Electorate.

'Whereas the States of Wirtemberg have besought us to guarantee their constitution, rights and franchises, in such manner as the same have been confirmed, renewed, and conceded by the treaty which has passed between them and our dearly beloved brother the Duke of Wirtemberg, and which was concluded on his part on the 27th day of February 1770, and, on their part, on the 22d of March in the same year. We therefore undertake, for ourself, and our successors in the Electorate, *to guarantee the rights, franchises, and constitution of the States of Wirtemberg*, and further, that we and our successors in the Electorate *will always maintain the same*, so that the concessions and promises contained in the before mentioned treaty may be truly fulfilled, and no act committed in violation thereof, but that it shall in all respects be firmly and unalterably observed. Given at our palace of St James's this 31st day of May 1771, and in the 11th year of our reign.—GEORGE R.'

The treaty of 1770, and its guarantees, thus settled and secured the rights of the States; and no innovations took place, until the confederation of the Rhine brought on the dissolution of the empire. The weak and selfish princes of Germany, forgetful of the duty which they owed to their common country, and seeking only to profit by its calamities, threw off their subjection to the lawful successor of Charlemagne, and hastened to the gaudy saloon of the Thuilleries, to lick the dust before the throne of the usurper. Amongst these rebels—for such they were in truth and right—who was more forward than his Serene Highness the

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Duke of Wirtemberg? He was allowed to become the father-in-law of his Majesty of Westphalia; but, to qualify himself for this high alliance, he was promoted from the ranks; and, as Napoleon nodded assent, the Duke strutted forth a King,—a king of gilt gingerbread, in all its finery. We have sometimes thought, that the precedent for the erection of this mighty monarchy of Wirtemberg was sought in the chronicles of Mother Goose. Have our readers forgotten the story of King Petaud?—how Petaud was allowed to turn his farm of nine acres and three quarters into a kingdom—and how he became a king, under the style and title of King Petaud—and how he purchased all his regalia, to wit, a fustian mantle and a pasteboard crown, from a company of strolling players—and how old Jacqueline the dey was created secretary of state, and Pierott the hind became prime minister. It is true that the comparison cannot be pursued in all its points. King Petaud did not shear his sheep closer, nor milk his cows a bit the oftener than farmer Petaud had done. But when *Duke* Frederick was puffed out into *King* Frederick, he flayed his subjects, and drained them dry.

King Frederick, on his accession to the dutchy in 1790, had renewed and confirmed all the treaties and compacts of his predecessors, and had declared them to be 'firm and irrevocable.' He had sworn to his 'faithful prelates and commons of Wirtemberg,' upon 'his princely dignity, his honour, and his troth,'* to protect them for ever in the full enjoyment of all their liberties. Well—what mattered the promises and the oaths which had been thus given and sworn? He was absolved from all his ties by the Chief of the new unholy empire. As soon as the 'arrangements' at Paris were concluded, the constitution of Wirtemberg was destroyed by one decisive blow. This revolution took place at the close of December 1805, when the deputations were not sitting on account of the holidays, and only a few of the prelates and of the officers of the assembly were present at Stutgard. However feeble the resistance might have been which the deputation could have opposed to downright violence, Frederick, who was now a half-hatched king just peeping out of the egg shell, did not chuse to face the assembly; and therefore, to these individual members, a declaration was made by President Von Eade, and the Counsellor of State Von Winzingerode, that the national representation was suppressed and dissolved. If they dared to meet, or to take any proceeding in their constitutional capacity, the Sovereign would consider such acts as acts of *rebellion*, and punish them accord-

* Bei unsern Furstlichen Würden, Ehr, und Treuen.

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ingly. This step was closely followed up. The counsellors and public functionaries composing the boards and colleges of government, and the district and municipal magistrates, were immediately required to take a new oath of unconditional allegiance to the King: for, according to the old constitution, the oath of allegiance of a Wirtemberger was qualified and limited. And, on the 2d of January 1806, a manifesto was issued, announcing the assumption of the royal dignity, and that his Majesty now possessed his dominions in *full sovereignty*. His Majesty also condescended to state, that, 'under *existing circumstances*, all 'popular assemblies, and all proceedings grounded upon the 'same, have become *unnecessary*; we therefore direct all our 'royal functionaries, as well as all our *beloved and faithful sub-'jects*, to abstain therefrom.' The President of one district ventured to remonstrate against the usurpations of the King, yet in the most discreet and respectful language; but, notwithstanding his discretion and his respect, proceedings were instituted against him as a state criminal.

His Majesty of Wirtemberg being resolved to show that he was a king every inch of him, now proceeded to subvert every institution connected with the ancient polity of the country. Under the ducal government, the ministry consisted of a plain and sober Teutonic privy-council, the 'Geheime Raths Collegium,' consisting of seven members, each of whom was also at the head of a 'college,' or administrative board. Now, it must be noticed, that these privy counsellors were constitutional officers, the ministers of the States and People, as well as of the Prince. They were sworn to expedite the affairs of the 'prelates and commonalty;' to 'protect the orphans and the oppressed;' to see that 'justice was administered without favour and affection:' And, without their previous advice, the Duke could not legally act. This useless lumber was swept away; and King Frederick, with due respect for his protector Napoleon, reorganized the government according to the exact cut and fashion of the French empire. Wirtemberg could boast of a 'Minister of the Interior,' and of a 'Minister of Justice,' and of a 'Minister of Public Worship;' and, above all, of a 'Minister of Police;'—and the 'colleges,' or boards of administration, were all transformed into 'Bureaus.' If the compactness of the French forms of government had accompanied the French nomenclature, it would have been of some advantage to the country. But, instead of this, a plan of administration was introduced, uniting excessive complication and stupidity. The following instance is given by the States as a specimen of this puzzle-headed system. We translate it as a curiosity.

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'The magistrates of an "Unteramt" or under bailliwick, wish to obtain permission to enlarge a hospital, by appropriating part of the funds of a charitable institution to that purpose.

'In the first, place they are to apply to the "Oberamt" in the principal town of the district.

'2. From thence to the Inspector of pious foundations, who resides in another town, and possibly in another district.

'3. The memorial is referred to the "Landvogtei" in a third town.

'4. The "Landvogtei" transmits it to the Section of the Council composing the Medical Board:—And the *Chef* of the Board

'5. refers it to a *Rath*, or Counsellor, who communicates thereon with the 3d Section of the Board of Administration of the Crown domains.

'6. The reporting *Rath* transmits the papers to his *Chef*.

'7. The *Chef* lays them before the Minister of the Interior.

'8. The Minister of the Interior transmits them to the Minister of Finance.

'9. The Minister of Finance transmits them back again to the *Chef* of the 3d Section of the Board of Administration of the Crown domains.

'10. The *Chef* refers them to a *Rath* to prepare the necessary documents.

'11. The *Rath* transmits them to his *Chef*. (Now it begins to go downwards.)

'12. The *Chef* transmits them to the Minister of Finance.

'13. The Minister of Finance transmits them to the Minister of the Interior.

'14. The Minister of the Interior transmits them to the *Chef* of the Medical Board.

'15. The *Chef* of the Medical Board passes them to the reporting *Rath*.

'16. The reporting *Rath* draws up a resolution, and lays it before his *Chef* for signature.

'17. The *Chef* transmits the papers to the Landvogtei.

'18. The Landvogtei transmits them to the Oberamt.

'19. And from the Oberamt they at length reach the Unteramt.'

And it was thus that business was despatched in Wirtemberg.

The subjects '*de facto*' of the Crown of Wirtemberg, were divided into three general classes, all of whom were equally crushed by the clumsy tyranny of the King. Over the inhabitants of the territory of the old Dutchy—'*Alt Wirtemburg*, or Old Wirtemburg'—he certainly had a right to exercise a legitimate, that is to say, a limited authority. The Imperial free towns, Ulm, Rottenburg, Boppingen, Gmund, &c. &c. and a good many ecclesiastical domains, passed under his Majesty's yoke, by a series of transactions which are just within the pale

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of the law of nations, as now taught and practised. But, even according to the very accommodating principles of modern political morality, he never acquired any right to the allegiance of the mediatised princes or of the knighthood * of the empire, or to the possession of their territories: and this observation applies to other powers besides his Majesty of Wirtemberg.

The treatment experienced by these princes and nobles has been particularly harsh and jacobinical. The Sovereigns of the Rhenish Confederation took forcible possession of their dominions, by virtue of the 23d, 24th, and 25th articles of the treaty, which united them in vassalage under Napoleon. *Mediatisation* and confederacy are courtly and diplomatic terms; but there was a time when, if the treaty had been translated into plain household words, many people would have said that the Sovereigns of Wirtemberg and Baden, and Bavaria and Darmstadt, and the rest of the confederates, were dastards, who combined in a gang for the purpose of committing a robbery on their helpless neighbours. However, nobody ought to say so now, because their conduct hath amended. Certain it is, that they have given one sign of contrition, by abandoning, with all possible expedition, the Great Outlaw, under the shadow of whose wing they dared to do the wrong. And who can doubt but that repentance will be followed by restitution? In this remarkable treaty, the confederates, of their own authority, declared that they were henceforward to possess, in 'full sovereignty,'—for that nice term is brought in on all occasions,—all the principalities, and the burg-graviates, and the mark-graviates, and the counties of the weaker princes of the empire, as well as all the lands belonging to the 'Reichs Ritterschaft,' or Imperial Knighthood, situated within, or near to their respective dominions!—With the exception of the partition of Poland, this transaction has not a parallel for iniquity in the annals of Europe. A conquered kingdom is well vested in the victor by the law of arms. Violence and terror may have compelled the cession of the province, but it is transferred by the formalities of the cabinet; the paper bears the signature of the sovereign; it shows the impress of his seal; his consent, however reluctantly it may have been sighed out, is yet obtained. But here, the 'Confederation' usurped the possessions of these princes, without the slightest shadow of right,—without even attempting to explain the causes of the spoliation, or to palliate their rapacity with words.

* The *Reichs-ritterschaft*, who must not be confounded with the Teutonic order. The French diplomatists call their possessions the *terres equestres*.

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It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the *mediatised* princes were states of the Empire,—the peers and equals of the powers who seized their dominions. The Imperial knighthood, though of lower estate, suffered equally from their injustice. These nobles did not rank as states of the Empire; they held immediately of the Emperor; and, in Wirtemberg, they owed no feudal services whatever to the Duke, by whose territories their lands were surrounded. These exemptions were gained by degrees. At one period in the history of Wirtemberg, they sat in the meetings of the Ducal diet. We have already alluded to their secession from it. This took place in 1519, when they asserted that they did not form an estate of the dutchy, but that they were free nobles, and only *indwellers* of Wirtemberg. Their pretensions were allowed by the Emperors, notwithstanding the protestations of the Dukes; and, in many respects, they might be considered as independent sovereigns. The Duke, although their superior, was not their lord; they had an exclusive jurisdiction over their subjects in civil pleas; and their rights and privileges were very extensive. It might have been adviseable to modify these feudal privileges, by fair and constitutional means; but the King of Wirtemberg had nothing but his aggrandisement in view, when, availing himself of the approaching dissolution of the empire, he took forcible possession of all these domains. The other confederates did the same; and the *Protector* thereupon issued an 'ordre du jour' from his Imperial head-quarters at Schonbrunn, under date of the 19th December 1805, by which his generals were instructed to maintain the Electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, in the *occupation* of the *terres equestres*. The cause assigned by Napoleon was, that the 'Reichs Ritterschaft' were partisans of the house of Austria, and had allowed recruits to be raised for the Austrian service within their dominions;—'and this,' continued he, 'necessarily places them in a state of warfare against France; as a German emperor, according to the constitutions of the empire, has no right to raise recruits in Germany unless the war is carried on by and against the empire.' Napoleon thus gravely reasoned to show that these nobles were acting contrary to the constitutions of the empire, at the very moment that he was destroying it. Under the sanction of the opinion of this powerful reasoner, the Rhenish powers kept the possession which they had gained so lawfully, until their 'sovereignty' was sanctioned by the treaty of confederation entered into with Napoleon.

Whatever may have been the aristocratic failings of these petty German princes and German barons, they now did pe-

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nance for them. Had the King of Wirtemberg possessed a spark of true nobility of mind, he would have attempted to sooth and conciliate the feelings of these high-spirited men, proud,—and their pride may be excused—of their pure and ancient ancestry, and smarting under the loss of their rank and privileges and property. This course, however, he disdained; and the maxims of his government exhibit a happy combination of the vulgar spite of a Sans-culotte, and the despotism of Constantinople. All their entails and family settlements were barred and set aside at once by the nonnal regulation of the 22d April 1808, which directed, 'that, from the time when it issued, their estates should become partible, and descend accordingly.' The object of this revolutionary regulation is obvious. It was intended to impoverish the nobility, and destroy their existence as a caste. In the Wirtemberg table of precedency, the old Imperial nobles were to take their places immediately *after the Court pages.* They were not to enjoy even this *rank* unless they had served in the Wirtemberg army; and, if they sought for employment, they could find none. All the privileges of birth were taken from them; but they were to remain subject to the most galling of the chains imposed by the prejudices of aristocracy; and, by the decree of the 29th July 1808, the nobles were prohibited from *intermarrying with the bourgeoisie,* unless his Majesty's special permission was obtained. The nobility were put under permanent arrest. They could not quit the kingdom without license. If they wished to leave their usual place of residence for a week, and make an excursion into the next 'landvogtei' or district, previous notice must be given to the district-officers. But a more extraordinary act of power remains to be told. A circular letter, directed to the nobility, and dated in January 1810, was issued from the 'ministry of the interior,' in which, by his Majesty's most *gracious* commands, the minister communicated to the Herr Graff such a one the *unalterable will of his sovereign Majesty,* viz. that the '*Herr Graff* shall, from henceforward, spend at least *three* months in every year at the royal residence of Stutgard.'—And, with respect to the remaining nine months, 'if the Herr Graff should wish to live on his estates during that period, his Majesty, on *proper application* being made, will not be disinclined to grant his most gracious permission' for that purpose. His Majesty further intimated his gracious *hope* that this his sovereign order would be punctually observed; which hope was backed by an intimation, that, if it was disappointed, 'one-fourth of the gross annual rental of the possessions of the Herr Graff will be forfeited to his Majesty's treasury!'

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It would occupy more space than we can spare, to detail the grievances of the 'ci-devant Imperial free towns;' it will be sufficient to observe, that their trade was destroyed, and their funds and corporate property taken from them. A peculiar hardship of the city of Ulm may be noticed, because it will remind our readers of the situation of the landholders of Poland. The city became the property of Wirtemberg; but the town lands on the right bank of the Danube, which, as the States observe, are as closely connected with the town as the rump is with the head, were retained by Bavaria; so that, whenever the good citizens of Ulm wish to walk in their fields or gardens, or to cut their cabbages to make sour crout, they pass into a foreign country.

These were the sufferings of peculiar classes or districts. But the reaction which ensued as soon as the King had destroyed the constitutional checks upon his authority, desolated the entire country. What were his Majesty's ideas respecting the 'full sovereignty' which he now enjoyed, may be collected from a few of the acts of his reign, which, it must be recollected, appear from the official documents entered in the journals of the States.

The most barbarous laws of the barbarous ages, were enforced with the utmost rigour. His Majesty's fondness for the sports of the field, reduced the peasantry to an absolute state of slavery. In one district, and in the course of one twelvemonth, twenty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-four of the inhabitants were compelled to perform forest duty. Many of them were compelled to travel upwards of twenty '*standen*' or nearly eighty English miles from their homes. None received any compensation for their labour, which was exacted in harvest time, and in the vintage season, whilst the corn was unreaped, and the grapes were rotting on the vines. The beasts of chase, as may be easily supposed, prospered and multiplied under his Majesty's protection. In the neighbourhood of the royal forests, the arable lands were rendered waste and desolate by their ravages. It is true that the peasants were graciously permitted, after the toils of the day, to watch their crops at night. In the district of Heidenheim this task occupied one hundred and ninety men, one hundred and eighteen women, and two hundred and fifty-two children, making together a total of five hundred and sixty-nine persons. But as these weary wretches were *not* permitted to use any *offensive weapons against the boars*, their vigilance was of little avail; and the crops of 5293 'morgen' of lands were wholly destroyed. But the taxes imposed upon these lands were levied with the slightest remission.

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The people of Wirtemberg are religious and moral; and they are strongly attached to their national church, whose members have contributed greatly, by their constitutional privileges and influence, towards the preservation of civil liberty. The Lutheran church was well endowed. The revenues of the old monastic domains were enjoyed by the Lutheran prelates; but the rents of all the other church lands, fell into the *ecclesiastical treasury*, which was under the administration of an independent board or church council, consisting of three clerical and four lay councillors, who had hitherto succeeded in keeping the hands of the Dukes out of the church chest. From this common fund, the parochial clergy were salaried; the residue was employed in maintaining schools and seminaries, or appropriated to the use of the poor; and if any surplus could have remained, it was to be hoarded 'for the defence and protection of the people of the land.'

The church property was too tempting to the greedy profusion of the King, who took possession of its treasury, which contained a capital of 800,000 florins in cash. These monies paid the workmen employed about the new palace. The chief Lutheran convents were secularized, and the prelates deprived of their revenues. One of these convents was wisely turned into a boiling house, for the purpose of making sugar out of beet-roots, according to the Napoleon patent. The clergy of Stuttgard were expelled from their houses. Great portions of the church lands were sold, or incorporated with the royal domains; and the management of such revenues as yet continued applicable to the ecclesiastical treasury, was taken from the Church Council, and confided to the 'Minister of Finance,' so that the fund was now completely at the mercy of the government. And how this government managed the ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, may be judged from one shameful instance of abuse. There is an extensive orphan hospital at Stuttgard;—this was converted into an 'Academie Royale des Arts;' that is to say, the arts of dancing, music and stage-playing, where the pupils, intended for the supply of the 'Corps Dramatique' of the Court theatre, were fed and clothed and educated at the expense of the hospital; and the helpless children, for whom this asylum had been provided by the pious charity of the founders, were left to starve. 'The clergy,' say the States, 'were treated, on all occasions, with contempt. Their authority, as censors of the public morals, was no longer respected. The Court, by its example, encouraged the profanation of the Lord's day.' In the table of precedency, 'the most ignorant under-bailiff (Unter-

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Amtman) ranks above the most respectable pastor.' All these acts of oppression, and a great many more, are stated in the very able report presented to the States by the general superintending Lutheran prelate, Cless. However, as we must deal with impartiality, we are bound to observe, that the venerable prelate has included certain particulars in his report which scarcely seem to form a fair charge against the Government. Such, for instance, is the information respecting the frailty of Dorothy Allmendingerinn, now entered in the journals of the States, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, and which was given to the Prelate by the Reverend Mr Stummel, Pastor of Durnau, in the upper bailliwick of Goppingen. It thence appears, that the said Dorothy, notwithstanding the wholesome admonitions which she received, hath twice indulged in illicit love in the very face of Pastor Stummel; and, to his unspeakable consternation, she has never yet been sent to the house of correction, there to be dealt with as the law directs. Dorothy's transgressions are no doubt very heinous;—yet we submit, that the enormities of which Pastor Stummel and his Prelate thus complain, might have come to pass even if the Church Council had been in full activity. The report of Prelate Cless also includes a homily against the abuse of skittle-playing on Sunday afternoons; but we greatly fear that it has failed to produce a due sense of the enormity of the practice.

The Government, aware that it had deserved a general resistance, thought fit to disarm the entire population of the country; and all fire-arms were to be given up. Severe punishments were inflicted on offenders. The males were condemned to hard labour in the fortifications for three months; the ladies were confined during four months in the house of correction; and even the nobles were not exempted from the prohibitions of this most degrading law. At first, merchants travelling with goods of value, or travellers carrying with them 'considerable sums of money,' (for the proviso was carefully worded), were permitted to carry - - - - - pocket-pistols. This was under the decree made in January 1809. But, in the following December, the Government discovered that pocket-pistols were dangerous things; and the permission of wearing them was revoked. The conscription laws were even more oppressive than in the protecting empire. From thence also the king borrowed the *Tariff* of *Trianon*, which continued to be levied, with a very slight reduction, when there was no longer any obligation on the part of the Government to adhere to the Continental system. The trade of the late Imperial towns was destroyed by tolls and impositions. Several manufactures were

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declared to be 'royal monopolies:' of these none was more grievous and illegal than the monopoly of snuff and tobacco—it being expressly declared by the old constitution, that the necessaries of life were not to be subject to monopoly.

Justice took flight, of course. The sentences of the criminal court were *dictated by the King himself*, through the medium of the Minister of Justice. Of these sentences the States, for wise reasons, 'respectfully abstain from speaking;' but they exclaim loudly against the punishments inflicted by the tribunals, and sanctioned by the laws. The Ministry of Police, as well as the sections of the Cabinet Ministry, had the power, we will not say of sentencing persons to confinement, but of confining them without sentence, for an unlimited period, in the house of correction.

Wirtemberg thus continued enjoying the sweets of full sovereignty till the year 1815, when a meeting, purporting to be an assembly of the States, and whose proceedings are now before us, was called by the King. This measure was forced upon him by the course of events: the Rhenish sovereigns, as long as they gained by the job, were never qualmish in allowing their subjects to be shot and frozen, and starved by wholesale in the service of the French Emperor. When these magnanimous heroes slipped off the harness which they had gladly buckled on their own shoulders, and left the car of Napoleon astanding, the sufferings, of which they themselves had been the willing cause, and all of which they might have averted had they possessed either political steadiness or honesty, were used as stimulants to rouse the energy of the people. And the Germans in general, were taught that their exertions against the French Emperor, would be rewarded by the restoration of their constitutional liberties. How this expectation has been realized in Prussia, and Hesse, and Bavaria, we all know well; but the peculiar liberties which Wirtemberg had once enjoyed, made it necessary that the government should devise some method of preserving a comfortable despotism; and for this purpose the new assembly of the States was convened. This was preceded by an extraordinary meeting of the council of state, held on the 11th January 1815. Here the King delivered a gracious speech, in which he stated, that the suppression of the ancient states of Wirtemberg, was a necessary consequence of the changes which took place in the kingdom in the year 1805, and the political relations connected with those changes. It was, however, always his firm intention to bestow a Representative Constitution on the country, as soon as a favourable opportunity should ar-

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rive. In the conferences which he had with the Sovereigns at Vienna, he expressed his resolution to introduce—let this expression be marked—to *introduce* a Representation of the States into his kingdom. And, although the affairs of Germany had not yet attained to a satisfactory settlement, yet his wishes to promote the happiness of his people, would no longer allow him to delay carrying his resolutions into effect.

The decree, regulating the convocation of the States, according to the new order of things, issued in January; and on the 25th March 1815, they met at Stuttgard. The representatives of the 'good towns,'—a gallicism which is unseemly in a German kingdom,—and of the bailliwicks, were chosen by the inhabitants, and an income of 200 florins, arising from real property, was the qualification of an elector. The four hereditary officers of the kingdom, and the *mediatised princes*, and thirty counts and heads of noble families, selected by the King, appeared as representatives of the nobility. The Chancellor of the University of Tubingen, and the senior general superintending Prelate, were to be considered as the delegates of the Lutheran Church. The Catholic Church was represented by a Bishop *in partibus*, who was invested with the functions of General Vicar, and the Senior of the Catholic Deans. Speaking of the appearance of the thing on paper, it would seem that the representation of the people was fairly constituted;—and, that it was in fact so, was soon evinced by their conduct: But the share of legislative authority which the King was willing to concede to the States was so insignificant, that, however freely chosen, the assembly would never have been enabled to counterbalance the power of the Crown. The session was opened with great pomp. The King, as appears from the official account, in which the particulars of the ceremonial are most carefully set forth, was put into a '*gala wagen;*' and a team of no less than eight horses was required to drag his Majesty and his wagen. His ministers being less ponderous, were loaded in *hof-wagens*, some dragged by six horses, and some only by a pair. The speech from the throne was followed by another in praise of the new constitution, delivered by the minister of the interior, Count Von Reischach; and the articles themselves were read by the minister of state Otte. 'This constitutional charter'—the King proceeded—'which is *given* to our faithful States, contains the declaration of our Royal *will.*'—The doors of the hall were thrown open; 'and his Majesty and his train returned to the palace, exactly in the same manner as his Majesty had arrived.'

As soon as he had quitted the hall, the assembly adopted pro-

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ceedings which amounted virtually to a rejection of the constitution which had been *given* by his Royal will. The President proposed, that, according to the new constitution, they should proceed to the choice of a vice-president; but Prince Maximilian of Waldburg-Zeil rose and read a protest, in which he declared his reasons for withdrawing from the assembly. The mediatised princes, he said, still waited the determination of their fate from the Congress of Vienna; and, till its decision was known, he could not declare his submission to the new constitution, it being an act by which his rights and those of his family would be irrevocably concluded. It must be remarked, that a great proportion of the mediatised nobility refused to obey the letters of convocation addressed to them; and of those who were present, the Counts of Quadt Ismy, Schasberg, and Erbach Wartemberg, and the Princes of the two branches of the house of Hohenlohe, declared their adherence to the protest of the Prince of Waldberg. This protest of the mediatised princes was immediately followed by the vote of an address to the Throne from the States. It was moved by the Count of Waldeck-Pyrmont, who, in consequence, was honoured by the implacable anger of the Monarch, and carried by acclamation. In this, they humbly represented to the King, that the people had proceeded to elect their representatives, under the full conviction that they were to receive back *the ancient constitution* of the country, with such modifications only as became necessary in consequence of the additions which had been made to the ancient territory of the Dukes. It was therefore with the most submissive gratitude that the States recognised the goodness of his Majesty in calling them together, for the purpose of *considering* the alterations which it would be fit that the constitution should undergo under the altered situation of the country.

Thus the King and the States enounced the opposite principles upon which they proceeded. The King assumed that the ancient rights of the Wirtembergers were entirely extinguished and surrendered up; and placed himself in the situation of an autocrat, the uncontrolled master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, who, of his own accord, condescends to impose certain limits to his authority. These pretensions of the King were flatly contradicted by the States; who maintained that they were entitled to their ancient constitution as their right,—and that they held their privileges by the same legitimate tenure that he held his crown. They required the entire restitution of their liberties as an act of justice; nor would they receive them back in scraps, doled out by grace and favour. Whence did the King obtain his 'full sovereignty?' His absolute power was a

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mere lawless usurpation, to which neither the States nor the People had assented, either in word or deed. It therefore remained with them to *consent* to those modifications of their old form of government, by which it might be adapted to the condition of the incorporated territories, and reformed, where reform was needed. For these purposes the States were willing to treat with the King, and to sanction a new compact between the sovereign and the people,—but on the basis of the former compacts which had been concluded between the Wirtembergers and his predecessors and himself.

As they thus utterly disclaimed the power claimed by the King, of 'granting' a new constitution to Wirtemberg, and refused to accept a national representation as his gift, the defects of the proposed form of government needed less consideration:—the States, however, pointed them out. The vigilant, permanent deputations, who had so long proved thorns in the side of the Duke, with their well-stocked treasury, were to disappear; but a deputation of 12 Members was to meet for four weeks in each year, who were to have the liberty of *complaining* to the King. The General Assembly was to meet once in three years. Regulations were to be enforced which would have deprived the people of the right of petition, and have checked all communications between them and their representatives. It was declared, indeed, that no new taxes should be levied in future without their consent; but all the taxes which had been imposed, and all the laws which had been promulgated by the king whilst exercising his 'full sovereignty,' were to remain in force, and to be the basis of the new system of finance and legislation. And the rights of the Crown were so well defined, whilst such a mysterious impersonality enveloped those which were given to the people by his Majesty's 'constitutional act,' that the national representation was mere mockery and delusion.

After many bitter rescripts and angry addresses had been exchanged between the King and the States, commissioners were named by each party, by whom the points in difference were to be discussed. In the mean while, petitions poured in from the magistracy and inhabitants of the towns and bailliwicks, not excepting his Majesty's good town of Stuttgard, exhorting the States to be firm in their demands. And the people and their representatives were unanimous in insisting upon the entire restoration of the ancient form of government, with such changes only as would adapt it to the present state of the country. At this crisis, the States reclaimed the assistance of their old allies, the three guaranteeing powers, by applying to their ministers at the Congress of Vienna; but, as may easily be an-

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ticipated, without effect. Count Munster 'would not enter into the question, whether the guarantee was yet subsisting.' Indirectly, however, he interposed in favour of the mediatised princes; besides which, the Hanoverian ministers declared, in the name of the Prince Regent, that it was not to be allowed that the dissolution of the Germanic empire had given a despotic power to any of the German princes; and with this declaration their exertions stopped.

In the course of the discussions, a new ground was taken by the King. If the claims of the inhabitants of the dutchy of Old Wirtemberg were valid, yet the newly incorporated territories, he asserted, could have no right to the old constitution—and these territories constituted nearly the moiety of the kingdom. This point, and the various considerations which arose out of it, continued to be mooted with great diligence till the dissolution of the assembly. Without following up the arguments of those members by whom it was treated as an abstract question, with many a learned quotation from Puffendorf and Vatel, it will be sufficient to observe, that the claims of the incorporated territories, or of *New Wirtemberg*, were fully borne out by precedent. The case was not a new one, resting in theory. Numerous acquisitions had been made by the sovereigns of Wirtemberg since the 16th century; for the State had been progressively increasing in size; and, in every instance, the districts so acquired had been let into the possession of all the rights of the old territory. Whilst thus disputing, the King yielded so far to the complaints of the States, as to repeal some of his forest laws, and corvée acts, and war taxes; but at the same time he continued to levy the taxes by his own authority, and to govern in all respects in full sovereignty.

During the remainder of the King's life, the discussions maintained the same tone of asperity, and no real progress was made towards an amicable settlement. The mediatised princes and nobility had rejoined the assembly, and added all their strength to its proceedings. They also concluded a treaty of union amongst themselves, of which the Prince of Waldburg Zeil Franchburg (President of the States) was the leading member, which occasioned violent measures on the part of the King.

The popular party was supposed to be espoused by the Crown Prince, the present King William, who 'ascended the throne,' as the phrase runs, in February 1817; and his first act was the publication of another plan of a constitution, in which a nearer approximation was made to the old form of government; but his Majesty expressed himself in energetic terms against the secret administration of the permanent deputations.

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The States now did not proceed right forward; much time was consumed in trifling discussions; and an article of the new constitution, which empowered the privy councillors to be present at their sittings, was debated at large; all parties attaching greater importance to it than it deserved. Symptoms of disunion between the old Wirtembergers and the new Wirtembergers, disclosed themselves. The representatives of Old Wirtemberg protested against their being bound by the absolute majority of the assembly, of which the latter formed a part; and the communications between the States and the King, who had bowed and smiled at each other during the honey-moon, now became less respectful and conciliatory,—till at length a popular commotion at Stuttgard furnished the government with a reason or a pretence for closing the session: And, since that period, the King has governed, though not oppressively, yet in 'full sovereignty.' He is a man of domestic habits, and mild disposition; and his virtues are perhaps as dangerous to the liberties of Wirtemberg as the vices of his father.

Throughout the whole of these transactions, the States, we think, acted honestly; and their conduct deserves the warmest praise which can be given to the strenuous defenders of public liberty;—yet they were deficient in tact and sound discretion. All points were laboured alike. Their communications with the King were often worded with needless petulance and empty anger. It is a wise old maxim, that 'a soft answer turneth away wrath;' and certainly, no good is ever gained by departing from the decent and habitual rules of intercourse. Whether or not it would have been politic in the States to have lowered their pretensions, is one of those matters on which, according to Sir Roger De Coverley, a great deal may be said on both sides. And the partisans of monarchy may perhaps assert, that, when subjected to the authority of the deputations, it only could exist in name.

Experience, however, had proved the utility and necessity of the restrictions to which the Dukes were subjected under the old constitution; and it should always be recollected, that the maintenance of popular privileges in such small states, is a difficult problem. They have not the depth of soil which is necessary to enable the tree of liberty to strike root deeply, and flourish upwards, so as to withstand the storm; but it always continues a weak sapling, requiring props and fences. The people are not *respectable* enough to withstand the influence of the Court; and they have no weight on their side by which it can be counterbalanced.

The aristocratic and popular branches of the legislature have not the support which are given to them in larger communities,

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by public spirit and public opinion, and, above all, by property. The multitude are inert and dull, roused with difficulty, and soon relapsing into torpor. There is no elasticity in the public mind. In Wirtemberg, the courtier and the court hireling are not kept in check by the substantial merchant, the landed gentleman, or the decent farmer. The towns are filled with petty traders: the country is peopled by sluggish boors. The Counts and Barons, therefore, may bear sixteen quarters or thirty-two quarters in their shields; they may trace their line to Arminius and Urtikind; and the Burgomasters of Boppingen, or Gmnud, or Rottenburg (for there is only *one* borough which openly bears this name in Wirtemberg), may be fairly and freely chosen to represent their towns in the Diet: But neither the noblest aristocracy, nor the most genuine representatives of the people, will ever be of importance unless they have money in their purses. A popular government supposes, that there must be a quantum of substantial power in the holding of the people. Now if this share of power cannot be diffused throughout the mass, it must be concentrated in particular classes or bodies. The coordinate authority and secret funds of the permanent deputations, which might have overturned the throne if confided to a British Parliament, or the French Chambers, were therefore essential to the very existence of the States of Wirtemberg; where the people are destitute of the character and resources by which a representative assembly is maintained in the exercise of its functions; and the guarantees of the Protestant powers, however inexpedient it may be to allow of foreign interference in the internal government of a nation, supplied the place of the *vis inertiæ* which strengthens the subject in repelling the aggressions of his rulers.

With respect to the right of the Wirtembergers to their old constitution, we think it would scarcely have been questioned, but in such Jacobinical times as the present. The Jacobin—hateful name—was one who rushed at once beyond the debateable land of public law; who cancelled every obligation—who lied whenever it served his turn—who remembered no promise which he had once given—and who kept those down by violence whom he had cheated or seduced into submission. The Jacobin republic unfolded itself into a Jacobin empire; and now it is quite a melancholy sight to see how many of the worst principles of Jacobinism have been adopted by the apostles of legitimacy, and by the new converts to its orthodoxy. Those who scotched the snake, have sucked in all its venom. Where the French were usurpers, their conquerors confirmed their usurpations. The 'delivery' of the continent-

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al nations consists in this;—their chains have been unfastened from one staple in the wall, and rivetted to others in its stead. Every vestige of popular freedom or independence has been carefully blotted out. Nothing has been retained save royalty. The joyous charters of Brabant had been cast into the flames by the rude hands of the mad revolutionists; and therefore it became lawful for the Amphictyons of Europe, as they have been called in the French papers, to heave the Dutch King up, and drop him down upon the shoulders of the unwilling Belgians. Since Genoa melted into the French empire, the proud republic was to pass in the mass of barter to the miserable Sardinian bigot. The cessions extorted from the Prussian give him the right of plundering the Saxon; and the doctrine which commanded Spain and the Indies to worship the mock king, received a hopeful application in Scandinavia: For the attachment which the Norwegians have since formed to their new prince, does not in the least diminish the primary illegality of the transfer.

By such acts of the Lords of men, a great change has been unfortunately produced in the public mind. The warm, and, let us add, the ennobling spirit of loyalty, is flitting fast away. Of the infinite varieties of misery which fall upon our wretched nature, there are none which so readily excite our sympathy, as the sufferings of a king. Nor is there a more generous passion, or a purer one, than the anxious hope that the lawful monarch may be reinstated in his rightful power. But for the claims of duty and allegiance, who is there that would not have wished to join, with all his heart and all his soul, in the simple, yet energetic song of the partisans of our exiled Stuarts?

A thousand years this Royal Crown
Hath been his father's and his own;
Say is there any one but *he*,
That in the same should sharer be?
Who better may the sceptre sway,
Than he that hath such right to reign?
Then let us hope for peace—for the wars will never cease,
Till the King enjoys his own again.

Such feelings can no longer be excited. This fire of loyalty is damped all over the world. Those who would wish to rekindle it on the altar, turn away with disgust from the contemptuous scowl of the divinities before whom it would have flamed. Upon the overthrow of Napoleon, we witnessed just such a scene as takes place in romance, when the dungeons of a wicked giant are unlocked, after the storming of his castle. Kings and prin-

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ces and potentates were delivered from captivity, or recalled from banishment; and Europe rang from side to side with joy. These Io Pæans swelled and rose upon the breeze—and then they ceased! and a sullen silence has succeeded. The common exultation was repressed by the unlucky discovery, that, as soon as the 'Kings,' in the words of the song, began to enjoy their own again, it became but too evident, that they had fully determined that their subjects should never enjoy theirs; and, till that assurance is felt, the 'King,' no matter how many thousand years the sceptre may have belonged to him or his fathers, will never sway, nor deserve to sway it in peace or security.

ART. V. *A Description of the principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the* ISLE OF WIGHT. By SIR HENRY ENGLEFIELD, Bart. Illustrated by numerous Engravings from Original Drawings. London, Bulmer & Co. 1816.

THE Isle of Wight possesses much of that kind of beauty which seldom sinks into tameness on the one hand, or rises into sublimity on the other. It is almost always such as to produce only placid and gentle emotions. Its charms arise from the sight of verdure and fertility spread over an undulating and often well wooded surface, many points commanding fine views of the sea, and particularly of the strait which separates the island from the coast of England. The structure, also, of what is under the surface, displays some interesting peculiarities; so that it forms a subject both for the pen and the pencil, which we think has been very happily treated in the elegant and splendid volume which is now before us.

The Isle of Wight has nearly the figure of a parallelogram, with all its sides equal, and its two diagonals therefore nearly cuting one another at right angles. The longer diagonal runs almost due east and west, and the shorter, of course, north and south; the length of the former is a little more than 22 miles and a half, and that of the latter is about 13 and three quarters. The superficial content of the island is estimated at 98,320 acres; the number of inhabitants in 1812 was reckoned 24,120, or nearly one for every four acres. Sir Henry Englefield, after stating the figure and position, goes on to take a survey of the coast, then of the ranges of hills; giving afterwards a picturesque description of the island; and lastly, an account of the few antiquities it contains.

The longer diagonal which we have mentioned, goes from

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the Needles, at the western extremity of the island, to a point a little to the northward of the high chalk cliff known by the name of Culver Cliff at the east end; and, nearly in the same direction, is a range of chalk hills of a very peculiar structure, which, though they have been described by other naturalists, we believe were first observed by Sir Henry Englefield, and are indeed remarkable for the display of phenomena very unusual among secondary, but more especially among chalk strata.

'The chalk of which this range is composed, is in general of a closer and harder texture than that of most of the chalk ranges in the south of England. It is everywhere divided into strata of different thickness, from two to four or five feet: these are exactly parallel among themselves, and do not appear to bend or wave in the least. They are in general separated from one another by beds of flint, in separate nodules; sometimes of considerable dimensions in the direction of the bed, but very seldom above eight or ten inches in thickness. In some places the strata are divided by a thin layer of a soft powdery chalk; and sometimes, though rarely, the surfaces of the strata are in contact, each face having a sort of striated appearance, and not absolutely flat, but wavy.* Besides the beds of flints which separate the strata, detached nodules are also found scattered sparingly through the most solid parts of the beds; and sometimes flint may be seen in a third state, namely, filling, in thin sheets of very considerable extent, the fissures which run through the strata, cutting them in general at right angles to the plane of the strata. These fissures are seldom above two inches wide; and the plate of flint which fills them seems to have been formed from each side towards the centre, which often contains some loose calcareous powder, enclosed between two silicious plates.

'All the flints above described, except the detached nodules in the body of the strata are universally found in a most extraordinary state: they are broken in every direction into pieces of every size, from three inches diameter, down to an absolutely impalpable powder. The flints thus shivered, as if by a blow of inconceivable force, retain their complete form and position in their bed. The chalk closely invests them on every side, and, till removed, nothing different from other flints can be perceived, excepting fine lines indicating the fracture, as in broken glass; but, when moved, they fall at once to pieces. The fragments are all as sharp as possible, and quite irregular, being certainly not the effect of any peculiar crystallisation, or internal arrangement of the materials, but merely of external violence.'

Sir Henry Englefield does not say that he was the first to observe this most extraordinary and instructive fact, but we be-

* A similar appearance is observed in the chalk of the South Down range; and it somewhat resembles the surfaces to which, in Derbyshire, they give the name *Slikensides*.

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lieve he was; and we can also state, from our own observation, that he has here given a most just and accurate description of the phenomena:—and what he adds about the position of the chalk strata, tends to throw some light on the cause.

'These strata lie inclined to the horizon at an angle of nearly 70 degrees, dipping toward the north. Wherever I have been able to see the strata in a fair section, this great inclination appears constant, and the whole mass has been moved apparently at once, without any fissure or chasm in consequence of it; * for the fissures already described to be filled in many parts with flint, bear certain marks of having existed previous to the period of the subversion of the whole mass.'

It can hardly be doubted that the fact of the highly inclined position of the chalk strata, and the shattered condition of the flints contained in them, are connected together, and are to be referred to one common cause. The strata are so accurately parallel, even in their nearly vertical position, that no doubt can be entertained of their having been formed in a horizontal position, and having had their surfaces made parallel to one another, by being originally parallel to the level surface of the water by which the chalk was deposited. From this position they have been removed, and brought into a situation nearly vertical, though, whether by subsidence or elevation, may be regarded as a doubtful question. In either case, a great force has been applied; and the vast mass of chalk put in motion, has, by a very singular operation, shivered the flints contained in it, without producing a relative change of place in the fragments. This resembles more the effect of a most severe and forcible squeeze or compression applied to a body on all sides, than any other application of force with which we are acquainted. A hard and brittle substance, of which the parts were not tenacious or tough, might certainly in this way be reduced into fragments, and almost to powder, without any change in its external form. It is remarkable, that the nodules included in the interior of the beds of chalk, are not shivered like those at the surfaces, or interposed between the strata. The former have been protected by the solid mass round them, while the latter have been shattered by the slipping or sliding of the chalk beds on one another. The striated appearances at the surface of the strata, are a proof that such sliding or rubbing on one another has taken place. At the same time it must be admitted, that it is difficult to reconcile this with the idea of a compression acting equally, or nearly equally on all sides.

* Though this angle is on the whole constant; it is, nevertheless, subject to some local variation.

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We have said that it is not evident whether the force that changed the position of these strata, was their own gravity producing subsidence on one side, or some expansive force raising them up on the other. Both suppositions are subject to great difficulties, Sir H. E. however, seems to entertain no doubt of the effect having been produced by subsidence.

'The chalk,' he says, 'is not the only substance which has thus been overset; for the clay strata to the north and south of the chalk, to the extent of about a quarter of a mile to the north, and rather more to the south, are in like manner inclined; but with this difference, that those to the north, which, if the whole mass fell in from the south, were originally the uppermost strata, have, as it was natural to suppose they might, parted off from the chalk, so as to leave a narrow chasm between them, and now stand in a position, nearly, if not absolutely vertical; while the southern strata have a less inclination to the horizon than the chalk, owing to the chalk having in the same manner parted from them, which leaves a ravine between the chalk and the clay on the southern side of the ravine.'

The supposition, that the highly inclined position of the chalk strata, is the effect of angular subsidence, rather than of angular elevation, though it seem the most natural, does not appear to us quite consistent with the facts. On the north side of Alum Bay, where the inclined strata of chalk are nearly in contact with the beds of clay, which, when the whole was horizontal, were the beds nearest the surface, and incumbent on the chalk, the parts of those beds nearest the chalk, if we are not very much deceived, are turned up as if they had been heaved and bent by a force that acted from below. It is not likely, if nothing but sinking down had happened on this side, that such an appearance would have been produced. But, whatever supposition be adopted, a great difficulty remains behind, which we do not remember to have seen noticed, far less to have seen explained. When a body of strata is set edgeways, how comes it about that it occupies in a horizontal direction as much space, either exactly, or nearly, as it did in its undisturbed position? What has adjusted the thickness of the moved strata to their breadth, so that when the mass turned on its axis, till it came to be wholly, or nearly vertical, it occupied the same space as when it lay horizontally? To this question we can conceive no answer, if the effect is supposed to be produced by the mere sinking down or subsidence.—We shall have occasion, however, to return to this subject on considering the second part of this volume.

It is at the eastern and western extremities of the island where the coast affords a transverse section of the chalk range, that this disposition of the strata is most distinctly seen. The *needles*

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at the western extremity, are parts of the vertical strata of chalk, now separated from the rest, and insulated by the action of the sea, to which, though they have been hard enough to make a great resistance, they are gradually yielding; and will finally disappear as some others have done, of which, in calm weather, the remains are to be seen at a considerable depth under the surface. There can be no doubt, we think, that, at this end, the Isle of Wight was once connected with the main land.

The formation of flint is a matter so interesting to geologists, and at the same time so obscure, that the remarks of one who has been accustomed to examine those objects in their natural state, and with his own eyes, are always deserving of attention. Sir Henry Englefield thinks it certain that the separation of the silicious matter from the calcareous took place after the formation of the strata, and that the flints were not, as it would appear at a first glance, deposited in alternate strata with the chalk. The extraneous fossils found in chalk seem to afford a proof of this. Many Echini are seen filled with flint, which has, after completely filling the cavity of the shell, formed a large bulb at the orifice of it, as a viscid fluid would do.

'Many of the great fissures in the chalk, which must have taken place long after the whole mass had attained a degree of hardness and solidity, as they run through many strata, without in the least disturbing them, are invested with pure flint; sometimes totally filling those fissures, and sometimes not. The plates of flint filling these fissures must have been deposited at a period later than the formation of the nodules of flint, either those in the strata or those found separately scattered through the substance of the chalk. What agent has in this manner, at two different periods, separated the silicious from the calcareous matter, and how could the flint, when so separated from the chalk, form itself into solid masses?'

This last is indeed a difficult question; for the silicious matter must not only be separated, but it must be reduced to a fluid state before it could be moulded into the forms, or acquire the solidity which it is now found to possess. An analogy has of late been observed between the forms of the various kinds of spongiæ, and the figures of the flint in chalk; and if the analogy is real, it will considerably add to the difficulty of the explanation.

The picturesque beauties of the Isle of Wight are mostly confined to the coast and the country immediately adjacent; the interior being, for the most part, as destitute of beauty as any tract of the same extent in England. The woodlands along the shore, the chalk cliffs, and what are called the *Chines*, are the principal objects. In the description of these beauties,

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we think the author has been very successful. His pictures are not overcharged or exaggerated, but are lively and forcible; and, by means of a few circumstances judiciously selected, bring the scene very distinctly before the reader. They remind us of the remarks on scenery, which, we think, are made with as much taste, and as much power of writing, as any in our language,—we mean those of GRAY in his tour in Scotland, and in the north of England.

'On the north side of the island, and not far from West Cowes, is a seat of Sir Henry Seymour, built from the designs of Mr Wyatt, in imitation of an ancient castle. Seated on the steep descent of the coast to the Solent sea, it perhaps commands a view of that strait, superior in beauty to any other point in the island. To the east, Portsmouth, crowded with shipping, is in full view, and the richest line of the woody coast of the island appears in long and varied perspective. To the north, the Southampton river is seen in its whole extent; and the town of Southampton, with its spires and towers, though at ten miles distance, is no inconsiderable object. The woods of the New Forest close the view to the west, while Calshot Castle, on the point of its long banks of shingle, stands boldly out amidst the waves, and marks the separation between the Solent sea and the Southampton river.'

Further to the eastward is Binstead, much celebrated for its beauty.

'The shore here is very steep, and wooded absolutely into the water; a small cove forms the nearest distance; and, beyond the projecting point of this cove, the shipping of Portsmouth harbour, now seen in a nearer view, is a noble assemblage of all that the commercial or armed Navy of England can exhibit. The anchorage of the Motherbank reaches quite to Binstead, and even further to the west; and, when the great convoys were collecting in the channel from thence to St Helen's, a distance of eight miles has often been seen covered with vessels, to the amount of many hundreds. The sailing of one of those great convoys, in a beautifully clear day, with a light air, which permitted every sail to be spread, was one of the most interesting sights I ever beheld. The blue waters in the distance were almost hidden by the snow-white cloud of sails, which, as the vessels approached, separated into detached groups, and, still nearing, passed in rapid succession, as I viewed the scene from the heights above *Cowes*.

'The foot-path from Ryde to St John's, crosses a small and rather marshy meadow, with a streamlet passing through it, having a stone-arched bridge, and a sluice to keep out the tides. Near this stream several rows of graves still rise above the general level of the turf. These I had often noticed, without a suspicion of what they really were; till one day meeting an old fisherman, I asked him why those heaps, so like graves, had been thrown up. The man, in a low tone,

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and with a sort of sullen look, said—" They *are* graves;—the bodies cast ashore, after the loss of the Royal George, were buried here. We did not much like drawing a net hereabouts for some weeks afterwards:—we were always bringing up a corpse." The sudden and melancholy effect of this narrative; the peculiar contrast of the cheerful, though very retired look of this little green flat, with the sad records that almost ceased to mark its surface, suggested the following lines, which I hope my readers will excuse me for inserting.

' Thou! who dost tread this smooth and verdant mead,
Viewing delighted, the fair hills that rise
On either hand, a sylvan theatre:
While in the front with snowy pinions closed,
And thunders silent, Britain's Guardian fleet
On the deep bosom of the azure sea
Reposes awful: Pass not heedless by
These mouldering heaps which the blue spiry grass
Scarce guards from mingling with the common earth.
Mark! in how many a melancholy rank
The graves are marshall'd.—Dost thou know the fate
Disastrous, of their tenants? Hushed the winds,
And smooth the billows, when an unseen hand
Smote the great ship, and reft her massy beams:
She reeled and sunk:—Over her swarming decks
The flashing wave in horrid whirlpool rushed;
While from a thousand throats, one wailing shriek
Burst, and was heard no more.—
Then day by day,
The ebbing tide left frequent on the sand
The livid corpse; and his o'er-loaded net
The shuddering fisher loathed to drag ashore.
And here, by friends unknown, unmark'd, unwept,
They rest.—Refuse not thou a passing sigh,
And wish a quiet consummation:
For in thy country's service these men died.'

On going along the same coast, between St John's and the sea, on a platform about fifty feet above the water, stands the mansion of Appley, which may be taken as the most perfect specimen of the beauties characteristic of this little island.

' It is,' says SIR HENRY, ' perhaps the most enchanting of all the spots in this most beautiful tract of country. Its elevation above the sea is sufficient to command, in the most perfect manner, every object on it, while it is not too much raised to enjoy the near view of the waves in all their varieties breaking on the shore, or the enchanting sound of their murmur as they die away on the beach. This coast is so sheltered, that it seldom happens that the most violent storm excites a great swell on it, which, however sublime, would ill suit the quiet and peaceful character of this sweet retreat. The house

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is of old brick, grown to an extremely pleasing grey tint: A small velvet lawn in its front separates it from the brow of the cliff, which is very steep, and covered with the most beautiful vegetation. With the oak, ash, and hazel, the universal growth of the shore, are happily mixed most of the hardy flowering shrubs and evergreens, which, without formality, not only add variety to the woods, but mark cultivation so essential near a dwelling house. A small cove to the east, called Puckpool Bay, forms the nearest distance of the sea. This bay is overhung by a noble wood, which rises in a great mass up the side of an hill of no inconsiderable height. From this steep bank a long point of lower land projects into the sea, not, however, flat or marshy, but having a rocky point from thirty to forty feet high. Over this land the sea is again visible; and Nettleston Point forms another bay. The anchorage of St Helen's is just beyond; and every vessel that comes to Portsmouth from the eastward is seen for a long time passing this part of the view. In front, Portsmouth, so often mentioned, is viewed to the greatest advantage; and the western prospect commands the village of Ryde, with the busy scene of its small craft and wherries.'

What are called the *Chines*, form a species of scenery quite peculiar and different from any other in the island. They are scattered along the whole of the southern coast; and seem all to owe their origin to one common cause, the gradual action of the small streams of water which descend from the interior of the island into the sea, and, falling over the edge of the perpendicular clay cliffs, have worn for themselves deep gullies, some of which recede to a considerable distance within the shore, continually increasing their dimensions, and often changing their forms.

'The most eastern of these, and the most celebrated, is Shanklin Chine. The cliff, where the stream which forms it enters the sea, is about one hundred feet in height; and the chasm is perhaps one hundred and fifty feet wide at the top, and at the bottom not much wider than the channel of the stream. The sides are very steep, and in most places clothed with rich underwood, overhanging the naked sides. At a small distance within the mouth, on a terrace just large enough to afford a walk to their doors, stand two small cottages, at different elevations. Rude flights of steps descend to them from the top; and an excavation from the sandy rock forms a skittle-ground to one of them, overshadowed by the spray of young oaks. During the war, a sentinel was placed on a prominent point of the slope, and added much to the scenery. After proceeding about a hundred yards in a direct line from the shore, the chasm makes a sudden bend to the left, and grows much narrower. Its sides are nearly perpendicular, and but little shrubbry breaks their naked surface. The chasm continues winding and decreasing in breadth, till it terminates in an extremely narrow fissure, down which the rill which has formed

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the whole, falls about thirty feet. The quantity of water is in general so small, that the cascade is scarcely worth viewing; but, after great rains, it must be very pretty. The sides of the gloomy hollow in which it falls, are of the blackish indurated clay, of which the greater part of the soil hereabouts is composed, and the damp of the waters has covered most parts of it with shining green lichens, and mosses of various shades. The brushwood which grows on the brow on either side, overhangs, so as nearly to meet; and the whole scene, though it cannot be considered as magnificent, is certainly striking and grotesque. Above the fall, the stream continues to run in a deep and shady channel, quite to the foot of the hills in which it takes its rise.'

It is evident that excavations of this kind can only be produced where water flows over a bank consisting of clay, or some other material that is soft enough to be readily cut into by a small stream, and, at the same time, tenacious and tough enough to maintain the edges of the cut steep or perpendicular. Wherever this is the case, what is here called a *Chine* may be produced. They abound on the south side of the Isle of Wight; and several more are described in the work before us. The name of Chine is somewhat peculiar. In its literal signification, it is the part of the back in which the spine or back-bone is contained; and it is no doubt from some supposed analogy with this, that the term is here applied. It seems to have been so used by Dryden, when he employs it as a verb;—*He that did chine the long-ribbed Appenine.*

The scenery in this island which borders most upon the sublime and magnificent, is that of the chalk cliffs, particularly at the east end of the island, about the Needles and Alum Bay, Whitecliff Bay, &c. Some of these cliffs are quite perpendicular, and not less than 400 feet, or even 600 in height. The whole scenery of Alum Bay is superior in magnificence to that of any other part of the island.

'The chalk forms an unbroken face, everywhere nearly perpendicular, and, in some parts, formidably projecting; and the tenderest stains of ochreous yellow, and greenish moist vegetation, vary, without breaking, its sublime uniformity. This vast wall extends more than a quarter of a mile, and is hardly less than 400 feet in height; its termination is a thin edge, not perpendicular, but of a bold broken outline; and the wedge-like Needle rocks, arising out of the blue waters, seem to continue the cliff beyond its present boundary, and give an awful impression of the stormy ages which have gradually devoured its enormous mass. The chalk rising from the sea nearly perpendicular, being totally in the shadow, while, opposed to the blue sky above, and the pellucid green of the sea at its foot, it has a sort of aerial tint, as if it were semitransparent;

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while here and there a projecting point of the edge of the cliff, catching the sunshine, is of a whiteness so transplendent that it seems to sparkle by its own native light.

'The magical repose of this side of the bay is wonderfully contrasted by the torn forms and vivid colouring of the clay cliffs on the opposite side. These do not present rounded headlands, covered with turf and shrubs, as in some other parts of the coast, but offer a series of points which are often quite sharp and spiry. Deep, rugged chasms divide the strata in many places, and not a vestige of vegetation appears in any part. The tints of the cliff are so bright and so varied, that they have not the appearance of any thing natural. Deep purplish red, dusky blue, bright ochreous yellow, grey and black succeed one another, as sharply defined as the stripes in silk.'

From this description, it is evident that few places present a greater contrast within a small compass, than the two opposite sides of Alum Bay. To this very beautiful and excellent description, we shall add that of the prospect from the lofty headland, where the light-house is situated a little to the south of this bay.

'The contrast of the clearness of the air towards the land, and over the sea, is more striking from this point than any other, though it can scarcely fail of being observed from most of the elevated spots in the island. Towards the land, the whole prospect, when I viewed it in a very fine day, was bright and distinct: The Solent sea, of a deep azure, was studded with white sails shining like silver; and the distant hills of Hampshire melted into the air in the most pearly clearness. Over the sea hung an haze, which dulled every object, and its horizon was faint and indistinct. It is a very remarkable fact, that although the land behind Cherbourg is as high as Beachy-head, and full ten miles nearer to St Catherine's * hill, no person ever saw or heard of its being seen from thence; while, in clear weather, Beachy-head is almost constantly visible. It seems not easy to account for this, particularly as the line of vision to both these points passes directly over the sea, without any land whatever intervening; so that any vapour arising from the water ought to operate equally in each case.'

We pass over the antiquities:—those in the island are not numerous or striking, and afford but few subjects in which the antiquary can display much knowledge or research. We must observe, however, that it is to give a very imperfect idea of the beauty or value of this work, to speak only of the descriptions, or, in general, of the letter-press which it contains. The engravings, by which it is illustrated, are very striking and very finely executed. The drawings were made by SIR HENRY ENGLEFIELD, or by MR WEBSTER, of whose share in the compo-

* The hill on which the light-house stands.

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sition of this work we are to speak more hereafter. They are engraved by Mr Cooke in a masterly style. They are numerous, and possess the singular advantage of giving the true mineralogical character of the rocks, where the scenery admits of it, combined with great force of execution and grandeur of effect. To the effect, indeed, this circumstance very materially contributes; and, we hope, one of the advantages derived to artists from the perusal of this volume, will be a conviction, that attention to the real characters of rocks, and the correct representation of them, tend to give a truth and reality to their landscapes which could not otherwise be attained. Observers, who have never attended much to these characters, will recognise them as real objects when presented by the draughtsman or the painter, and will feel that the justness and force of the impression are both essentially improved. We have great pleasure in anticipating such consequences from the work before us; and we have learned, with great satisfaction, that they have already begun to be felt. We should be led into too much detail, if we were to enter minutely into the consideration of the engravings. We cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of mentioning some of them. Plate 3d is a view of the cliffs at Dunnose, by Sir Henry Englefield. The perpendicular and parallel fissures, which give these cliffs a very peculiar character, are copied from nature; and so are the masses in the fore ground, which having separated and slid down from the face of the cliff, have fallen, as it were, backwards. The effect of the whole is very striking. Freshwater Cave, which is the 6th plate, is remarkable for its strong and characteristic features. Plate 4th is a view of one of the Chines, viz. Blackgang Chine, and gives a very accurate idea of this kind of ravine, and of the small rill of water to which these curious excavations owe their origin. The waterfall here is 74 feet in height. Among the plates destined to illustrate the antiquities, &c. we would particularly remark Ivyhouse, plate 10th; Quarr-abbey, plate 12th.—The plates amount in all to 50, beside the charts.

After Sir Henry Englefield had finished his observations, as they did not extend to all the objects he wished to embrace, he prevailed on Mr Thomas Webster, well known by his communications to the Geological Society, to undertake the completion of the work; and to his additional observations, which are chiefly geological, we are indebted for a great deal of valuable information. They indeed do great honour to Mr Webster, both as a geologist and a draughtsman. We select, as a specimen, some of the remarks which he has made on the vertical strata of Alum Bay, already frequently mentioned. The beds of clay on

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the north side of that bay, which lean against the vertical strata of chalk, he considers as belonging to those beds that lie above the chalk in the southern counties of England. These beds of clay, though their order is not completely ascertained, are known to lie immediately on that division of the chalk formation which contains in it nodules of flint. The same, making allowance for their change of position, in respect to the horizon, is the relation in which the beds of clay and the strata of chalk stand to one another at Alum Bay. The north part, therefore, of the Isle of Wight must be considered as consisting of beds which lie above the chalk.

With respect to the chalk formation, Mr Webster remarks, that in no part of England have extensive limestone strata been found over the chalk; but that, in France, the contrary happens; so that there appear to be limestone rocks of later formation than those of chalk. He thinks that, in the Isle of Wight, there are appearances of the same thing; and that some of the limestone rocks belong to the fresh-water formation described by CUVIER and BROGNIART, as existing in the basin of Paris. It appears to him probable, that a chalk basin has existed in the Isle of Wight similar to that at Paris; and that they are both filled with horizontal depositions, some of which are calcareous.

With respect to the vertical position of so large a portion of these strata, so well and so strikingly exhibited by the shores of this Island, the same accurate observer has made some important remarks.

'That all the modern strata have been originally formed in a horizontal manner, or nearly so, appears to be the most reasonable supposition; and the numerous fossils and other marine exuviæ, demonstrate that they had their origin at the bottom of an ocean. It is impossible to view the vertical strata of clay, sand, and other substances composing the cliffs of Alum Bay, without feeling assured that they were not originally formed in the vertical position in which we now see them. If any doubt could be entertained of this conclusion, it must be entirely removed, on observing among them several vertical layers of rounded flint pebbles in the strata of loose sand. The whole of these, therefore, must have been at one time horizontal; and the same reasoning applies also to the chalk. But by what cause was such a change produced? How could such prodigious masses alter their position so considerably?' To these two questions, however, Mr Webster gives no answer; but remarks, that whether the continents have been elevated above the surface of the sea by some power acting from below; or whe-

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ther the bed of the sea has been occasioned by a subsidence, and the land left dry by the gradually diminishing level of the ocean, are questions that have long divided geologists. The change, however, from whatever cause it happened, must have taken place after the formation of the beds of clay; because those beds belong to the series whose position has been altered.

One of Mr Webster's objects, and one truly scientific, was to observe if the verticity, or the disturbed condition of the strata in the Isle of Wight extended to the coast of Dorsetshire. He has accordingly described the phenomena which he observed on this latter coast, particularly at Handfast Point. He there met with strata of chalk exceedingly hard, so as hardly to be scratched with the nail, and these same strata either bent and turned upward, or highly inclined. What is remarkable was, that, at some distance from the curved strata, where the chalk is horizontal, it resumes its usual softness. Some of these strata are quite vertical; and the curved strata rest upon them with their concavity upward. It is not to be understood by this, that the curved strata are on the top of the vertical;—they are at one side, and lean against them.

The 27th plate represents this remarkable spot; and Mr Webster, in speaking of it, says very truly, that it exhibits one of the most curious geological phenomena yet observed in this country; and, what is scarcely less extraordinary, it had hitherto entirely escaped observation. 'No one had yet noticed strata of chalk *quite* vertical; and the curved strata resting upon these, with the peculiar state of the flinty nodules, have not only no parallel in this Island, but, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot be accounted for in a satisfactory manner.'

The state of the flints to which he here alludes, is, that these flints which were in vertical layers at the usual distance from each other, were not only much shattered, but appeared to have been reduced to fragments, while the chalk was yet in a soft state: for the fragments were in general separated from each other, with chalk between them. Nor was this chalk only in a small quantity,—such as might be supposed to arise from infiltration; but the broken pieces of flint were often at such distances, that it appeared impossible that they could have been so far removed, had the chalk been solid at the instant of fracture. The same distance between the fragments of the broken flint is not always observed, every gradation being visible from flints in such condition as they are found in, in the Isle of Wight, to those that have just been described. The fact here stated is the more valuable, that it proves, as Mr Webster has very well remarked, that the shattering of the flints took place

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previously to the induration of the chalk. We agree with Mr Webster also, in admitting, that the cause of these phenomena is very difficult to be ascertained; though we are not sure that one is authorized to say, that, in the present state of our knowledge, the explanation is impossible to be given. In a science which varies its form so much, and receives such rapid improvements as geology has done within these few years, it is not easy to ascertain its precise state at any one moment; and it is hardly safe to conclude, though a particular explanation, or a particular discovery is not known in a given place, that, therefore, it is not known at all, and, with respect to science, has yet no existence. It seems very probable, indeed, that the geologists who admit of no disturbance in the mineral kingdom, but such as has arisen from the gravity of the masses, or their subsidence towards those parts where their support was insufficient, can discover nothing that promises to explain such curved and perpendicular strata as those at Handfast Point. It is not, however, for that reason altogether certain, that they who admit the action of subterraneous heat, or the expansive force and powerful agency of fire in the interior of the earth, must find themselves reduced to the same difficulties. The curved strata at the spot just mentioned, in the form of circular arches, with their concavity turned upwards, seem much more likely to have derived their form from an impulse that acted from below, than to one which acted from above, and though we do not pretend to offer any explanation of the appearances, we are by no means certain that such explanation is impossible, or that the principles of it are at present unknown. We must also observe, that though the phenomena now treated of, are perhaps unparalleled among the chalk strata, they are by no means unexampled in other rocks of secondary, and, speaking comparatively, of recent formation. The coal strata are frequently set on edge, and in such cases exhibit appearances not very unlike those of the Dorsetshire coast.

When speaking of the perpendicular strata in the Isle of Wight itself, Mr Webster has hinted an opinion, that these strata must heretofore have had the form of an arch. In this notion, we think there is considerable probability; but we wish that the author had unfolded his idea more completely, and described the position of the arch, or arches, the span, the abutments, and other circumstances. This would have rendered wha the very well denominates the *restoration* of the strata, much more complete.

We must now take leave of this work, but cannot do so without expressing our opinion, that though England abounds in local descriptions of scenery, natural history, antiquities, &c.

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more perhaps than any country of Europe, none of them with which we are acquainted, for the excellence of the descriptions, the execution of the drawings, the style of elegance and good taste that runs through the whole, admit of a comparison with the present work. SIR HENRY ENGLEFIELD is well known in the literary world as a man of taste, of extensive, various, and accurate information; and the description of the Isle of Wight is a work, in all respects, worthy of a person distinguished by the possession of such accomplishments.

ART. VI. *Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos; including Translations from their Principal Works.* In four vol. 4to. By W. WARD. Serampore, Printed at the Mission-Press. 1811.

2. *A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos; including a Minute Description of their Manners and Customs, and Translations from their Principal Works.* By the Rev. W. WARD, one of the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, Bengal. The Third Edition, carefully abridged and greatly improved. 2 vol. 8vo. London. 1817.

3. *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India; and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil.* By the Abbé J. A. DUBOIS, Missionary in the Mysore. Translated from the French Manuscript. 4to. pp. 594.

HUMAN nature has never perhaps put on a more singular appearance than in that part of Asia where we have now established to ourselves so great a dominion: And it happens rather unfortunately, that with all our opportunities of observation, our information on the subject should hitherto have been not merely imperfect, but incorrect. The extraordinary aspect of society, which is there presented to us, seems to have attracted the attention of those chiefly who had a natural taste for the marvellous—and this taste has naturally made their accounts of it rather more marvellous than intelligible—and tended more to increase our wonder at the peculiarities of the Hindu character, than to enable us either to appretiate or to explain it. Though agreeing in their notions of the strangeness of this character, these reporters, however, are as far as possible from agreeing as to its merit. By one class it is extravagantly praised, and not only admired, but almost adored. By another, it is represented as exciting a deeper disgust, and a greater contempt and abhorrence, than that of any other portion of the race. Between these, there is hardly any medium; almost all

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our informants ranging themselves in one or the other class, with scarcely any exception. It is remarkable, too, that of these classes, the one have chiefly employed themselves in contemplating the languages, literature, and history of the Indians; the other, their religion. The first class have chiefly consisted of linguists and antiquaries; the second, of religious missionaries, or of persons to whom the propagation of Christianity in India has appeared a matter of first rate importance. The leaning to the marvellous, though not equal, has been pretty strong on both sides; and, consequently, there is considerable reason to conclude, that the state in which human nature appears among the Hindus, has not been very well understood by either party.

The works before us are the works of two missionaries; and are of very considerable importance, as adding, more largely perhaps than any previous publications, to that stock of materials out of which an accurate knowledge of the state of society, in Hindustan, must ultimately be drawn.

The two, of which the titles are first mentioned, are not only by the same author, but they are essentially the same work;—the smaller work, printed in England, being chiefly an abridgement of the longer one, printed in India. Of the longer work, few copies, we believe, have reached England; that which is now before us is the only one we ever saw—and that is of the first edition; though, by the declaration that the reprint now made in England is the third edition, it appears that a second had been published in India. Mr Ward, the author, who so abundantly displays his familiar acquaintance with the primitive language of the natives, as well as their modern dialects, informs us, in the preface to his first edition, that he had then, in the year 1811, been 'diligently endeavouring, during a residence 'of more than eleven years in Bengal, to make himself acquainted with the works, religion, manners and customs of the Hindus, and spent all the leisure of ten years in making translations for, and completing this work; and that he hopes the materials here collected will be found to furnish a more correct and complete account of the Shastrŭs, religion, manners, and customs of the Hindus, than any thing which hitherto has been published on these subjects. With regard to the facts here given,' he adds, 'the author's acquaintance with the Bengalee language, and his familiar intercourse with the natives of all castes, enable him to speak with certainty. He has often perceived the errors of many writers on Hindoo customs, but the unpleasant nature of the task has made him forbear exposing their mistakes, and content himself with laying before the public simple and unextenuated facts.'

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The Abbé Dubois, we understand, is one of those French emigrants who fled from their country during the storms of the Revolution. He chose India for the place of his exile; and employed himself in the humble, but honourable and useful labours of a missionary. He himself informs us, that the present work was composed, after 'a residence of between seventeen and 'eighteen years among the people whom he describes, and a 'close and familiar intercourse with persons of every caste and 'condition of life, through the great number of districts which 'he had traversed.'

He adds, 'During the long period that I remained amongst 'the natives, I made it my constant rule to live as they did; 'conforming exactly in all things to their manners, to their 'style of living and clothing, and even to most of their preju-'dices. In this way, I became quite familiar with the various 'tribes that compose the Indian nation, and acquired the con-'fidence of those whose aid was most necessary for the pur-'poses of my work.' Colonel Wilks, who was acting Resident in Mysore, the principal scene of the Abbé's peregrinations, in an official letter to the Madras Presidency, describes him as a man 'who had lived amongst the Hindus as one of 'themselves; and, in proof of the respect which his irre-'proachable conduct inspires, it may be sufficient to state, that 'when travelling, on his approach to a village, the house of a 'Brahman is uniformly cleared for his reception, without inter-'ference, and generally without communication to the officers 'of government, as a spontaneous mark of deference and re-'spect.'

The manuscript of the Abbé's work was offered to the Madras government, and by them very judiciously purchased; both because the author himself was destitute of the means of publishing it, and because the servants of the Company, to whom the information it contained was of the highest value, have frequently so little means of acquiring it, that they must, in many cases, remain in a state of the greatest ignorance with regard to the people whose destiny is placed in their hands. The declaration of the President of the Council of Madras, on this last subject, is both so important and so unambiguous, that it is fit the reader should see it in the original terms.

'The result,' says that Governor, 'of my own observation, during my residence in India, is, that the Europeans generally know little or nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindoos. We are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts, which all who run may read; but their manner of thinking, their domestic habits and ceremonies, in which circumstances a knowledge of the people consists, is, I fear, in great part wanting to us. We understand

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very imperfectly their language. They perhaps know more of ours; but their knowledge is by no means sufficiently extensive to give a description of subjects not easily represented by the insulated words in daily use. We do not, we cannot, associate with the natives. We cannot see them in their houses, and with their families. We are necessarily very much confined to our houses by the heat; all our wants and business, which would create a greater intercourse with the natives, is done for us; and we are in fact strangers in the land.'

It has not hitherto been duly considered, how much we are likely to be indebted to the missionaries for all correct or particular information with regard to the Hindus. It is well known by what prejudices of religion they are separated from the rest of mankind. A Hindu can scarcely, without being defiled, hold any species of intercourse with any man of a different religion from himself; above all things, he cannot admit him into his house, or be seen by him while discharging the most ordinary functions of life; and consequently, a knowledge of the manner in which the Hindus live in their houses, and act and converse among themselves, can only be attained by Europeans with the greatest difficulty and contrivance. Now, it unfortunately happens, that the situation of the Company's servants is the worst calculated for contending with those peculiar difficulties; while, on the other hand, that of the missionaries is the best calculated, both for contending with them and overcoming them.

The Company's servants are the masters and rulers of the land. It is their province to command—not to flatter, insinuate, or persuade. Besides, an Indian never appears before a man of power without a mask, and a mask of the most impenetrable kind; and if the Company's servant were disposed to encounter all the difficulties necessary for a personal intercourse with the natives, he has not the time. Attached to some office, or charged with some specific duty, his hours are in general occupied with a series of operations which cannot be neglected or postponed.

The situation of the missionary is different in every respect. His end is to be gained by personal intercourse with the native, and by nothing else.—He must learn his language, in order to be able to address him—He must study his character, in order to address him with effect—He must find out the channel which affords the easiest access to his heart—He must make himself acquainted with all those prejudices, any rash interference with which, might alienate him from the doctrine which he wishes him to embrace. In his humble situation, there is nothing to excite hopes or fears, or consequently to lead to disguise. He approaches his future disciple with the caution and delicacy

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which are inspired by the disposition not to offend, and with that persevering courtship which is dictated by a strong motive to acquire his confidence. In this manner, we might have concluded *a priori* that great effects would be produced, even upon the intractable feelings of the Hindus. By the instance of the Abbé Dubois, we have experimental proof that there is in fact nothing which may not be done. The peculiarities of the Hindus are not so very unalterable as they have been represented; and indeed, it is our firm persuasion, that there is no 'indelible character' in the world.

Of the two works before us, that of the English missionary is confined almost wholly to the religion of the Hindus; that of the French missionary almost wholly to the priests.

The first volume of Mr Ward's English publication, after a very long introduction, which contains an admirable view of the whole subject, gives us an account of the 'objects of worship.' The second volume describes the temples, the images, the priests, the stated periods of worship, and the rites and ceremonies; after this, the doctrines of the Hindu religion; next, the Hindu saints or mendicants; and lastly, the Hindu sects, including the collateral branches, the Baudhas, the Jainas, or Jains, and the Sikhs.

The work of the Abbé is divided into three parts. Of these, the first two are devoted almost exclusively to the priests. The third is entitled, 'Of Religion;' but it contains four short chapters, filling altogether only 37 pages; one on 'the Exercise of Justice, Civil and Criminal;' another, on 'the Hindu Fables;' one on 'the Hindu Tales;' and another, on 'the Military System of India.' There is also an appendix, 'on the Sect of the Jainas, and the Principal Differences between them and the Brahmans,' consisting of 19 pages.

Of what relates, then, to the ministers of religion, and the system which they uphold, it may be supposed that we have at last obtained, from these two well informed and voluminous authors, an account, on the correctness and completeness of which we may pretty confidently rely: and though it is much to be regretted that men who possessed such peculiar advantages for giving us information respecting the ordinary business of life among the Hindus, should have attached themselves so exclusively to the subject of religion, it is but fair to recollect, that religion constitutes the grand feature in the aspect of Hindu society. After the business of providing the means of subsistence, which must everywhere be the principal concern, there is nothing of so much importance in the state of Hindu society as religion. It is this which gives its colour to the whole tissue of life. It is this which occupies the principal part of

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the time of the Hindu, and is the principal instrument in the formation of his character. It is this ingredient, therefore, in the cup of life, on which the most philosophical observer would first fix his eye in surveying the people of Hindustan.

Nor is this characteristic of Hindu society, though more strongly marked among that people than any other portion of mankind, by any means confined to that peculiar race. There is a stage in the progress of civilization at which religion always forms the principal figure in the picture of society, and appears the grand agent in shaping the business of human life. This is a fact of great importance in the history of human nature, and may well deserve a few words of elucidation.

The stage of civilization at which this remarkable phenomenon appears, is neither the lowest of all—nor the highest, by any means. It is rather one of the stages which immediately follows, and is very near the lowest. It is not the lowest of all, because, in that situation, the business of providing the means of subsistence is so laborious and distressing, as to occupy the mind entirely, and leave little room for any other thought; and, leaving no man any thing to give to a priest, to create a motive to no man for becoming a priest.

On the other hand, the mere ritual of religion never spreads itself far over the field of thought and action at a stage of any great mental improvement; because, in proportion as the human mind improves, its notions of the attributes of God are elevated; and elevated notions of the great object of religion are altogether inconsistent with the tyranny of its formal observances. Whenever the Divine Being is distinctly conceived as a being of infinite wisdom and goodness, all frivolous acts performed as service to him are instantly discarded. They are immediately seen to be acts which none but a being of very limited wisdom and goodness can possibly approve. No acts can be supposed to be acceptable to a Being of perfect wisdom and goodness but such as are conducive to some useful end, that is, to increase the happiness of sensitive beings. In proportion, therefore, as civilization advances, and the human mind is improved, services to mankind come more and more to be regarded as the only services of religion; and beneficence and inward piety are nearly all in all.

These conclusions, incontestable as they appear, do not rest solely on reasonings *a priori*: they are confirmed by an appeal to history, in every age and quarter of the globe. In our own country, and in the rest of Europe, it was during those rude and barbarous times, when, in half a kingdom, a priest could hardly be found who could read his breviary, that the business of religion engrossed the greatest portion of human life; that

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frivolous ceremonies were most excessively multiplied, as well as useless articles of faith; that false miracles abounded, and undistinguishing belief. At this moment, frivolous ceremonies are held in estimation, and occupy the time and attention of men in the different nations of Europe, exactly in proportion as the human mind, in those nations, appears to have made a less or greater progress. They are valued least of all in our own country; next in Holland, and the Protestant parts of Switzerland and Germany; and, after them, in France. Now, these are precisely the most enlightened parts of Europe. On the other hand, the least enlightened parts are Spain, Portugal, and Russia; and these, accordingly, are the places in which worthless acts, and worthless and pernicious tenets of religion, exercise the greatest influence upon human life.

The priests, and the system of thoughts and actions which they uphold, form so very extensive and complicated a subject among the Hindus, that it is impossible for us to attempt so much as an abridgement of what is presented to us in the works before us. We must content ourselves with endeavouring to convey some slight idea of the more remarkable particulars.

One of the most remarkable, certainly, is that very extent and complexity of which we have been speaking, of which it is not easy, without a pretty minute investigation, to form any thing like a tolerable conception. One fact, indeed, may be very shortly stated, and it conveys a great deal of information. The number of the Hindu gods is not less than three hundred and thirty millions!

In regard to articles of belief, if we except some vague and fluctuating opinions respecting the existence of invisible, intelligent powers, and a future state of existence, it is doubtful whether the Hindus, till they borrowed them, at a recent period, had any thing to which that name could be applied. Articles of belief should mean certain fixed propositions, with regard to the Divine nature and the Divine will. But no such thing appears in the early monuments of the Hindu religion. They have legends without number; and every man appears to have assumed the right of ascribing any such actions and any such intentions to his god, as he himself might think proper at the time. If he ascribed one set of them to-day, and another set, altogether inconsistent, to-morrow, that was a matter of no consequence. It is one of the privileges of a Hindu god to change his mind as often as he pleases. And as for inconsistent actions, or contradictory opinions, it would be a hard thing indeed if a god could not reconcile impossibilities.

The character which the Hindus ascribe to each of their gods, is uniformly that of a man with indefinite power to gra-

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tify all his passions, and who goes on gratifying them, wholly incapable of self-restraint, and wholly regardless of the mischief which that gratification may bring upon other beings. Though of different propensities, one of them being addicted to the pleasures of sensuality, another to cruelty, and so on; yet all are wicked to a degree far surpassing the limit of human depravity. The following is a correct summary, presented by Mr Ward.

'The doctrine of a plurality of gods, with their consequent intrigues, criminal amours, quarrels, and stratagems to counteract each other, has produced the most fatal effects on the minds of men. Can we expect a people to be better than their gods? Brumha was inflamed with evil desires towards his own daughter. Vishnoo, when incarnate as Bamunu, deceived King Bulee, and deprived him of his kingdom. Shivu's wife was constantly jealous on account of his amours; and charged him with associating with the women of a low caste at Cooch-Behar. The story of Shivu and Mohinee, a female form of Vishnoo, is shockingly indelicate. Vrihusputee, the spiritual guide of the gods, committed a rape on his eldest brother's wife. Indra was guilty of dishonouring the wife of his spiritual guide. Sooryu ravished a virgin named Koontee. Yumu, in a passion, kicked his own mother, who cursed him, and afflicted him with a swelled leg, which to this day the worms are constantly devouring. Ugnee was inflamed with evil desires towards six virgins, the daughters of as many sages; but was overawed by the presence of his wife. Buluramu was a great drunkard. Vayoo was cursed by Dukshu, for making his daughters crooked when they refused his embraces: He is also charged with a scandalous connexion with a female monkey. When Vuroonu was walking in his own heaven, he was so smitten with the charms of Oorvushee, a courtesan, that, after a long contest, she was scarcely able to extricate herself from him. Krishnu's thefts, wars, and adulteries, are so numerous, that his whole history seems to be one uninterrupted series of crimes. In the images of Kalee, she is represented as treading on the breast of her husband. Lucksamee and Suruswutee, the wives of Vishnoo, were continually quarrelling. It is worthy of inquiry, how the world is governed by these gods, more wicked than men. Let us open the Hindoo sacred writings; here we see the Creator and the Preserver perpetually counteracting each other. Sometimes the Preserver is destroying; and, at other times, the Destroyer is preserving. On a certain occasion, Skivu granted to the great enemy of the gods, Ravunu, a blessing which set all their hearers in an uproar, and drove the 330 millions of gods into a state of desperation. Brumha created Koombu-Kurnu, a monster larger than the whole island of Lunka; but was obliged to doom him to an almost perpetual sleep, to prevent his producing an universal famine. This god is often represented as bestowing a blessing, to remove the effects of which Vishnoo is obliged to become incarnate: nay, these effects have not, in some cases, been removed, till all the gods have been dispossessed of their

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thrones, and obliged to go a-begging; till all human affairs have been thrown into confusion, and all the elements seized and turned against the Creator, the Preserver, and the Reproducer. When some giant, blessed by Brumha, has destroyed the creation, Vishnoo and Shivu have been applied to; but they have confessed that they could do nothing for the tottering universe.'

Besides gods and goddesses, numerous as we have already declared, the Hindus, who are fond of giving worship, have provided other objects of it in great abundance; and found them in every kingdom of nature—in the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdom.

In the first rank, of course, are the priests. 'Where the 'claims of the Bramhuns have been disputed by any one, I have 'seen,' says Mr Ward, 'the poor besotted shoodru prostrate 'himself at the feet of the nearest bramhun, and, raising his 'head, and closing his hands, say—"You are my god." At 'the same time, the character of the bramhun has perhaps 'been notorious for every vice.'

Not only bramhuns, but the daughters of bramhuns, and the wives of bramhuns, are objects of worship. There is an occasion, on which, in a private assemblage of men and women, a female is worshipped, naked, with a variety of ceremonies, some of which are of the sort which may easily be conceived. 'Here,' says Mr Ward, 'things too abominable to enter the 'ears of man, and impossible to be revealed to a Christian pub-'lic, are contained in the directions of the Shastru. The learn-'ed bramhun, who opened to me these abominations, made 'several efforts—paused, and began again—and then paused 'again—before he could mention the shocking indecencies pre-'scribed by his own Shastrus.'

The worship of the cow is a well known part of the Hindu religion. They worship, also, monkeys, dogs, shackals; on particular occasions, the elephant, the lion, the bull, the buffalo, the rat, the deer, the goat, and various others; many species of birds, as the kite, the wagtail, the peacock, the goose, the owl; a great variety of trees, and other plants. The worship of rivers is another celebrated part of their religion. Among the most remarkable of these objects of their worship, are the Ganges, the Godavery, the Nerbudda. Mr Ward, after giving his readers the names of thirty, adds—'and many other ri-'vers are mentioned in the Hindoo Shastrus as sacred.' All the fish of certain rivers are objects of worship. There are also particular fishes, which are the objects of a particular worship.

The vedas, the inspired books, as also several of the Shastrus,

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are themselves objects of worship. 'The book to be read,' says Mr Ward, 'is always addressed as an idol.'—'At the 'festival in honour of the goddess Suruswutee, any one of the 'Shastrus is adopted and worshipped, joined with the pen and 'inkstand. The followers of Vishnoo, and especially the men-'dicant voiragees, pay a still greater reverence than the regu-'lar Hindoos to the books they esteem sacred. Their books 'relate to the amours of Krishnu, or to the mendicants Choi-'tunyu and Nityanundu.'

The last of the objects described by Mr Ward are, literally, stocks and stones.

We shall pass over the other heads, under which the authors before us give an account of the Hindu religion, and shall come to the ceremonies, which form a subject of inconceivable extent and complexity. On this part, however, we must content ourselves almost wholly with general expressions. The reader who would have an idea of the Hindu ceremonies, in almost any degree corresponding with the reality, must go into the details, and must follow, step by step, the succession of unmeaning, childish, disgusting, or mischievous acts, in which almost every hour of the life of the Hindu, if he observed the precepts of his religion, ought to be engaged.

There are weekly ceremonies, monthly ceremonies, annual festivals; and there are daily ceremonies, sufficient in number to leave but a small portion of the day unemployed. It would require many pages to set down so much as the names of these several ceremonies, many of which consist of a prodigious number of operations. Merely as a specimen, we shall select the account which is given by Mr Ward of the morning ceremonies, or those which relate to one seventh part of the day.

'Agreeably to the directions of the Anhikŭ-tultwŭ, the daily duties of a bramhŭn, walking in strict conformity to the rules of his religion, are as follow—

'He must divide the day, from five o'clock in the morning till seven at night, into several equal parts. The duties of the first part are thus described.—First, awaking from sleep, and rising up in his bed, he must repeat the names of different gods and sages, and pray that they would make the day prosperous. He must then repeat the name of Urjaonŭ, and pray to him, that whatever he may lose during the day may be restored to him; and then the names of any persons celebrated for their religious merit. Next, the names of Uhŭly-a, Dropŭdēē, Sēēta, Tara, and Mŭndodŭree. After this, he must meditate, with his eyes closed, on the form of his spiritual guide, and worship him in his mind, repeating two incantations. He now descends from his bed, placing first his right foot on the ground. On going out, if he see a Shrokiyŭ bramhŭn, a beloved and excellent wife, a cow, an Ugnihotrēē bramhŭn, or any other bramhŭn, the day will be

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auspicious. If he see a wicked or naked person, a wretched woman, distilled spirits, or a man with a great nose, the day will be inauspicious. By repeating the names of Kŭrkotŭkŭ, Dŭmŭyŭntēē, Nŭlŭ, and Retoopŭrnŭ, no quarrel will arise during the day. He must then, after discharging wind, washing his mouth, &c. go at least a hundred and ten yards from his house into the field; and taking water, choosing a clean place, scattering some grass to the S. W., tying a turban round his head, remaining silent, with his face to the north, refraining from spitting, and holding his breath, perform the offices of nature. His poita must remain on his right ear till he has washed his hands. It is unlawful to attend to the offices of nature on a road, in the shade, where cattle graze, in the fire or water, in a ploughed field, where dead bodies are burnt, upon a mountain, on the ruins of a temple, on an ant-hill, in a ditch, or by the side of a river. After this, he must go to a more clean spot, and taking some good earth, cleanse the left hand ten times, then both hands seven times, and the back of the left hand six times; then his nails; then wash his hands; each foot three times; and then rinse both feet. If he perceive any evil smell remaining on his hands or feet, he must wash them again. If the bramhŭn have no water-pot, he must wash himself in this manner in a common pool or river, and take care that he come out of the water clean. His water-pot must neither be of mixed metal, copper, nor gold; an earthen pot must be thrown away as soon as used. If the pot be of brass or silver, he must scour it well after he returns. If a bramhŭn attend not to these modes of cleansing, all his other religious actions will be void of merit.

'The bramhŭn must next attend to his morning ablutions. Taking a dry towel, he must go to a pool or river, and placing the cloth on the ground, wet his feet and hands; then perform achŭmŭnŭ, by taking up water in the palm of his right hand three times, and drinking it as it runs towards his wrist; then with his right hand touch his lips, nose, eyes, ears, navel, breast, forehead, and shoulders, repeating an incantation; wash his hands again, and perform achŭmŭnŭ, repeating an incantation; then sitting to the N. or E. before sunrise, cleanse his teeth with the end of a green stick, about six or seven inches long. If he clean his teeth after sunrise, in the next birth he will be born an insect, feeding on ordure. He must now wash from his face the mark on his forehead made the day before; then scrape and wash his tongue, taking care that the blood does not flow. If in cleansing his teeth he should make them bleed, he becomes unclean, and is disqualified for performing any religious ceremony on that day. If, however, he make his teeth bleed by the side of the Ganges, he does not become unclean.

'He must next gather flowers for worship on the banks of a pool or river. If any one forbid him, he must willingly desist; if any are given him by a bramhŭn, he must receive them; but not if a shōōdrŭ offer them: if a person have them to sell, he must give him what he asks. If, in carrying these flowers to the side of the water, a

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person of mean caste touch them, or he touch any unclean thing, he must throw them away. If a person of any caste make a bow to him while the flowers are in his hand, he must also throw them away.

'Returning to the river, and sitting in silence, he must rub himself all over with mud; then descending into the river as high as his breast, with his face towards the east or north, he must repeat certain incantations, by which (in his imagination) all other sacred rivers will flow into that in which he stands, as well as all other holy places. He must afterwards repeat many incantations, and perform moodra, viz. certain motions, by twisting his fingers into several curious shapes; then, dividing his hair behind, and bringing it into his hands before, with his thumbs he must stop his ears; with the three first fingers of each hand cover his eyes, and with his two little fingers his nostrils, and then immerse himself three or four times; then, with his hands joined, throw up water to his head; then repeat other incantations; then, taking up water with his joined hands, he must offer it three times to the sun; then washing his body, and repeating certain prayers, that he may ascend to some heaven, or receive some temporal good, he must again immerse himself in the water. After this, he must ascend to the side of the river, and wipe his body with a towel; then repeat certain forms of praise to Gŭnga, Sōōryŭ, Vishnoo, and other gods; then put dry, and newly washed cloth, round his loins, and, sitting down, cleanse his poita, by rinsing it in the water; then taking up some earth in his hand, and diluting it with water, put the middle finger of his right hand in the earth, and making a line betwixt his eyes up to the top of his forehead; then draw his three first fingers across his forehead; make a round dot with his little finger in the centre at the top of his head, another on the upper part of his nose, and another on his throat; then with his three first fingers make marks across his breast and arms; then make dots on his sides, and another on the lower part of his back. After this he must take up water in his right hand three times, and drink it.

'To this succeeds the morning sŭndhya, in which the person must offer many prayers, pour out water to different gods, repeat certain forms of praise in honour of the sun, which he must worship, and repeat the gayŭtree; then take up water with his korha, and pour it out to his deceased ancestors; after which he must return home, and read some part of the vĕdŭ.'

The reader may now have some general conception of two of the distinguishing characteristics of the Hindu religion, its quantity, and its absurdity; in which there is nothing to match it, that is or ever was, upon the surface of the globe.

We shall mention but two more of its most prominent qualities; and these are, its cruelty and its sensuality.

The self-inflicted torments of its votaries, which are so extraordinary as to constitute one of the most wonderful phenomena in the history of human nature, are too celebrated, and too commonly known, to render it necessary for us to employ in the

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description of them any portion of our very limited space. Let the tormenting postures, then; the cutting and piercing of different parts of the body; the swinging by hooks thrust through the muscles of the back; the lying upon iron spikes; falling from a height upon naked knives; walking on fire; and various other modes of torment, as well as the different species of self-sacrifice, by throwing themselves to be crushed under the wheels of an immense sacred machine; by throwing themselves from precipices, by throwing themselves into rivers, burying themselves alive, and various other contrivances, be conceived by the reader as accurately as he can from the descriptions with which he must already be acquainted. It is not so generally known, that a worse species of cruelty, forced involuntary torments, and death itself, are a part, and a remarkable part, of the Hindu religion.

It is now well known, that human sacrifices make an important part of the Hindu ceremonies. Mr Ward presents us with some translations from the sanguinary chapter of the Kalika poorana. 'It is here said that the blood of a tyger pleases the goddess for one hundred years; and the blood of a lion, a reindeer, or a man, a thousand. But by the sacrifice of three men, she is pleased 100,000 years.' Among other directions for the due performance of this sacrifice, attended with a profusion of rites, one is, that 'the victim must be a person of good appearance ..... The blind, the crippled, the aged, the sick, the afflicted with ulcers, the hermaphrodite, the imperfectly formed, the scarred, the timid, the leprous, the dwarfish, and the perpetrator of heinous offences; one under twelve years of age, one who is impure from the death of a kinsman, &c.; these severally are unfit subjects for immolation, even though rendered pure by sacred texts.'

It is a practice in some parts of India to sacrifice their children to the Ganges, by drowning them in the stream. A child is often sacrificed, by hanging it up in a basket upon a tree, where it dies in two or three days, being generally destroyed by ants or birds of prey. 'The late Mr Thomas, a missionary,' says Mr Ward, 'once saved one of these poor infants in one of the northern districts of Bengal, which had fallen out of the basket, and when a jackall was running away with it. It was afterwards claimed by and restored to the mother. As he and Mr Carey were afterwards passing under the same tree, they found a basket hanging up, containing the skeleton of another infant which had perished in the same manner.' Other modes of immolating the children are, by burying them alive, and by throwing them to the alligators. The sick and the aged are offered up, by dragging them to a sacred river,

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stuffing their mouths, their eyes and ears, with the mud, and leaving them to perish.

On the horrid sacrifice of the widow, by burning her alive on the funeral pile of her husband, it is unnecessary to dwell, because the general circumstances of it are commonly known. All that is necessary to be added is, that the two missionaries whose works are before us, very satisfactorily expose the false pretence which is artfully set up by the Bramhuns, as if this sacrifice were altogether voluntary on the part of the victim, and courted by her as the most desirable of all events. The case appears to be exceedingly different. The victim is dragged to the fatal scene, how full soever of horror and dismay, by a compulsion altogether irresistible; while everything which human artifice can devise is employed to prevent the appearances of that agony which is too frequently endured.

We shall now pass from these distinguishing characteristics of the Hindu religion, and come to another which appears to be held forth by both the missionaries from whom we have derived our present lot of information, as the most prominent and remarkable feature of the whole; we mean the abominable sensuality of which it is the cause and the apology. Without an acquaintance with the particulars, it would be very difficult to conceive the degree in which their religious ceremonies are rendered subservient to the gratification of the sexual desires. The first and overruling end of all religious contrivances to which the people have submitted, is, of course, the power of the priests. The next appears to have been, the gratification of the priests in the particular way to which we have just alluded.

The worship of the lingam (lingu, as it is spelt by Mr Ward) is well known to be one of the most distinguished parts of the worship of the Hindus. Mr Ward says,

'The worship of the lingu strongly resembles the worship of the phallus in honour of Bacchus. The Sunyasee festival, in honour of Shiva, appears to resemble much the orgies of Bacchus. In the months Voishakhoo and Kastiku, the lingu is worshipped daily in the numerous temples dedicated to this abomination throughout Bengal. It is difficult to restrain one's indignation at the shocking violation of every thing decent in this image; nor can it be ground of wonder, that a chaste woman, faithful to her husband, is scarcely to be found among all the millions of Hindoos, when their very temples are polluted with filthy images, and their acts of worship tend to inflame the mind with obscene ideas.'

Another celebrated, and important part of the religion of the Hindus, shall be given in the words of the Abbé Dubois.

'Next to the sacrificers (the priests), the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *Devadasi*, servants or slaves of the god; but they are known to the public

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by the coarser name of strumpets. Their profession, indeed, requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes; and, although originally they appear to have been intended for the gratification of the Bramhuns only, they are now obliged to extend their favours to all who solicit them.

'Such are the loose females who are consecretated in a special manner to the worship of the gods in India. Every temple, according to its size, entertains a band of them, to the number of eight, twelve, or more. The service they perform consists of dancing and singing. The first they execute with grace, though with lascivious attitudes and motions. Their chanting is generally confined to the obscene songs, which relate to some circumstance or other of the licentious lives of their gods.

'They peform their religious duties, at the temple to which they belong, twice a day, morning and evening. They are also obliged to assist at all the public ceremonies, which they enliven with their dance and merry song. As soon as their public business is over, they open their cells of infamy, and frequently convert the temple itself into a stew.

'They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant women, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service of the Pagoda; and, in doing so, they imagine that they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined, brings no disgrace on the family.

'These prostitutes are the only females in India who may learn to read, to sing, and to dance. Such accomplishments belong to them exclusively, and are, for that reason, held by the rest of the sex in such abhorrence, that every virtuous woman would consider the mention of them as an affront.

'These performers are supported out of the revenues of the temple, of which they receive a considerable share. But their dissolute profession is still more productive. In order to stimulate more briskly the passion which this lewd employment is intended to gratify, they have recourse to the same artifices as are used by persons of their sex and calling in other countries. Perfumes, elegant and attractive attire, particularly of the head; sweet-scented flowers, intertwined with exquisite art about their beautiful hair; multitudes of ornamental trinkets, adapted with infinite taste to the different parts of the body; a graceful carriage, and measured step, indicating luxurious delight; such are the allurements and the charms which these enchanting syrens display to accomplish their seductive designs.

'From infancy they are instructed in the various modes of kindling the fire of voluptuousness in the coldest hearts; and they well know how to vary their arts, and adapt them to the particular disposition of those whom they wish to seduce.'

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These females are useful to the Bramhuns, therefore, in three ways. They gratify their passions; they bring them money; and they attract much greater crowds to the festivals and the temples. Other priestesses are occasionally recruited from the grown up population, and chiefly on occasion of their great festivals.

'While the procession is going forward, the Bramhuns, who preside over the ceremony, disperse themselves among the crowd, selecting the most beautiful women they can find, and begging them of their friends for the use of the god Venagata Ramana, for whose service the choice is declared to be made. Some persons, more intelligent, or at least less stupid than the rest, and who are so well acquainted with the knavery of the Bramhuns, as to know, that it is not for a god of marble that their wives are solicited, resist them with violent reproaches, and publicly expose their impostures. Their own wives they will not deliver up; but they look on, while other more credulous husbands give up theirs, not only without repugnance, but glorying in the honour, that a person of their family should have been chosen by their deity for a wife.

'When a woman, thus obtained, and kept in the temples by the Bramhuns, in the name of the god, is declared too old for his purposes, or when he has taken any dislike to her, they make a mark on her breast, representing the arms of the Venagata Ramana, and give her a patent, which certifies that she has served a certain number of years as one of the wives of the god of Tripathi, who is now tired of her, and therefore recommending her to the charity of the public. Thus they are all dismissed in their turn; and under the appellation of Kalirjugam Laishmi they go about respected, and, wherever they appear, they are suffered to want for nothing.

The following passage from the work of the Abbé Dubois coincides almost exactly with another of Mr Ward's, relating to a very different part of India.

'The least detestable of the sacrifices made to the Saktis, are those in which the votaries content themselves with eating and drinking of every thing, without regard to the usage of the country; and when men and women, huddled promiscuously together, shamelessly violate the sacred laws of decency and modesty.

'They bring before the idol of Vishnu all sorts of meat that can be procured, without excepting that of the cow. They likewise provide abundance of arrack, the brandy of the country, of toddy, of opium, and several other intoxicating drugs. The whole is presented to Vishnu. Then, he who administers, tastes each species of meat and of liquor; after which, he gives permission to the worshippers to consume the rest. Then may be seen men and women rushing forward, tearing and devouring. One seizes a morsel, and while he gnaws it, another snatches it out of his hands; and thus it passes on from mouth to mouth, till it disappears, while fresh morsels, in succession, are making the same disgusting round. All drink out of the

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same cup, one draining what another leaves, in spite of their natural abhorrence of such a practice. When the liquors are exhausted, they have nothing left but to scramble for the leaves of betel. On such occasions, they regard not the pollution that must ensue when they eat and drink in a manner so beastly and disgusting.

'When arrived at a state of drunkenness, men and women being all indiscriminately mixed, there is no restraint on any sort of excess. A husband sees his wife in the arms of another man, and has not the right to recall her, or to find fault with what is going on. The women are there in common. All castes are confounded; and the Brahmhun is not above the Pariah.

'In some varieties of these mysteries of iniquity, still more occult than those we have alluded to, the conspicuous objects of the sacrifice to the Saktis are, a large vase filled with arrack, and a young girl quite naked, and placed in the most shameful attitude. He who sacrifices calls upon the Sakti, who is supposed by this evocation to come and take up her residence in those two objects. After the offering has been made of all that was prepared for the festival, Brahmhuns, Sudras, Pariahs, men, women, swill the arrack which was the offering to the Saktis, regardless of the same glass being used by them all, which, in ordinary cases, would excite abhorrence. Here it is a virtuous act to partake in the same morsel, and to receive from each other's mouths the half gnawn flesh. The fanatical impulse drives them to excesses, which modesty will not permit to be named.'

The history of religion presents us, in this instance, with a very singular contrast. Among the Hindus, we see that it answered the purposes of their priests to make religion an instrument of unbounded sensuality, in regard to themselves. In most other places of the globe, and, in particular, in Europe, during the dark ages, the priests made religion, or pretended to make it, an instrument of privation to themselves. How is this to be explained? In what way are results, so very opposite, to be referred to the same principles of human nature? This difficulty, though startling at first, vanishes on a little reflection; and will be found to resolve itself into the selection of different means for the attainment of the same end, where the circumstances were different.

The grand pursuit of priests, as of all other bodies of men, is power; and their peculiar object is power over the belief of men. The more unbounded that power can be rendered, the more they become, what is the grand delight of human nature, objects of consequence among their fellow men. A power over the belief of men obviously carries along with it every other sort of power; and renders those who possess it objects of greater consequence to the rest of their species, than any other sort of power could do. The ambition of the priests is, therefore, the highest of all sorts of ambition; and must, of necessity, give birth to a proportional ardour of pursuit.

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All power, however, is necessarily onerous to those over whom it is exercised. It may be exercised for their benefit; and they may therefore gain by it more than they lose: But, in itself, subjection to the power of another is always an evil. There is a principle, therefore, in human nature, by which the establishment of power is resisted. With this, of course, the priests find it necessary to contend; and curious, indeed, it is to contemplate the expedients to which, in the different ages and quarters of the world, they have had recourse for subduing it. If things are anywhere so happily situated, that, in subduing the resistance to their power, they can also obtain a license for pleasure, or even render the pleasure itself an instrument of the power, every body must perceive how strong the temptation is to unite the pleasure and the power. But if things are not so happily situated, and if, in order to secure the power, the pleasure must be sacrificed, it will, of course, be ostentatiously renounced, because the power is the prime object, and generally brings with it the means of pleasure, if not openly, at least under a slight concealment; so that scarcely any thing is lost in the end.

This diversity of circumstances is curiously exemplified in the two cases of Europe and Hindustan. In Europe, even during the dark ages, an unbounded power over the belief of mankind was not so easily acquired as in Hindustan; and therefore the priests were obliged to make greater sacrifices to attain it. But it is necessary to consider a little the nature of the means by which, in all situations, the priesthood is led to seek for power: And here we must observe, that, considered merely as a separate order of men, they must always have an interest in rendering religion, not as rational as possible, but the contrary. To render it rational, there is one course, and no other; that is, to form as accurate a conception as possible of perfect wisdom in the Deity, joined with perfect goodness, and to reason accurately from these *data*: But the slightest reflection is sufficient to show, that the moment a man can so reason, the power of the priest, with regard to him, is nearly at an end. The priest has an interest, therefore, in preventing religion from coming to this state of perfection. There is not a single historian among those whose opinions are worthy of any regard, who ascribes that perversion of Christianity which took place during the dark ages, and converted it into a mass of mischievous superstitions, to any other cause than the interest of the priests, working upon a state of the human mind which fitted it for their purpose,—a state of ignorance and credulity, and therefore prepared for the reception of delusion.

As soon as a man has a just conception of the Divine Being,

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is a Being of perfect wisdom and goodness, what possible hold can the priest have upon his mind? The advantage of the priest consists in his being able to persuade the rest of his fellow-creatures that they do not understand what is the will of the Divine Being; but that he does. If he can establish this belief in its greatest possible extent, it is evident that his power is unbounded; and, exactly in the degree in which he can establish it, is the extent of his power. But nothing is more simple than to know what is the will of a Being of perfect wisdom and goodness, which must be, in substance, that each individual should do what he can to make himself and every other being happy. But if, on the other hand, the priests can persuade the people that the will of God is something very unaccountable, guided by no principles of wisdom and goodness (for then all men would understand it), but subject to the influence of all manner of weak and wicked passions, with unbounded power for their gratification; among other things, that he is subject, in a great degree, to the influence of the malignant passions, and very apt, when not well pleased with men, to bring evil upon them, to the full extent of his power; that the mode of pleasing him is not that which would please a very wise and good man, but that which is best calculated to please a weak and wicked one,—not wise and good conduct, but excessive courtship to himself;—it is easy, in that case, for the priest to frighten the people with an idea that they cannot know the will of God, and that infinite evil may fall upon them in consequence;—but that the priest does know it; and that they can therefore do nothing better than throw themselves upon the priest, and follow implicitly his directions.

Nor is the belief of their superior knowledge the only advantage which the priests in this situation enjoy. It is easy for them to persuade the people that they are peculiar favourites with the Deity: for the people know that favourites have great influence with beings of great power and strong passions on earth. They easily, therefore, believe, that they have a like power with similar beings in heaven. The priests, in consequence, become a species of intercessors. If a man has offended the Divinity, they alone can interfere to mollify him. Their prayers only are of any value; and they invent a system of sacrifices, and other rites, for the same purpose.

It is evident that, as soon as these two points are established; first, that the priests alone know the will of the Divine Being; next, that they can intercede with him, and save mankind from the effects of his wrath, there is nothing which they may not accomplish;—their dominion over the minds of men is complete. They have then only to invent a sufficient number

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of modes in which the Divine Being may be offended; and to propagate the belief that he is, to a sufficient degree, malignant, to maintain their fellow-creatures in a perpetual state of apprehension, and, from the idea of their powers of intercession, in a state of absolute dependence upon themselves.

Such, then, is the direction which the pursuit of power by that particular order of men is sure to take, when not under proper control: and such is the direction which the history of mankind shows it has very generally taken. As no fact, in the history of human nature, therefore, is of more importance, so none is established by a stronger and more indissoluble chain of evidence.

In the course which they pursue, to make a number of modes of offending the Deity sufficiently great to keep the minds of men in a continual state of apprehension, and consequent dependence upon themselves, is found the motive for multiplying excessively ceremonies and rites. If these are so numerous and so intricate, that a man is every moment of his life in danger of neglecting, or misperforming some of them, and thereby of incurring the dreadful displeasure of an Infinite Being, his need of the priest as an intercessor is incessant, and his dependence extreme.

In Asia, it appears, all this was easily accomplished—for there the human intellect has almost always been so feeble, that men were persuaded, without difficulty, that their Deities would vindictively resent the omission of the most unmeaning ceremony. But, among our rude ancestors in Europe, and in the heart of the reign of darkness, the human mind was far stronger, than among the weak and irrational tribes of India; and, therefore, it was not so easy to establish a sufficient number of such offences to maintain the people in a state of perpetual apprehension, and thence of dependence upon the priests.

When it was found difficult, or impossible, to convert absolute frivolities, nonsensical and unmeaning acts, into modes of offending the Deity, another expedient remained. If the people could be made to believe, that the Divine Being was an enemy to human pleasure, the same end might still be attained: For men are so strongly impelled by the love of pleasure, that, if this could be converted into a mode of offending the Deity, it was certain that there would be no want of offences; consequently no want of apprehension, or of subjection to the priests.

Now, it appears from the history of all ages and nations, to be no difficult thing to persuade mankind that the Deity is so far malignant as to hate human pleasures; and that this opinion may be retained even in a pretty high state of civilization. But if it is necessary for the priests to represent the Deity as pleased

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with any peculiar species of privation, it is necessary for them to submit to that privation, in order to keep up the opinion of their being his favourites, and therefore in a situation to act as intercessors with him for his constantly offending creatures. And, in this manner, we think, it pretty satisfactorily appears, how the pursuit of the same end which was aided by the sensuality of the priests in Asia, required the ostentation at least of abstinence and mortification in Europe. This is all we have now to say on the system which the priests of India uphold; and we should proceed to say something of the priests themselves.

The general account of the priestly caste in India, we take it for granted, is familiar to our readers; that they form a distinct race from the rest of the community; and that they have been able to secure to themselves a power over their countrymen, greater than ever was acquired by any other class of men over any other portion of the human species. With regard to the ends, therefore, pursued by this class of men, the means which they employed for the attainment of them, and their general place in society, we had nothing to learn from the present authors. What they had to tell us, were matters of detail, matters serviceable for particularizing our conceptions, for giving us a knowledge of things as they now exist among that priestly race, the practices which they actually observe, and the qualities which they now display.

On all these particulars, both writers have given us important information, which none but men who follow the courses prescribed by their profession, could qualify themselves to bestow. The Abbé Dubois, however, has attached himself more peculiarly to this part of the subject, as Mr Ward has to the other. The Abbé, with opportunities peculiar to himself, has been a pretty diligent observer, and bears all the marks of a sincere and faithful reporter. In point of intellect, however, we must say that he is not strong; and, in matters of reasoning, we suspect would be described, in familiar English, as a 'poor creature.' Mr Ward is not a very profound philosopher; but he has more mind about him, a great deal, than the Abbé.

It is not easy to conceive a spectacle more shocking than that which is presented by the moral character of the priests in India, as it is exhibited in the pages of the authors before us. Human depravity was probably never carried to the same pitch among any other race of men. The degree in which they abandon themselves to the pleasures of sense, may be conceived from the statements which have already been adduced. One stroke more is necessary to complete the picture.

'The Bramhuns,' says our Abbé, 'in general, add, to their other numerous vices, that of gluttony. When an opportunity oc-

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curs of satiating their appetite, they exceed all bounds of temperance. Such occasions are frequent, on account of the perpetual recurrence of their rites and ceremonies; all of which are followed by a repast, at which they load their stomachs with an excess of nourishment. This necessarily brings on frequent ailments, in a climate where all the bodily organs are so relaxed, that excess of any kind, particularly intemperance, has the most serious effect. To obviate these consequences, and no doubt also to insinuate themselves into the esteem and good opinion of the public, they have adopted those methods of abstinence which attract the observation of the people, and afford their own stomach the necessary intervals for recovering its tone and natural energy.'

The following trait in the Bramhunical character is probably the most important, and most prolific of consequences.

'The Bramhun,' says the Abbé, 'lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the whole world is his debtor, and that he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself, in every circumstance of his life, with *the most absolute selfishness.* The feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if belonging to another caste; and will not stir to help him to a drop of water, though it were to save his life.

'He has been taught, from his infancy, to regard all other classes of men with the utmost contempt, as beings created for the purpose of serving him, and supplying all his wants; without any reciprocal duty on his part, to show his gratitude, or make any return. After such a description, shall we be at all surprised at their haughtiness, their pride, and self-love, or at their contempt of all other men; of whom they never speak amongst themselves, without the addition of some ignominious epithet, or expression of scorn?'

The whole race, we are next told, is totally without that veneration for their parents, or for age in general, which is the basis of so many virtues.

'One of the principal ties,' says the Abbé, 'that bind human creatures together—the reverence we feel for those from whom we derive our existence—is almost wholly wanting among them. They fear their father, while young, out of dread of being beaten; but, from their tenderest years, they use bad language to their mother, and even strike her, without any apprehension. When the children are grown up, the father himself is no longer respected, and is generally reduced to an absolute submission to the will of his son, who becomes master of him and his house. It is very uncommon, in any caste whatever, to see fathers preserving their authority to the close of their lives, when the children are mature. The young man always assumes the authority, and commands those who are the authors of his being.'

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To complete the picture of the domestic affections, the first school of virtue, and the source of almost all happiness, we should advert again perhaps to the state of the conjugal relations. But, after what has been already said, this, we believe, is unnecessary. The Abbé gives this striking testimony on the subject.

'During the long period of my observation of them and their habits, I am not sure that I have ever seen two Hindu marriages that closely united the hearts, by a true and inviolable attachment.'

In their utter disregard of truth and sincerity, these holy Bramhuns are said to surpass all other mortals.

"What is a Bramhun?" I was one day asked,' says the Abbé in a jocular way, 'by one of that caste with whom I was intimately acquainted: "He is an ant's nest of lies and impostures!" It is not possible to describe them better in so few words. All Hindus are expert in disguising the truth; but there is nothing in which the caste of Bramhuns so much surpasses them all, as in the art of lying. It has taken so deep a root among them, that, so far from blushing when detected in it, many of them make it their boast.

'Flattery is another of their prime resources. They are, by nature, of an insinuating turn; and, whatever may be their vanity and pride on other occasions, they make no scruple to cringe in the most fawning way before persons from whom they expect any favour. They likewise attach themselves very eagerly to great merchants, or other wealthy persons; and all Hindus being extremely vain, the Bramhuns, who thoroughly know them, skilfully take advantage of this disposition in persons who can afford to make it worth their while, and lavish upon them the utmost profusion of praise. They well know how to adapt their flattery to the particular taste of the individual—sometimes by composing verses in his praise, sometimes by publicly relating anecdotes or incidents in his life, true or false, if they are to his advantage; Sometimes they overwhelm him with blessings, tell him his fortune, and give him assurance of the enjoyment of temporal delights for many years. Such flatteries and encomiums, ridiculous as they are, give infinite pleasure to those who receive them, as the blazon of their merits; and the flatterer, whose invention has been roused by want, or some other cause, receives an ample reward.'

The manners and character of the people are not, of course, quite so bad as those of their ghostly instructors; but they have suffered not a little from the connexion; and the vices of the clergy, and the expedients which they employ to increase and to secure their own power, have had a lamentable influence in putting and keeping both the intellects and the morals of the people in a state of great degradation.

'What must be the moral state of that country,' says Mr Ward, 'where the sacred festivals, and the very forms of religion, lead

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men to every species of vice! These festivals and public exhibitions excite universal attention; and absorb, for weeks together, almost the whole of the public conversation: And such is the enthusiasm with which they are hailed, that the whole country seems to be thrown into a ferment;—health, property, time, business, every thing is sacrificed to them. In this manner are the people prepared to receive impressions from their national institutions. If these institutions were favourable to virtue, the effects would be most happy; but as, in addition to their fascination, they are exceedingly calculated to corrupt the mind, the most dreadful consequences follow; and vice, like a mighty torrent, flows through the plains of Bengal with the force of the flood-tide of the Ganges, carrying along with it young and old, the learned and the ignorant, rich and poor, all castes and descriptions of people.'

It is unnecessary, we presume, to give an account of those oppressive and unnatural distinctions by which one of the castes or descriptions of the people in India is put under another; and the priest is set over all. Whoever has read any thing about the Hindus, is acquainted with the institution of castes, and with a part at least of the hateful consequences which it brings.

It is curious enough, that both with priests and people, though religious hopes and religious fears appear to have such influence in Hindustan, the deities are held in little respect. The Abbé says—

'What I am going to state may appear paradoxical; but it is by no means uncommon with the Bramhuns to speak in the most contemptuous style of the objects of their worship. They appear in the temples without the least symptom of attention or respect for the divinities who reside there. Indeed it is not a rare thing to see them choose these places in preference for their quarrels and fights; and, in general, the prostrations they make to their gods of brass and stone, do not appear to proceed from any pious impulse.

'Their faith and their devotions are sometimes excited by human interests and motives. They exhibit a great reliance on those gods through whom they get their bread: but where they have nothing to gain, or where they are not observed by the profane, they seem to care little about them.'

Mr Ward informs us—

'Reverence for the gods, especially among the poor, as might be expected, does not exceed their merits; yet it is a shocking fact, that language like the following should be used respecting what the Hindus suppose to be the Providence which governs the world:—When it thunders awfully, respectable Hindus say, "Oh! the gods are giving us a bad day."—The lower orders say, "The rascally gods are dying." During a heavy rain, a woman of respectable caste frequently says, "Let the gods perish! my clothes are all wet:"—A man of low caste says, "These rascally gods are sending more rain."

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A very curious fact is mentioned by Mr Ward. It is well known that the principal gods, in the Hindu theological system, are three—Brŭmha, (as the names are spelt by Mr Ward), Vishnoo, and Shivŭ. Of these, Brumha is the first, the creator and sire both of gods and of men. This god, however, *gives no temporal blessings*; he gives only those which pertain to the future life. All the other gods give temporal blessings, and temporal blessings only. And the consequence is, that while India swarms with temples to the other gods, and human life is engrossed with the ceremonies of their worship, Brumha has been entirely abandoned; and he has neither a temple nor an image; nor is there any worship for him in Hindustan.

As even Hinduism is divided into sects, it exhibits the usual phenomena of quarrels between the sects. The source of the dispute in general is, which of two gods is the most eminent. Every worshipper attaches himself, in preference, to some one of the gods; some, for example, to Vishnoo, others to Shivŭ; and each endeavours to represent his own favourite as the chief.

'In the throngs in which they frequently assemble to support the dignity of their respective gods, their fanaticism, on some occasions, rouses them to such a pitch, that, when they are tired out with abusing each other, and voiding the most abominable blasphemies against the deity they oppose, they sometimes come to blows; and the religious controversy ends in a fight, in which there is rarely much spilling of blood, but a good belabouring with fisticuffs on both sides, the scattering of many turbans, and the tearing of much apparel into rags. Thus the fray generally ends, without spirit on either side to carry it to extremities.

'But it is in the naturally timid and indolent character of the Hindu that we are to seek for the true cause why these holy wars do not overspread the whole land, or produce the dreadful excesses of every kind which religious frenzy has occasioned in Europe, and in other regions, for so many ages.

'But, nevertheless, if we are to give any faith to a tradition very general in many provinces, it is scarcely to be doubted, that, even in recent times, there have been waged, in many parts of the Peninsula, general wars upon religion.'

To this purpose Mr Ward also informs us—

'These contentions for superiority are annually renewed at Hŭreedwarŭ, Uyodya, &c. betwixt the Voishnŭvŭs and the followers of Shivŭ, in which quarrels many perish.

'Raja-Ramŭ, a learned Shikh, employed as a translator in the Serampore printing-office, says, that about forty years ago, not less than ten thousand persons, and, about twenty years ago, four or five thousand, perished in these contests at Hŭree-dwarŭ.'

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Something akin to these quarrels and tumults are those which arise out of a fanciful distinction which the Hindus have created to themselves, of right-hand castes and left-hand castes.

'The greater number of the Hindu castes,' says the Abbé Dubois, 'belong either to the *left-hand* or to the *right*.

'The first division consists of the whole of the *Vaisya*, of the *Panchala*, or five castes of artisans, and of some other mean tribes of the *Sudras*. This *hand* also includes the most infamous of all castes, that of the Cobblers or Chakili.

'The *right-hand* has among its partisans the most distinguished castes of the *Sudras*. That of the *Pariah* forms its strongest bulwark.

'The fiercest opposition arises out of this separation; and of all the contests to which the people are accustomed, the battles between the two *hands* always produce the greatest alarm, and the severest evil.

'I have repeatedly witnessed instances of these popular insurrections, excited by the disputes between the two *hands*, and pushed to such an extreme of fury, that the presence of a military force under arms had no effect to quiet them, nor even to allay their clamours, or stop their outrageous course.'

We have left ourselves no room even to notice the other topics of which the writers before us occasionally treat. The Abbé gives a good deal of original information on the Judicial and Military systems of the Hindus; and adds his decisive testimony on a point, which has been matter of controversy among some of our learned Orientalists.

'Creditors,' he says, 'can have no hold on the real estate of their debtors; because *the Hindus have no property in the soil.* The lands which they cultivate are the domain of the prince, who is the sole proprietor. He can resume them at his pleasure, and give them to another to cultivate. Even the huts in which they live, built of mud, and covered with thatch, are not their own. All belongs to the prince. And if a man, for any reason whatever, quits his habitation in the village, he can by no means dispose of it to another, although it were constructed by his own hands.'

From Mr Ward's English edition, every thing is cut off but what treats of religion, and the sects and priests of religion. In the larger work, printed in Bengal, there are several other topics of considerable importance. The first volume, for example, and more than a half of the second, are employed upon the history, the statistics, and the literature of India. Part of this information is borrowed from sources to which we have access in Europe; but as far as it is derived from the Sanscrit, or from the author's own observation, it is extremely valuable. The account of the Shastrŭs or Shasters, though summary, is full of information;

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and adds largely to the materials from which right judgments with regard to the Hindus will in time be derived.

The whole of the fourth volume of the larger publication, is on miscellaneous subjects. The first chapter gives an account of the distinctions of caste, as far as relates to the four primary castes, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaysias, and Sudras. The next chapter gives an account of the Domestic Manners and Customs of the Hindus, which is extremely interesting. It ends with some exceedingly curious specimens of actual conversation between the natives on a variety of subjects. The last chapter contains an account of the Hindu speculative systems, both in Philosophy and Religion. On these matters, however, our author is not particularly luminous—though he may perhaps be forgiven for not giving an intelligible account of what was most probably understood neither by himself nor his informers.

ART. VII. *Rob Roy.* By the Author of Waverley, Guy Mannering, and the Antiquary. 12mo. 3 vol. pp. 930. Edinburgh, 1818.

THIS is not so good, perhaps, as some others of the family;—but it is better than any thing else; and has a charm and a spirit about it that draws us irresistibly away from our graver works of politics and science, to expatiate upon that which every body understands and agrees in; and after setting us diligently to read over again what we had scarce finished reading, leaves us no choice but to tell our readers what they all know already, and to persuade them of that of which they are most intimately convinced.

Such, we are perfectly aware, is the task which we must seem to perform to the greater part of those who may take the trouble of accompanying us through this article. But there may still be some of our readers to whom the work of which we treat is unknown;—and we know there are many who are far from being duly sensible of its merits. The public, indeed, is apt now and then to behave rather unhandsomely to its greatest benefactors, and to deserve the malison which Milton has so emphatically bestowed on those impious persons who,

> ——— ' with senseless base ingratitude,
> Cram, and blaspheme their feeder.'

—nothing, we fear, being more common, than to see the bounty of its too lavish providers repaid by increased captiousness at

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the quality of the banquet, and complaints of imaginary fallings off—which should be imputed entirely to the distempered state of their own pampered appetites. We suspect, indeed, that we were ourselves under the influence of this illaudable feeling when we wrote the first line of this paper: For, except that the subject seems to us somewhat less happily chosen, and the variety of characters rather less than in some of the author's former publications, we do not know what right we had to say that it was in any respect inferior to them. Sure we are, at all events, that it has the same brilliancy and truth of colouring—the same gayety of tone, rising every now and then into feelings both kindly and exalted—the same dramatic vivacity—the same deep and large insight into human nature—and the same charming facility which distinguish all the other works of this great master, and make the time in which he flourished an era never to be forgotten in the literary history of our country.

One novelty in the present work is, that it is thrown into the form of a continued and unbroken narrative, by one of the persons principally concerned in the story—and who is represented in his declining age, as detailing to an intimate friend the most interesting particulars in his early life, and all the recollections with which they were associated. We prefer, upon the whole, the communications of an avowed author; who, of course, has no character to sustain but that of a pleasing writer—and can praise and blame, and wonder and moralize in all tones and directions, without subjecting himself to any charge of vanity, ingratitude, or inconsistency.—The thing, however, is very tolerably managed on the present occasion; and the hero contrives to let us into all his exploits and perplexities, without much violation either of heroic modesty or general probability;—to which ends, indeed, it conduces not a little, that, like most of the other heroes of this ingenious author, his own character does not rise very notably above the plain level of mediocrity—being, like the rest of his brethren, a well-conditioned, reasonable, agreeable young gentleman—not particularly likely to do any thing which it would be very boastful to speak of, and much better fitted to be a spectator and historian of strange doings, than a partaker in them.

This discreet hero, then, our readers will probably have anticipated, is not Rob Roy—though his name stands alone in the title—but a Mr Francis Osbaldistone, the only son of a great London Merchant or Banker, and nephew of a Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone, a worthy Catholic Baronet, who spent his time in hunting, and drinking Jacobite toasts in Northumberland, some time about the year 1714. The young gentleman having

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been educated among the Muses abroad, testifies a decided aversion to the gainful vocations in which his father had determined that he should assist and succeed him;—and as a punishment for this contumacy, he banishes him for a season to the Siberia of Osbaldistone Hall, from which he himself had been estranged ever since his infancy. The young exile jogs down on horseback rather merrily, riding part of the way with a stout man, who was scandalously afraid of being robbed, and meeting once with a sturdy Scotchman, whose resolute air and energetic discourses make a deep impression on him.—As he approaches the home of his fathers, he is surrounded by a party of fox hunters, and at the same moment electrified by the sudden apparition of a beautiful young woman, galloping lightly at the head of the field, and managing her sable palfrey with all the grace of an Angelica.

Making up to this etherial personage, he soon discovers that he is in the heart of his kinsfolks—that the tall youths about him are the five sons of Sir Hildebrande; and the virgin huntress herself, a cousin and inmate of the family, by the name of Diana Vernon. She is a very remarkable person this same Diana. Though only eighteen years of age, and exquisitely lovely, she knows all arts and sciences, elegant and inelegant—and has, moreover, a more than masculine resolution, and more than feminine kindness and generosity of character—wearing over all this, a playful, free and reckless manner, more characteristic of her age than her various and inconsistent accomplishments. The rest of the household are comely savages, who hunt all day, and drink all night, without one idea beyond those heroic occupations—all, at least, except Rashleigh, the youngest son of this hopeful family—who, having been designed for the church, had been educated among the Jesuits beyond seas, and had there acquired all the knowledge and the knavery which that pious brotherhood was so long supposed to impart to their disciples. Although very plain in his person, and very depraved in his character, he has great talents and accomplishments, and a very insinuating address. He had been, in a good degree, the instructor of Diana, who, we should have mentioned, was also a Catholic, and having lost her parents, was destined to take the veil in a foreign land, if she did not consent to marry one of the sons of Sir Hildebrand, for all of whom she cherished the greatest aversion and contempt.

Mr Osbaldistone, of course, can do nothing but fall in love with this wonderful infant; for which, and some other transgressions, he incurs the deadly, though concealed, hate of Rashleigh, and meets with several unpleasant adventures through his means. Among others, he is falsely accused of having robbed his timid fellow traveller, who had certainly been eased of his

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portmanteau soon after they parted; and only gets the better of this imputation by the heroic exertions of Miss Vernon, and the timely reappearance of the determined Scotchman whom he had met with on his journey.

Soon after this, the wily Rashleigh is invited to take the place in his uncle's countinghouse, which had been declined by the obstinacy of his son; and by and by, it is discovered that this malignant Jesuit, taking advantage of his patron's absence in Holland, had absconded with half a million of bills belonging to the establishment, and repaired to Scotland, where the disaffected Catholics of the Highlands were then preparing for the insurrection that broke out a short time after.—Our hero is quite overwhelmed by the news of this disaster; but is roused and directed by the energy of Diana Vernon to set out immediately for Scotland, to counteract, if possible, the designs of his dangerous kinsman. She gives him a sealed packet, to be opened only in case of emergency; and he sets off, under the guidance of Andrew Fairservice, a pragmatical Scotch gardener, who undertakes to be his guide to the city of Glasgow, and in whose colloquies much of the humour of the work is embodied. They arrive there in safety, though not without adventures; and, coming into town on a Sunday morning, very properly conclude that they can do nothing so good as to go to church. Mr Osbaldistone accordingly descends into the vaults of the antient cathedral, then used as a place of worship; and, while standing in a dark corner of this gloomy temple, is warned by an unseen person behind him, that he is in danger, and desired to meet his adviser at midnight on the Bridge. He goes, accordingly, and is accosted by a grim, stout-looking man, in a horseman's coat, who conducts him, with strange and appalling discourses, to the gate of the common prison, and there procures him admission, by the agency of a wild Highland turnkey, who obeys the mysterious stranger with all the awe and observance of clannish devotion. Mr Osbaldistone is then led to a little cell, where he finds the head clerk of his father's house in durance; and learns from him more of the particulars of the treachery of Rashleigh, and the machinations in which he is supposed to be engaged. While they are discoursing on these subjects, they are surprised by the sudden appearance of Baillie Nicol Jarvie, one of the magistrates of the city, and a correspondent of the house of Osbaldistone, who had heard that morning of the clerk's misfortunes, but had been prevented, by his rigid Calvinistic principles, from attending to any worldly business, till the holy day was fairly expired. He now tenders his assistance, in a homely but hearty manner, to the disconsolate captive; and,

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after arranging matters for his liberation in the morning, is about to depart, when he recognises, in Mr Osbaldistone's guide, the notorious outlaw ROB ROY, and his own near kinsman; while, at the same moment, Mr Osbaldistone recognises, in the same individual, the remarkable Scotchman whom he had first met with on his journey from London, and who had afterwards interfered so seasonably for his release from the charge of robbery. A very characteristic scene ensues, in the course of which, this high-spirited freebooter indicates a thorough knowledge of Mr Osbaldistone's affairs; and promises, if he will meet him in a few days at the Clachan of Aberfoil, on the Highland borders, to obtain for him the valuable papers of which Rashleigh had plundered his father's house; and prevails upon the worthy Baillie to undertake the same adventurous journey, by promising, at the same time, to pay up a debt which had long been owing.

After some further adventures, and, among others, a sudden rencounter with Rashleigh, when they are parted in the very nick of fate by the ever timely appearance of Rob Roy,—the English stranger and the worthy Baillie set out on their pilgrimage to Aberfoil. This is the most striking part of the book; though we must slur it, with the rest, in the very brief summary with which we are now engaged. They arrive late in an autumn evening, and find the little hovel of an inn occupied by three Highland gentlemen, who resent their intrusion with barbarian violence; and a brawl ensues, in which, though no blood is actually spilt, the Baillie fights valorously with a red-hot poker, and the rest of the party with dirks and broad swords. They are at last reconciled by the help of brandy; and the strangers gather from the conversation of the party in the house, that they form part of a military force assembled in that quarter, for the very purpose of securing Rob Roy and his associates. The soldiery, accordingly, appear at dawn, and, taking the new comers into custody as suspicious persons, proceed up Lochard, under the apparently reluctant guidance of the very turnkey who had admitted Rob Roy within the walls of the Glasgow prison. It soon appears, however, that this humble retainer was not to be frightened out of his fidelity; for, on arriving at a precipitous and sudden pass on the lake, a murderous fire is opened upon the soldiers by a body of ambushed Highlanders, who speedily discomfit the whole party, and make prisoners of all the survivers. Mr O., who, being unarmed, had escaped during the affray to a place of safety in the wood,—and the worthy Baillie, who, in endeavouring to follow his example, had tumbled down the bank, and been caught by the

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skirts on a projecting stump of a tree, by which he hung till cut down after the battle,—are now brought before the wife of Rob Roy, who, with the spirit, and in the garb of an Amazon, had, in her husband's absence, presided over the arrangements of the day. Though, in the exultation of victory, the captives did not find her a generous foe. She had been brutally used in other years by the enemies of her husband; and the scene of blood before her seemed only to turn her inextinguishable thirst for vengeance into more sanguinary channels. In spite of the pleadings of the Baillie, she orders them all for instant execution; and the dreadful sentence would probably have been executed, had it not been for the sudden return of her sons and the flower of their forces—but without their father—who had been inveigled, by a message from Rashleigh, to trust himself in a parley, in the course of which he had been seized and made prisoner, by a more fortunate detachment of the force which had assembled at Aberfoil for his destruction.

The Amazon breaks out into indignant lamentation, on hearing of this disaster; and instantly orders the unhappy hostage, who had been sent by Rashleigh, to be brought forward; when a miserable wretch appears, in whom Mr O. once more recognises the travelling companion, for the loss of whose baggage he had been formerly put to so much inconvenience. The poor coward now pleads for his life in the most abject and agonizing terms; but the implacable virago rejects his prayers with inflexible contempt; and, at her command, a large stone is tied round his neck, and he is hurled, shrieking, into the deep lake, from the precipice on the top of which they are standing. Partially appeased by this sacrifice, she then sends Mr O. to the captors of her husband, with proposals for an exchange of prisoners. This, however, is peremptorily rejected by the high authorities now assembled with the troops; and Rob, who maintains in this emergency the same cool, confident, and imposing manner, which had always characterized him, is strapped to a trooper, and set forward on the march to a more public place of execution. In passing a deep ford, however, he contrives to slip his bands; and diving in the water in the midst of innumerable pistol shots and sword cuts, escapes clear from the hands of his pursuers, and regains his native fastnesses.

Mr O. who had been again left to himself during this skirmish, is now plodding his way back under the cold moon to the inn at Aberfoil, when he is stopped by two horsemen, with some inquiries about the road; and recognises in one of them the nymphlike form and angel voice of Diana Vernon. She bends from her horse to salute him; puts into his

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wondering hands the papers with which Rashleigh had absconded; says one word of pathetic yet playful farewell; and gallops away with her sedate and authoritative companion.—Rob Roy and his party are now the triumphant possessors of Aberfoil, and do the honours of the place with great gallantry to the Baillie and his friend. The friend, however, is dreadfully disturbed with the intelligence that Diana is now under the lawful protection of his Excellency the French ambassador, in whose company she had passed him the night before; and, after partaking of a most picturesque breakfast from Rob and his consort, returns with a heavy heart to Glasgow; where he is considerably cheered, however, by finding his father, who, as well as his serving-man Andrew Fairservice, had almost despaired of his safety.

The story, after this, rushes rather precipitately, as we must do also, to a conclusion. The whole five hunters of Osbaldistone-Hall are unmercifully killed off in the insurrections that ensued; and the worthy old knight, full of indignation at the perfidy of Rashleigh, to whose desertion of the cause its discomfiture is mainly imputed, leaves all his property to our hero, and dies broken-hearted in his arms.—By his father's direction, the new heir goes down to take possession, and to secure that advantage in the lawsuit which Rashleigh had raised for the purpose of setting aside his father's settlement. Here, to his inexpressible surprise, he finds the fair Diana again secreted with his Excellency the Ambassador—who luckily turns out not to be her husband, but her father; and who entreats from his humanity, concealment and protection, till they can find a safe opportunity of emigrating to that religious house in which they mean to finish their days. All sorts of aid and protection are, of course, promised—and performed: But the restless and malignant Rashleigh speedily discovers the retreat of these unhappy fugitives; and, besetting the castle one dark night, with a monstrous watch, seizes both on them and their protector, as traitors, and abettors of traitors. When conveying them forth to prison, however, he is providentially set upon by the omnipresent Rob Roy—who mortally wounds him, and carries off his victims in triumph. Rashleigh dies hard; professing unrelenting hatred to his more fortunate cousin, who, being now heir by all sorts of titles, happily learns that Diana's father died soon after their landing in France—goes over and persuades her to marry him—and ends this eventful history of his early life, with an account of his own domestic felicity, and of the peaceful and edifying demise of his friend Rob, who departed this life in a good old age, many years after their last encounter.

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Such is the naked story of this little work—which the readers will see does not exceed in point of probability, nor indeed in any other good quality. But it is not in his story that this author's strength ever lies; and here he has lost sight of probability even in the conception of some of his characters; and displayed the extraordinary talent of being true to nature, even in the representation of impossible persons.

The serious interest of the work rests on Diana Vernon and on Rob Roy; the comic effect is left chiefly to the ministrations of Baillie Nicol Jarvie and Andrew Fairservice, with the occasional assistance of less regular performers. Diana is, in our apprehension, a very bright and felicitous creation—though it is certain that there never could have been any such person. A girl of eighteen, not only with more wit and learning than any man of forty, but with more sound sense, and firmness of character, than any man whatever—and with perfect frankness and elegance of manners, though bred among boors and bigots—is rather a more violent fiction, we think, than a king with marble legs, or a youth with an ivory shoulder. In spite of all this, however, the fiction is extremely elegant and impressive; and so many features of truth are blended with it, that we soon forget the impossibility, and are at least as much interested as by a more credible personage. The combination of fearlessness with perfect purity and delicacy, as well as that of the inextinguishable gayety of youth with sad anticipations and present suffering, are all strictly natural; and are among the traits that are wrought out in this portrait with the greatest talent and effect. In the deep tone of feeling, and the capacity of heroic purposes, this heroine bears a family likeness to the Flora of Waverley; but her greater youth, and her unprotected situation, add prodigiously to the interest of these qualities. It will be much shorter, however, and far more satisfactory to the reader, to let her explain and recommend herself. The following is the scene of her appearance to Mr Osbaldistone, when he is first cast into meditation by the sight of his cousins hunting.

'A vision that passed me interrupted these reflections. It was a young lady, the loveliness of whose very striking features was enhanced by the animation of the chase and the glow of the exercise, mounted on a beautiful horse, jet black, unless where he was flecked by spots of the snow-white foam which embossed his bridle. She wore, what was then somewhat unusual, a coat, vest, and hat, resembling those of a man, which fashion has since called a riding-habit. The mode had been introduced while I was in France, and was perfectly new to me. Her long black hair streamed on the breeze, having in the hurry of the chase escaped from the ribbon

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which bound it. Some very broken ground through which she guided her horse with the most admirable address and presence of mind, retarded her course, and brought her closer to me than any of the other riders that had passed. I had, therefore, a full view of her uncommonly fine face and person, to which an inexpressible charm was added by the wild gayety of the scene, and the romance of her singular dress and unexpected appearance. As she past me, her horse made, in his impetuosity, an irregular movement, just while, coming once more upon open ground, she was again putting him to his speed. It served as an apology for me to ride close up to her, as if to her assistance. There was, however, no cause for alarm; it was not a stumble, nor a false step; and if it had, the fair Amazon had too much self-possession to have been deranged by it. She thanked my good intentions, however, by a smile; and I felt encouraged to put my horse to the same pace, and to keep in her immediate neighbourhood. The clamour of "Whoop, dead, dead!" and the corresponding flourish of the French horn, soon announced to us that there was no more occasion for haste, since the chase was at a close. One of the young men whom we had seen, approached us, waving the brush of the fox in triumph, as if to upbraid my fair companion. "I see," she replied—"I see; but make no noise about it; if Phœbe," she said, patting the neck of the beautiful animal on which she rode, "had not got among the cliffs, you would have had little cause for boasting." They met as she spoke; and I observed them both look at me, and converse a moment in an under tone, the young lady apparently pressing the sportsman to do something which he declined shyly, and with a sort of sheepish sullenness. She instantly turned her horse's head towards me, saying,—"Well, well, Thornie, if you won't, I must, that's all.—Sir," she continued, addressing me; "I have been endeavouring to persuade this cultivated young gentleman to make inquiries at you, whether, in the course of your travels in these parts, you have heard any thing of a friend of ours, one Mr Francis Osbaldistone, who has been for some days expected at Osbaldistone Hall?" — I was too happy to acknowledge myself to be the party inquired after, and to express my thanks for the obliging inquiries of the young lady. — "In that case, sir," she rejoined, "as my kinsman's politeness seems to be still slumbering, you will permit me (though I suppose it is highly improper) to stand mistress of ceremonies, and to present to you young Squire Thorncliff Osbaldistone, your cousin, and Die Vernon, who has also the honour to be your accomplished cousin's poor kinswoman." — There was a mixture of boldness, satire, and simplicity in the manner in which Miss Vernon pronounced these words. My knowledge of life was sufficient to enable me to take up a corresponding tone, as I expressed my gratitude to her for her condescension, and my extreme pleasure at having met with them." I. 94—98.

After some further discourse, in which our hero professes his

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entire ignorance of shoeing horses or worming dogs, the dialogue goes on.

' " Then, in the name of Heaven, Mr Francis Osbaldistone, what *can* you do?" — " Very little to the purpose, Miss Vernon; something, however, I can pretend to—When my groom has dressed my horse, I can ride upon him, and when my hawk is in the field, I can fly him." — " Can you do *this?*" said the young lady, putting her horse to a canter. — There was a sort of rude over-grown fence crossed the path before us, with a gate, composed of pieces of wood rough from the forest; I was about to move forward to open it, when Miss Vernon cleared the obstruction at a flying leap. I was bound, in point of honour to follow, and was in a moment again at her side. — " There are hopes of you yet," she said. " I was afraid you had been a very degenerate Osbaldistone. But what on earth brings you to Cub-Castle?—for so the neighbours have christened this hunting-hall of ours. You might have staid away, I suppose, if you would?" — I felt I was by this time on a very intimate footing with my beautiful apparition, and therefore replied in a confidential under-tone,—" Indeed, my dear Miss Vernon, I might have considered it as a sacrifice to be a temporary resident in Osbaldistone Hall, the inmates being such as you describe them; but I am convinced there is one exception that will make amends for all deficiencies." —" O, you mean Rashleigh?" said Miss Vernon.—" Indeed I do not; I was thinking—forgive me—of some person much nearer me." —" I suppose it would be proper not to understand your civility?—But that is not my way—I don't make a curtsey for it, because I am sitting on horseback. But, seriously, I deserve your exception, for I am the only conversible being about the Hall, except the old priest and Rashleigh."—" And who is Rashleigh, for Heaven's sake?"—" Rashleigh is one who would fain have every one like him for his own sake.—He is Sir Hildebrand's youngest son—about your own age, but not so—not well looking, in short. But Nature has given him a mouthful of common sense, and the priest has added a bushelfull of learning—he is what we all call a very clever man in this country, where clever men are scarce. Bred to the church, but in no hurry to take orders."—" You will think him the pleasantest man you ever saw in your life, Mr Osbaldistone, that is for a week at least. If he could find out a blind mistress, never man would be so secure of conquest; but the eyes break the spell that enchants the ear. But here we are in the court of the old hall, which looks as wild and old-fashioned as any of its inmates. There is no great toilette kept at Osbaldistone, you must know; but I must take off these things, they are so unpleasantly warm, and the hat hurts my forehead too," continued the lively girl, taking it off, and shaking down a profusion of sable ringlets, which, half laughing, half blushing, she separated with her white slender fingers, in order to clear them away from her beautiful face and piercing hazel eyes. If there was any

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coquetry in the action, it was well disguised by the careless indifference of her manner. I could not help saying, " that, judging of the family from what I saw, I should suppose the toilette a very unnecessary care. "—" That's very politely said; though, perhaps, I ought not to understand in what sense it was meant," replied Miss Vernon; " but you will see a better apology for a little negligence, when you meet the Orsons you are to live amongst, whose forms no toilette could improve. But, as I said before, the old dinner-bell will clang, or rather clank, in a few minutes—it cracked of its own accord at the day of the landing of King Willie; and my uncle, respecting its prophetic talent, would never permit it to be mended. So do you hold my palfrey, like a duteous knight, until I send some more humble squire to relieve you of the charge."—She threw me the rein as if we had been acquainted from our childhood, jumped from her saddle, tripped across the court-yard, and entered at a side-door, leaving me in admiration of her beauty, and astonished with the overfrankness of her manners.' I. p. 100—106.

We must give the conversation at dinner, to complete the introduction. She sits by her new cousin, and says,

' " I want to speak with you; and I have placed honest Thornie betwixt Rashleigh and you on purpose; while I, your earliest acquaintance in this intellectual family, ask of you how you like us all? "—" A very comprehensive question, Miss Vernon, considering how short while I have been at Osbaldistone Hall. "—" O, the philosophy of our family lies on the surface—there are minute shades distinguishing the individuals, which require the eye of an intelligent observer; but the species, as naturalists, I believe, call it, may be distinguished and characterized at once. "—" My five elder cousins, then, are, I presume, of pretty nearly the same character. "—" Yes, they form a happy compound of sot, game-keeper, bully, horse-jockey, and fool; but, as they say there cannot be found two leaves on the same tree exactly alike, so these happy ingredients, being mingled in somewhat various proportions in each individual, make an agreeable variety for those who like to study character. "—" Give me a sketch, if you please, Miss Vernon. "—" You shall have them all in a family-piece, at full length—the favour is too easily granted to be refused. Percie, the son and heir, has more of the sot than of the game-keeper, bully, horse-jockey, or fool—My precious Thornie is more of the bully than the sot, game-keeper, jockey, or fool—John, who sleeps whole weeks amongst the hills, has most of the game-keeper—The jockey is most powerful with Dickon, who rides two hundred miles by day and night to be bought and sold at a horse-race—And the fool predominates so much over Wilfred's other qualities, that he may be termed a fool positive. "—" A goodly collection, Miss Vernon; and the individual varieties belong to a most interesting species: But is there no room on the canvas for Sir Hildebrand? "—" I love my uncle, " was her reply: " I owe him some

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kindness, (such it was meant for at least), and I will leave you to draw his picture yourself, when you know him better."—"Come," thought I to myself, "I am glad there is some forbearance; after all, who would have looked for such bitter satire from a creature so young and so exquisitely beautiful?"—"You are thinking of me," she said, bending her dark eyes on me, as if she meant to pierce through my very soul.—"I certainly was," I replied with some embarrassment at the determined suddenness of the question, and then endeavouring to give a complimentary turn to my frank avowal, "How is it possible I should think of any thing else, seated as I have the happiness to be?" She smiled with such an expression of concentrated haughtiness as she alone could have thrown into her countenance. "I must inform you at once, Mr Osbaldistone, that compliments are entirely lost upon me; do not, therefore, throw away your pretty sayings—they serve fine gentlemen who travel in the country, instead of the toys, beads, and bracelets, which navigators carry to propitiate the savage inhabitants of newly discovered countries. Do not exhaust your stock in trade—you will find natives in Northumberland to whom your fine things will recommend you—on me they would be utterly thrown away, for I happen to know their real value." I was silenced and confounded. "You remind me at this moment," said the young lady, resuming her lively and indifferent manner, "of the fairy tale, where the man finds all the money which he had carried to market suddenly changed into pieces of slate. I have cried down and ruined your whole stock of complimentary discourse by one unlucky observation. But, come, never mind it. Endeavour to forget my unlucky sex; call me Tom Vernon, if you have a mind, but speak to me as you would to a friend and companion; you have no idea how much I shall like you."—"You have not included Mr Rashleigh Osbaldistone in your domestic sketches."—She shrunk, I thought, at this remark, and hastily answered, in a much lower tone, "Not a word of Rashleigh! His ears are so acute when his selfishness is interested, that the sounds would reach him even through the mass of Thorncliff's person, stuffed as it is with beef, venison-pasty, and pudding."—"Yes," I replied; "but peeping past the living screen which divides us, before I put the question, I perceived that Mr Rashleigh's chair was empty—he has left the table."—"I would not have you be too sure of that," Miss Vernon replied. "Take my advice, and when you speak of Rashleigh, get up to the top of Otterscope-hill, where you can see for twenty miles round you in every direction—stand on the very peak, and speak in whispers; and, after all, don't be too sure that the bird of the air shall not carry the matter. Rashleigh has been my tutor for four years; we are mutually tired of each other, and we shall heartily rejoice at our approaching separation."' I. p. 118—126.

We shall give but one specimen more of this strange young

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lady. Mr Osbaldistone having been informed by Rashleigh of her engagement to marry one of them, or to take the veil, had been thrown into bad humour by the communication; and, after-treating her with sullenness at dinner, had got drunk, and quarrelled with the whole brotherhood. Next morning she desires to speak with him in the library. Though a little alarmed, he endeavours to recal his continental gallantry, and follows.

'My English feelings, however, were too many for my French education, and I made, I believe, a very pitiful figure, when Miss Vernon, seating herself majestically in a huge elbow-chair in the library, like a judge about to hear a cause of importance, signed to me to take a chair opposite to her, (which I did, much like the poor fellow who is going to be tried), and entered upon conversation in a tone of bitter irony.—"Upon my word, Mr Francis Osbaldistone," said Miss Vernon, with the air of one who thought herself fully entitled to assume the privilege of ironical reproach, which she was pleased to exert, "your character improves upon us, sir—I could not have thought that it was in you.—Yesterday might be considered as your assay-piece, to prove yourself entitled to be free of the corporation of Osbaldistone-Hall. But it was a master-piece."—"I am quite sensible of my ill-breeding, Miss Vernon, and I can only say for myself, that I had received some communications by which my spirits were unusually agitated. I am conscious I was impertinent and absurd."—"You do yourself great injustice," said the merciless monitor, "you have contrived, by what I saw and have since heard, to exhibit in the course of one evening a happy display of all the various masterly qualifications which distinguish your several cousins;—the gentle and generous temper of the benevolent Rashleigh—the temperance of Percie—the cool courage of Thorncliff—John's skill in dog-breaking—Dickon's aptitude to betting;—all exhibited by the single individual, Mr Francis, and that with a selection of time, place, and circumstance, worthy the taste and sagacity of the sapient Wilfred."—"Have a little mercy, Miss Vernon," said I; for I confess I thought the schooling as severe as the case merited. "I have but wet my shoe, I assure you, and am too sensible of the filth of the puddle to step further in."—"If such be your resolution," she replied, "it is a wise one. But I was so much vexed at what I heard, that your concerns have pressed before my own.—You behaved to me yesterday, during dinner, as if something had been told you which lessened or lowered me in your opinion—I beg leave to ask you what it was?"—I was stupified—the direct bluntness of the demand was much in the style one gentleman uses to another, when requesting explanation of any part of his conduct in a good-humoured yet determined manner, and was totally devoid of the circumlocutions, shadings, softenings, and periphrasis, which usually accompany explanations betwixt persons of different sexes in the higher orders of society. She observed my hesitation,

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and proceeded in a tone somewhat more peremptory, but still temperate and civil.—" I hope Mr Osbaldistone does not dispute my title to request this explanation. I have no relative who can protect me; it is, therefore, just that I be permitted to protect myself."—I endeavoured with hesitation to throw the blame of my rude behaviour upon indisposition—upon disagreeable letters from London. She suffered me to exhaust my apologies, and fairly to run myself aground, listening all the while with a smile of absolute incredulity.—" And now, Mr Francis, having gone through your prologue of excuses, with the same bad grace with which all prologues are delivered, please to draw the curtain, and show me that which I desire to see. In a word, let me know what Rashleigh says of me; for he is the grand engineer and first mover of all the machinery of Osbaldistone-Hall."—" But, supposing there was any thing to tell, Miss Vernon, what does he deserve that betrays the secrets of one ally to another?—Rashleigh, you yourself told me, remained your ally, though no longer your friend."—" I have neither patience for evasion, nor inclination for jesting, on the present subject. Rashleigh cannot—ought not—dare not, hold any language respecting me, Diana Vernon, but what I may demand to hear repeated. That there are subjects of secrecy and confidence between us, is most certain; but to such, his communications to you could have no relation; and with such, I, as an individual, have no concern." I had by this time recovered my presence of mind, and hastily determined to avoid making any disclosure of what Rashleigh had told me in a sort of confidence. There was something unworthy in retailing private conversation; it could, I thought, do no good, and must necessarily give Miss Vernon great pain. I therefore replied, gravely, " that nothing but frivolous talk had passed between Mr Rashleigh Osbaldistone and me on the state of the family at the Hall; and I protested, that nothing had been said which left a serious impression to her disadvantage. As a gentleman, I said, I could not be more explicit in reporting private conversation." She started up with the animation of a Camilla about to advance into battle. " This shall not serve your turn, sir—I must have another answer from you." Her features kindled—her brow became flushed—her eye glanced wild-fire as she proceeded. " I demand such an explanation, as a woman basely slandered has a right to demand from every man who calls himself a gentleman—as a creature, motherless, friendless, alone in the world, left to her own guidance and protection, has a right to require from every being having a happier lot, in the name of that God who sent *them* into the world to enjoy, and *her* to suffer!" I was utterly astonished at her vehemence, but felt, thus conjured, that it became my duty to lay aside scrupulous delicacy, and gave her briefly, but distinctly, the heads of the information which Rashleigh had conveyed to me. When I had finished, she paused a moment; and then said, with her usual composure, " There is but little I have heard from you which I did not expect to hear, and which I ought not to have expected;

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because, bating one circumstance, it is all very true. But as there are some poisons so active, that a few drops, it is said, will infect a whole fountain, so there is one falsehood in Rashleigh's communication, powerful enough to corrupt the whole well in which Truth herself is said to have dwelt. It is the leading and foul falsehood, that, knowing Rashleigh as I have reason too well to know him, any circumstance on earth could make me think of sharing my lot with him. No," she continued, with a sort of inward shuddering that seemed to express involuntary horror; "any lot rather than that—the sot, the gambler, the bully, the jockey, the insensate fool, were a thousand times preferable to Rashleigh;—the convent—the jail—the grave, shall be welcome before them all."

'There was a sad and melancholy cadence in her voice, corresponding with the strange and interesting romance of her situation. So young, so beautiful, so untaught, so much abandoned to herself, and deprived of all the support which her sex derives from the countenance and protection of female friends, and even of that degree of defence which arises from the forms with which the sex are approached in civilized life,—it is scarce metaphorical to say, that my heart bled for her. Yet there was an expression of dignity in her contempt of ceremony—of upright feeling in her disdain of falsehood—of firm resolution in the manner in which she contemplated the dangers by which she was surrounded, which blended my pity with the warmest admiration. She seemed a princess deserted by her subjects, and deprived of her power, yet still scorning those formal regulations of society which are created for persons of an inferior rank; and, amid her difficulties, relying boldly and confidently on the justice of Heaven, and the unshaken constancy of her own mind.' I. p. 293—305.

We have already allowed so much space to this fair lady, that we have less to spare for the intrepid outlaw who gives his name to the work. Interesting as we really think him, we suspect most of his readers will be rather disappointed, both at the sobriety and caution of his ordinary demeanour, and at the lowliness of his original occupation. We cannot give the account of it in more authentic words than those of his kinsman Baillie Jarvie, who thus epitomizes his eventful history.

'"Robin was anes a weel-doing, pains-taking drover as ye wad see amang ten thousand—It was a pleasure to see him in his belted plaid and brogues, wi' his target at his back, and claymore and dirk at his belt, following a hundred Highland stots, and a dozen o' the gillies, as rough and ragged as the beasts they drave. And he was baith civil and just in his dealings, and if he thought his chapman had made a hard bargain, he wad gie him a luck penny to the mends. I hae kenn'd him gie back five shillings out o' the pund sterling."—"Twenty-five per cent," said Owen—"a heavy discount."—"He

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wad gie it though, sir, as I tell ye; mair especially if he thought the buyer was a puir man and couldna stand by a loss. But the times cam hard, and Rob was venturesome. It wasna my faut—it wasna my faut; he canna wyte me. I aye tauld him o't—And the creditors, mair especially some grit neighbours o' his, grippit to his living and land; and they say his wife was turned out o' the house to the hill-side, and sair misguided to the boot. Shamefu'! shamefu'!—I am a peacefu' man and a magistrate, but if ony ane had guided sae muckle as my servant quean, Mattie, as it's like they guided Rob's wife, I think it suld hae set the shabble that my father the deacon had at Bothwel-brigg a-walking again. Weel, Rob cam hame, and fand desolation, God pity us! where he left plenty; he looked east, west, south, and north, and saw neither hauld nor hope—neither beild nor shelter—sae he e'en pu'd the bonnet ower his brow, belted the broadsword to his side, took to the brae-side, and became a broken man."' II. p. 283—285.

Some idea of his authoritative and haughty manner may be gathered from the scene to which we have already alluded, of his interference between Rashleigh and our hero when they accidentally meet, and assault each other in Glasgow.

"' Our death-grapple was interrupted by a man who forcibly threw himself between us, and pushing us separate from each other, exclaimed, in a loud and commanding voice, "What! the sons of those who sucked the same breast shedding each others bluid as it were strangers!—By the hand of my father, I will cleave to the brisket the first man that mints another stroke."—I looked up in astonishment. The speaker was no other than Campbell. He had a basket-hilted broadsword drawn in his hand, which he made to whistle around his head as he spoke, as if for the purpose of enforcing his mediation. Rashleigh and I stared in silence at this unexpected intruder, who proceeded to exhort us alternately: "Do you, Maister Francis, opine that ye will re-establish your father's credit by cutting your kinsman's thrapple, or getting your ain sneckit instead thereof in the College-yards of Glasgow?—Or do ye, Maister Rashleigh, think men will trust their lives and fortunes wi' ane, that, when in point of trust and in point of confidence wi' a great political interest, gangs about brawling like a drunken gillie?—Nay, never look gash or grim at me, man—if ye're angry, ye ken how to turn the buckle o' your belt behind you."—"You presume on my present situation," replied Rashleigh, "or you would hardly have dared to interfere where my honour is concerned."—"Hout, tout, tout!—Presume?—And what for should it be presuming?—Ye may be the richer man, Mr Osbaldistone, as is maist likely, and ye may be the mair learned man, whilk I dispute not; but I reckon ye are neither a prettier man nor a better gentleman than mysell, and it will be news to me when I hear you are as gude. And *dare* too?—Muckle daring there's about it—I trow here I stand, that hae slashed as het a

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haggies as ony o' the twa o' ye, and thought nae muckle o' my morning's wark when it was dune. If my foot were on the heather, as it's on the causeway, or this pickle gravel, that's little better, I hae been waur mistrysted than if I were set to gie ye baith your ser'ing o't."—Rashleigh had by this time recovered his temper completely. "My kinsman," he said, "will acknowledge he forced this quarrel on me. It was none of my seeking. I am glad we are interrupted before I chastised his forwardness more severely."—"Are ye hurt, lad?" inquired Campbell at me with some appearance of interest.—"A very slight scratch," I answered, "which my kind cousin would not long have boasted of, had not you come between us."—"In troth, and that's true, Maister Rashleigh," said Campbell; "for the cauld iron and your best bluid were like to hae become acquaint when I mastered Mr Frank's right hand. But never look like a sow playing on a trump for the luve o' that, man—come and walk wi' me. I hae news to tell ye, and ye'll cool and come to yoursell, like MacGibbon's crowdy, when he set it out at the window-hole."' II. p. 253—257.

Before exhibiting the mountaineer in his native scenes, it is right, perhaps, that the reader should have an idea of the nature of those scenes, and their inhabitants. He may therefore take the following account of our travellers' entry into the little inn at Aberfoil, across the half open door of which they had found a peeled willow wand. In spite of this warning rod, and the resistance of the landlady, says Mr Osbaldistone,

'I opened a crazy half-decayed door, constructed, not of plank, but of wicker, and, followed by the Baillie, entered into the principal apartment of this Scottish caravansera. The interior presented a view which seemed singular enough to southern eyes. The fire, fed with blazing turf and branches of dried wood, blazed merrily in the centre; but the smoke, having no means to escape but through a hole in the roof, eddied round the rafters of the cottage, and hung in sable folds at the height of about five feet from the floor. The space beneath was kept pretty clear, by innumerable currents of air which rushed towards the fire from the broken pannel of basket-work which served as a door, from two square holes, designed as ostensible windows, through one of which was thrust a plaid, and through the other a tattered great coat; and moreover, through various less distinguishable apertures in the walls of the tenement, which, being built of round stones and turf, cemented by mud, let in the atmosphere at innumerable crevices. At an old oaken table, adjoining to the fire, sat three men, guests apparently, whom it was impossible to regard with indifference. Two were in the Highland dress; the one a little dark-complexioned man, with a lively, quick, and irritable expression of features, wore the trews, or close pantaloons, wove out of a sort of chequered stocking stuff. The Baillie whispered me, that "he behoved to be a man of some consequence, for that nae-

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body but their Duinhéwassels wore the trews; they were very ill to weave exactly to their Highland pleasure." The other mountaineer was a very tall, strong man, with a quantity of reddish hair, freckled face, high cheek-bones, and long chin—a sort of caricature of the national features of Scotland. The tartan which he wore differed from that of his companion, as it had much more scarlet in it, whereas the shades of black and dark-green predominated in the chequers of the other. The third, who sate at the same table, was in the Lowland dress,—a bold, stout-looking man, with a cast of military daring in his eye and manner, his riding-dress showily and profusely laced, and his cocked hat of formidable dimensions. His hanger and a pair of pistols lay on the table before him. Each of the Highlanders had their naked dirks stuck upright in the board beside him,—an emblem, I was afterwards informed, but surely a strange one, that their compotation was not to be interrupted by any brawl. A mighty pewter measure, containing about an English quart of usquebaugh, was placed before these worthies. A broken glass, with a wooden foot, served as a drinking cup to the whole party, and circulated with a rapidity, which, considering the potency of the liquor, seemed absolutely marvellous. These men spoke loud and eagerly together, sometimes in Gaelic, at other times in English. Another Highlander, wrapt in his plaid, reclined on the floor, his head resting on a stone, from which it was only separated by a wisp of straw, and slept, or seemed to sleep, without attending to what was going on around him. He also was probably a stranger, for he lay in full dress, and accoutred with the sword and target, the usual arms of his countrymen when on a journey. Cribs there were of different dimensions beside the walls, formed, some of fractured boards, some of shattered wicker-work or plaited boughs, in which slumbered the family of the house, men, women, and children, their places of repose only concealed by the dusky wreaths of vapour which arose above, below, and around them.

'Our entrance was made so quietly, and the carousers I have described were so eagerly engaged in their discussions, that we escaped their notice for a minute or two. But I observed the Highlander who lay beside the fire raise himself on his elbow as we entered, and, drawing his plaid over the lower part of his face, fix his look on us for a few seconds, after which he resumed his recumbent posture, and seemed again to betake himself to the repose which our entrance had interrupted. We advanced to the fire, which was an agreeable spectacle after our late ride, during the chillness of an Autumn evening among the mountains, and first attracted the attention of the guests who had preceded us, by calling for the landlady. She approached, looking doubtfully and timidly, now at us, now at the other party, and returned a hesitating and doubtful answer to our request to have something to eat. I assured her we were indifferent to the quality of our supper; and looking round for means of accommodation, which were not easily to be found, I arranged an old hen-coop as a seat for Mr Jarvie, and turn-

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ed down a broken tub to serve for my own. Andrew Fairservice entered presently afterwards, and took a place in silence behind our backs. The natives, as I may call them, continued staring at us with an air as if confounded by our assurance, and we, at least I myself, disguised as well as we could, under an appearance of indifference, any secret anxiety we might feel concerning the mode in which we were to be received by our predecessors. At length, the lesser Highlander, addressing himself to me, said, in very good English, and in a tone of great haughtiness, "Ye make yourself at home, sir, I see."—"I usually do so," I replied, "when I come into a house of public entertainment."—"And did she na see," said the taller man, "by the white wand at the door, that gentlemens had taken up the public-house on their ain business?"—"I do not pretend to understand the customs of this country; but I am yet to learn," I replied, "how three persons should be entitled to exclude all other travellers from the only place of shelter and refreshment for miles round."—"There's nae reason for't, gentlemen," said the Baillie; "we mean nae offence—but there's neither law nor reason for't—but as far as a stoup o' gude brandy wad make up the quarrel, we, being peaceable folk, wad be willing—" "Damn your brandy, sir!" said the Lowlander, adjusting his cocked-hat fiercely upon his head; "we desire neither your brandy nor your company;" and up he rose from his seat. There was obviously a fray about to ensue, at which, feeling myself indignant at the inhospitable insolence with which I was treated, I was totally indifferent, unless on the Baillie's account, whose person and qualities were ill qualified for such an adventure. I started up, however, on seeing the others rise, and dropped my cloak from my shoulders, that I might be ready to stand on the defensive.—"We are three to three," said the lesser Highlander, glancing his eyes at our party; "if ye be pretty men, draw;" and, unsheathing his broadsword, he advanced on me. I put myself in a posture of defence, and, aware of the superiority of my weapon, a rapier or small-sword, was little afraid of the issue of the contest. The Baillie behaved with unexpected mettle. As he saw the gigantic Highlander confront him with his weapon drawn, he tugged for a second or two at the hilt of his *shabble*, as he called it; but finding it loath to quit the sheath, to which it had long been secured by rust and disuse, he seized, as a substitute, on the red-hot coulter of a plough which had been employed in arranging the fire by way of a poker, and brandished it with such effect, that at the first pass he set the Highlander's plaid on fire, and compelled him to keep a respectful distance till he could get it extinguished.' III. 13–22.

The whole scene at the Clachan, as well as the march up the lake, and the sanguinary skirmish at the pass, are given with admirable spirit. But we cannot now make room for them. Yet we cannot refrain from one sentence of local description—just to show with what force and truth this author delineates his native landscape.

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'I shall never forget the delightful sensation with which I exchanged the dark, smoky, smothering atmosphere of the Highland hut, in which we had passed the night so uncomfortably, for the refreshing fragrance of the morning air, and the glorious beams of the rising sun, which, from a tabernacle of purple and golden clouds, were darted full on such a scene of natural romance and beauty as had never before greeted my eyes. To the left lay the valley, down which the Forth wandered on its easterly course, surrounding the beautiful detached hill, with all its garland of woods. On the right, amid a profusion of thickets, knolls, and crags, lay the bed of a broad mountain lake, lightly curled into tiny waves by the breath of the morning breeze, each glittering in its course under the influence of the sun-beams. High hills, rocks, and banks, waving with natural forests of birch and oak, formed the borders of this enchanting sheet of water; and, as their leaves rustled to the wind and twinkled in the sun, gave to the depth of solitude a sort of life and vivacity. Man alone seemed to be placed in a state of inferiority, in a scene where all the ordinary features of nature were raised and exalted. The miserable little *bourocks*, as the Baillie termed them, of which about a dozen formed the village called the Clachan of Aberfoil, were composed of loose stones, cemented by clay instead of mortar, and thatched by turfs, laid rudely upon rafters formed of native and unhewn birches and oaks from the woods around. The roofs approached the ground so nearly, that Andrew Fairservice observed we might have ridden over the village the night before, and never found out we were near it, unless our horses' feet had "gane thro' the riggin."' III. p. 68, 69.

We must pass over the scene after the battle, as well as the battle itself; but we cannot refuse a place to the drowning of the exciseman, the hapless hostage for Rob Roy's safe return. At the command of his Amazonian consort—

'they dragged forward a wretch already half dead with terror, in whose agonized features I recognised, to my horror and astonishment, my old acquaintance Morris. He fell prostrate before the female Chief with an effort to clasp her knees, from which she drew back, as if his touch had been pollution, so that all he could do in token of the extremity of his humiliation, was to kiss the hem of her plaid. I never heard entreaties for life poured forth with such agony of spirit. The ecstacy of fear was such, that, instead of paralyzing his tongue, as on ordinary occasions, it even rendered him eloquent, and, with cheeks pale as ashes, hands compressed in agony, eyes that seemed to be taking their last look of all mortal objects, he protested, with the deepest oaths, his total ignorance of any design on the person of Rob Roy, whom he swore he loved and honoured as his own soul.—In the inconsistency of his terror, he said, he was but the agent of others, and he muttered the name of Rashleigh.—He prayed but for life—for life he would give all he had in the world;—it was but life he asked—life, if it were to be prolonged under tor-

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tures and privations;—he asked only breath, though it should be drawn in the damps of the lowest caverns of their hills. It is impossible to describe the scorn, the loathing and contempt, with which the wife of MacGregor regarded this wretched petitioner for the poor boon of existence. "I could have bid you live," she said, "had life been to you the same weary and wasting burthen that it is to me—that it is to every noble and generous mind. But you—wretch! you could creep through the world unaffected by its various disgraces, its ineffable miseries, its constantly accumulating masses of crime and sorrow—you could live and enjoy yourself, while the noble minded are betrayed—while nameless and birthless villains tread on the neck of the brave and the long-descended;—you could enjoy yourself, like a butcher's dog in the shambles, battening on garbage, while the slaughter of the brave went on around you! This enjoyment you shall not live to partake of; you shall die, base dog, and that before yon cloud has passed over the sun."—She gave a brief command in Gaelic to her attendants, two of whom seized upon the prostrate suppliant, and hurried him to the brink of a cliff which overhung the flood. He set up the most piercing and dreadful cries that fear ever uttered—I may well term them dreadful, for they haunted my sleep for years afterward. As the murderers, or executioners, call them as you will, dragged him along, he recognised me even in that moment of horror, and exclaimed, in the last articulate words I ever heard him utter, "O, Mr Osbaldistone, save me!—save me!"—I was so much moved by this horrid spectacle, that, although in momentary expectation of sharing his fate, I did attempt to speak in his behalf, but, as might have been expected, my interference was sternly disregarded. The victim was held fast by some, while others, binding a large heavy stone in a plaid, tied it round his neck, and others again eagerly stripped him of some part of his dress. Half naked, and thus manacled, they hurled him into the lake, there about twelve feet deep, drowning his last death-shriek with a loud halloo of vindictive triumph, above which, however, the yell of mortal agony was distinctly heard. The heavy burden splashed in the dark-blue waters of the lake; and the Highlanders, with their pole-axes and swords, watched an instant, to guard, lest, extricating himself from the load to which he was attached, he might have struggled to regain the shore. But the knot had been securely bound; the victim sunk without effort; the waters, which his fall had disturbed, settled calmly over him; and the unit of that life for which he had pleaded so strongly, was for ever withdrawn from the sum of human existence.' III. p. 120—124.

We may now show Rob himself, as he appeared when brought as a captive before the Duke of M., at the head of the county militia.

'His arms were belted down above the elbow, and secured to his body by a horse-girth buckled tight behind him. Two non-commis-

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sioned officers had hold of him, one on each side, and two file of men with carabines and fixed bayonets attended for additional security.—I had never seen this man in the dress of his country, which set off in a striking point of view the peculiarities of his form. A shock-head of red hair, which the hat and periwig of the Lowland costume had in a great measure concealed, was seen beneath the Highland bonnet, and verified the epithet of *Roy* or Red, by which he was much better known in the low country than by any other, and is still, I suppose, best remembered. The justice of the appellation was also vindicated by the appearance of that part of his limbs, from the bottom of his kilt to the top of his short hose, which the fashion of his country dress left bare, and which was covered with a fell of thick, short, red hair, especially around his knees, which resembled in this respect, as well as from their sinewy appearance of extreme strength, the limbs of a red-coloured Highland bull. Upon the whole, betwixt the effect produced by the change of dress, and by my having become acquainted with his real and formidable character, his appearance had acquired to my eyes something so much wilder and more striking than it before presented, that I could scarce recognise him to be the same person.

'His manner was bold, unconstrained unless by the actual bonds, haughty, and even dignified. He bowed to the Duke, nodded to Garschattachin and others, and showed some surprise at seeing me among the party. "It is long since we have met, Mr Campbell," said the Duke.—"It is so, my Lord Lord Duke; I could have wished it had been" (looking at the fastening on his arms) "when I could have better paid the compliments I owe to your Grace—but there's a guid time coming."—"No time like the time present, Mr Campbell," answered the Duke; "for the hours are fast flying that must settle your last account with all mortal affairs. You know that you have deserved death, and that you must prepare for it."—"My Lord," said Rob Roy, "although I may well lay my misfortunes to your Grace's door, yet I will never say that you yourself have been the wilful and willing author of them. My Lord, if I had thought sae, your Grace would not this day have been sitting in judgment on me; for you have been three times within good rifle distance of me when you were thinking but of the red deer; and few people have kenn'd me miss my aim. But as for them that have abused your Grace's ear, and set you up against a man that was ance as peaceful' a man as ony in the land, and made your name the warrant for driving me to utter extremity.—I have had some amends of them; and for a' that your Grace now says, I expect to live to hae mair."—"I know," said the Duke, in rising anger, "that you are a determined and impudent villain, who will keep his oath if he swears to mischief; but it shall be my care to prevent you. You have no enemies but your own wicked actions."—"Had I called myself Grahame, instead of Campbell, I might have heard less about them," answered Rob Roy, with dogged resolution.' III. 147–151.

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After his escape at the ford, he appears again to our hero, who says that as he was walking along—

'I was suddenly hailed by a touch on the shoulder; and the deep voice of a Highlander, who, walking still faster than I, though I was proceeding at a smart pace, accosted me with, "A braw night, Maister Osbaldistone—we have met at the mirk hour before now." There was no mistaking the tone of MacGregor; he had escaped the pursuit of his enemies, and was in full retreat to his own wilds, and to his adherents. He had also contrived to arm himself, probably at the house of some secret adherent; for he had a musket on his shoulder, and the usual Highland weapons by his side.'

'After some talk of his escape, "I thought," said he, "the chield Morris looked devilish queer when I determined he should remain a wad, or hostage, for my safe back-coming—but I *am* come back, nae thanks to him, or them that employed him; and the question is, how the collector-loon is to win back himsell—I promise him it will not be without ransom."—"Morris," said I, "has already paid the last ransom which mortal man can owe."—"Eh! What?" exclaimed my companion hastily, "I trust it was in the skirmish he was killed."—"He was slain in cold blood, after the fight was over, Mr Campbell."—"Cold blood?—Damnation!" he said, muttering betwixt his teeth—"How fell that, Sir?—Speak out, sir, and do not Master or Campbell me—my foot is on my native heath, and my name is MacGregor." His passions were obviously irritated; but, without noticing the rudeness of his tone, I gave him a short and distinct account of the death of Morris. He struck the butt of his gun with great vehemence against the ground, and broke out, "I vow to God! such a deed might make one forswear kin, clan, country, wife, and bairns! And yet the villain wrought long for it. And what is the difference between warstling below the water wi' a stane about your neck, and wavering in the wind wi' a tether round it?—it's but choking after a', and he drees the doom he ettled for me. I could hae wished, though, they had rather putten a ball through him, or a dirk; for the fashion of removing him will give rise to mony idle clavers—But every wight has his weird, and we maun a' dee when our day comes—And naebody will deny that Helen MacGregor has deep wrongs to avenge." III. 190–192.

We must return to Die Vernon, for the last time—and give our readers her romantic encounter with her lover in his lonely night-walk in this remote and solitary region.

'A sharp frost wind, which made itself heard and felt from time to time, removed the clouds of mist which might otherwise have slumbered till morning on the valley; and, though it could not totally disperse the clouds of vapour, yet threw them in confused and changeful masses, now hovering round the heads of the mountains, now filling, as with a dense and voluminous stream of smoke, the

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various deep gullies where masses of the composite rock, or *brescia*, tumbling in fragments from the cliffs, have rushed to the valley, leaving each behind its course a rent and torn ravine resembling a deserted water-course. The moon, which was now high, and twinkled with all the vivacity of a frosty atmosphere, silvered the windings of the river and the peaks and precipices which the mist left visible, while her beams seemed as it were absorbed by the fleecy whiteness of the mist, where it lay thick and condensed; and gave to the more light and vapoury specks, which were elsewhere visible, a sort of filmy transparency resembling the lightest veil of silver gauze. Despite the uncertainty of my situation, a view so romantic, joined to the active and inspiring influence of the frosty atmosphere, elevated my spirits while it braced my nerves. I felt an inclination to cast care away, and bid defiance to danger, and involuntarily whistled, by way of cadence to my steps, which my feeling of the cold led me to accelerate, and I felt the pulse of existence beat prouder and higher in proportion as I felt confidence in my own strength, courage, and resources. I was so much lost in these thoughts, and in the feelings which they excited, that two horsemen came up behind me without my hearing their approach, until one was on each side of me, when the left-hand rider, pulling up his horse, addressed me in the English tongue. "So ho, friend, whither so late?"—"To my supper and bed at Aberfoil," I replied.—"Are the passes open?" he inquired, with the same commanding tone of voice. "I do not know," I replied; "I shall learn when I get there."—"Mr Francis Osbaldistone," said the other rider, in a voice, the tones of which thrilled through every nerve of my body, "should not whistle his favourite airs when he wishes to remain undiscovered." And Diana Vernon, for she, wrapped in a horseman's cloak, was the last speaker, whistled in playful mimicry the second part of the tune which was on my lips when they came up.—"Good God!" I exclaimed, like one thunderstruck, "can it be you, Miss Vernon, on such a spot—at such an hour—in such a lawless country—in such—" "In such a masculine dress, you would say.—But what would you have?—The philosophy of the excellent Corporal Nym is the best after all—things must be as they may—*pauca verba*." While she was thus speaking, I eagerly took advantage of an unusually bright gleam of moonshine, to study the appearance of her companion, &c. The object of my anxiety seemed desirous to get rid of my investigation. "Diana," he said, in a tone of mingled kindness and authority, "give your cousin his property, and do not let us spend time here." Miss Vernon had in the mean time taken out a small case, and leaning down from her horse towards me, she said, in a tone in which an effort at her usual quaint lightness of expression contended with a deeper and more grave tone of sentiment, "You see, my dear coz, I was born to be your better angel. Rashleigh has been compelled to yield up his spoil, and had we reached this same village of Aberfoil last night, as we purposed, I should

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have found some Highland sylph to have wafted to you all these representatives of commercial wealth. But there were giants and dragons in the way; and errant-knights and damsels of modern times, bold though they be, must not, as of yore, run into useless danger —Do not you do so either, my dear coz." — "Diana," said her companion, "let me once more warn you that the evening waxes late, and we are still distant from our home."—"I am coming, sir, I am coming—Consider," she added, with a sigh, "how lately I have been subjected to controul—besides, I have not yet given my cousin the packet—and bid him farewell—for ever—Yes, Frank," she said, "for *ever*—there is a gulph between us—a gulph of absolute perdition—where we go, you must not follow—what we do, you must not share in—farewell—be happy." In the attitude in which she bent from her horse, which was a Highland poney, her face, not perhaps altogether unwillingly, touched mine—She pressed my hand, while the tear that trembled in her eye found its way to my cheek instead of her own. It was a moment never to be forgotten—inexpressibly bitter, yet mixed with a sensation of pleasure so deeply soothing and affecting, as at once to unlock all the floodgates of the heart. It was *but* a moment, however; for instantly recovering from the feeling to which she had involuntarily given way, she intimated to her companion she was ready to attend him, and putting their horses to a brisk pace, they were soon far distant from the place where I stood.

'Heaven knows, it was not apathy which loaded my frame and my tongue so much, that I could neither return Miss Vernon's half embrace, nor even answer her farewell. The word, though it rose to my tongue, seemed to choke in my throat like the fatal *guilty*, which the delinquent who makes it his plea knows must be followed by the doom of death. The surprise—the sorrow, almost stupified me. I remained motionless with the packet in my hand, gazing after them, as if endeavouring to count the sparkles which flew from the horses' hoofs. I continued to look, after even these had ceased to be visible, and to listen for their footsteps long after the last distant trampling had died in my ears. At length, tears rushed to my eyes, glazed as they were by the exertion of straining after what was no longer to be seen. I wiped them mechanically, and almost without being aware that they were flowing; but they came thicker and thicker—I felt the tightening of the throat and breast, the *hysterica passio* of poor Lear; and, sitting down by the wayside, I shed a flood of the first and most bitter tears which had flowed from my eyes since childhood.' III. 170—179.

The reader may perhaps like to see the breakfast scene with which Rob cheered his parting guests.

'The taste, as well as the eloquence of tribes, in a savage, or, to speak more properly, in a rude state, is usually just, because it is unfettered by system and affectation, and of this I had an example in the choice these mountaineers had made of a place to receive their

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guests. It has been said that a British monarch would judge well to receive the embassy of a rival power in the cabin of a man-of-war; and a Highland leader acted with some propriety in chusing a situation where the natural objects of grandeur proper to his country might have the full effect on the mind of his guests. We ascended about two hundred yards from the shores of the lake, guided by a brawling brook, and left on the right hand four or five Highland huts, with patches of arable land around them, cut as it were out of the surrounding copsewood, and waving with crops of barley and oats. Above this limited space, the hill became more steep; and on its edge we descried the glittering arms and waving drapery of about fifty of MacGregor's followers. They were stationed on a spot, the recollection of which yet strikes me with admiration. The brook, hurling its waters downwards from the mountain, had in this spot encountered a barrier rock, over which it had made its way by two distinct leaps. The first fall, across which a magnificent old oak, slanting out from the farther bank, partly extended itself as if to shroud the dusky stream of the cascade, might be about twelve feet high; the broken waters were received in a beautiful stone bason, almost as regular as if hewn by a sculptor; and after wheeling around its flinty margin, they made a second precipitous dash through a dark and narrow chasm, at least fifty foot in depth, and from thence, in a hurried, but comparatively a more gentle course, escaped to join the lake.

'The Highlanders who had been dispersed on the side of the hill drew themselves together when we came in view, and standing firm and motionless, appeared in close column behind three figures whom I soon recognised to be Helen Macgregor and her two sons. Macgregor himself arranged his attendants in the rear, and requesting Mr Jarvie to dismount where the ascent became steep, advanced slowly, marshalling us forward at the head of the troop. As we advanced, we heard the wild notes of the bagpipes, which lost their natural discord from being mingled with the dashing sound of the cascade. When we came close, the wife of MacGregor came forward to meet us: Her dress was studiously arranged in a more feminine taste than it had been on the preceding day, but her features wore the same lofty, unbending, and resolute character; and as she folded my friend, the Baillie, in an unexpected and apparently unwelcome embrace, I could perceive, by the agitation of his wig, his back, and the calves of his legs, that he felt much like to one who feels himself suddenly in the gripe of a she bear, without being able to distinguish whether the animal is in kindness or in wrath. "Kinsman," she said, "you are welcome—and you too, stranger," she added, releasing my alarmed companion, who instinctively drew back and settled his wig, and addressing herself to me,—"You are also welcome—You came," she added, "to our unhappy country, when our bloods were chafed, and our hands were red. Excuse the rudeness that gave you a rough welcome, and lay it upon the evil times, and not upon us." All this was said with the manners of a princess, and in

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the tone and style of a court. Nor was there the least tincture of that vulgarity, which we naturally attach to the Lowland Scottish. There was a strong provincial accentuation; but, otherwise, the language rendered by Helen MacGregor, out of the native and poetical Gaelic, into English, which she had acquired as we do learned tongues, but had probably never heard applied to the mean purposes of ordinary life, was graceful, flowing, and declamatory. Her husband, who had in his time played many parts, used a much less elevated and emphatic dialect,—but even *his* language rose in purity of expression, as you may have remarked, if I have been accurate in recording it, when the affairs which he discussed were of an agitating and important nature, &c.—" Adieu, cousin," she said to Mr Jarvie, as we arose from the entertainment; " the best wish Helen MacGregor can give to a friend is, that he may see her no more." The Baillie struggled to answer, probably with some common-place maxim of morality; but the calm and melancholy sternness of her countenance bore down and disconcerted the mechanical and formal importance of the magistrate. He coughed,—hemmed,—bowed,—and was silent. " For you, stranger," she said, " I have a token from one whom you—— " Helen," interrupted MacGregor, in a loud and stern voice, " what means this,—have you forgotten the charge?"—" MacGregor," she replied, " I have forgotten nought that is fitting for me to remember. It is not such hands as these," and she stretched forth her long, sinewy, and bare arm, " that are fitted to convey love-tokens, were the gift connected with aught but misery.—Young man," she said, presenting me with a ring, which I well remembered as one of the few ornaments that Miss Vernon sometimes wore, " this comes from one whom you will never see more. If it is a joyless token, it is well fitted to pass through the hands of one to whom joy can never be known. Her last words were —Let him forget me for ever."—" And can she," I said, almost without being conscious that I spoke, " suppose that is possible?" —" All may be forgotten," said the extraordinary female who addressed me,—" all—but the sense of dishonour, and the desire of vengeance."—" *Seid suas*," cried the MacGregor, stamping with impatience. The bagpipes sounded, and, with their thrilling and jarring tones, cut short our conference. Our leave of our hostess was taken by silent gestures; and we resumed our journey, with an additional proof on my part, that I was beloved by Diana, and was separated from her for ever.' III. p. 239—248.

We should now regale our readers with some specimens of the humours of Andrew Fairservice and Baillie Jarvie, which occupy no inconsiderable part of the volumes before us: But we have already been so lavish of our citations, that we must leave these worthies to be studied in the original. Andrew is a new, and a less interesting incarnation of Cuddie Headrig, with a double allowance of selfishness, and a top-dressing of pedantry

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and conceit—a very admirable and just representation of the least amiable of our Scottish vulgar. The Bailie, we think, is an original. It once occurred to us, that he might be termed a mercantile and townish Dandie Dinmont; but the points of resemblance are really fewer than those of contrast. He is an inimitable picture of an acute, sagacious, upright, and kind man, thoroughly low bred, and beset with all sorts of vulgarities. Both he and Andrew are rich mines of the true Scottish language; and afford, in the hands of this singular writer, not only an additional proof of his perfect familiarity with all its dialects, but also of its extraordinary copiousness, and capacity of adaptation to all tones and subjects. The reader may take a brief specimen of Andrew's elocution in the following characteristic account of the purgation of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, and its consequent preservation from the hands of our Gothic reformers.

'"Ah! it's a brave kirk—nane o' yere whig-maleeries and curlie-wurlies and open-steek hems about it—a' solid, weel-jointed mason-wark, that will stand as long as the warld, keep hands and gunpowther aff it. It had amaist a doun-come lang syne at the Reformation, when they pu'd doun the kirks of St Andrews and Perth, and thereawa, to cleanse them o' Papery, and idolatry, and image worship, and surplices, and sic like rags o' the muckle hoor that sitteth on seven hills, as if ane was na braid aneugh for her auld hinder end. Sae the commons o' Renfrew, and o' the Barony, and the Gorbals, and a' about, they behoved to come into Glasgow ae fair morning to try their hand on purging the High Kirk o' Popish nick-nackets. But the townsmen o' Glasgow, they were feared their auld edifice might slip the girths in gaun through siccan rough physic, sae they rang the common bell, and assembled the train bands wi' took o' drum—By good luck, the worthy James Rabat was Dean o' Guild that year—(and a gude mason he was himsell, made him the keener to keep up the auld bigging), and the trades assembled, and offered downright battle to the commons, rather than their kirk should coup the crans, as they had done elsewhere. It was na for luve o' Paperie—na, na!—nane could ever say that o' the trades o' Glasgow.—Sae they sune cam to an agreement to take a' the idolatrous statues of saints (sorrow be on them) out o' their neuks—And sae the bits o' stane idols were broken in pieces by Scripture warrant, and flung into the Molendinar Burn, and the auld kirk stood as crouse as a cat when the fleas are caimed aff her, and a'body was alike pleased. And I hae heard wise folk say, that if the same had been done in ilka kirk in Scotland, the Reform wad just hae been as pure as it is e'en now, and we wad had mair Christian-like kirks; for I hae been sae lang in England, that naething will drive it out o' my head, that the dog-kennell at Osbaldistone-Hall is better than mony a house o' God in Scotland."' II. p. 127—129.

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For the Baillie, we cannot immediately turn up any passage which would give our readers a just conception of him, within such a narrow space as we are now confined to. There is something characteristic, however, in his address to Rob Roy's wife, in the perilous moment immediately after the battle, when she demanded, with angry pride, 'who they were who claimed kindred with the Macgregor, and neither wore his colours nor spoke his language.'

"Uh! uh! said he in great terror, I am very happy to have this joyful opportunity," (a quaver in his voice strongly belied the emphasis which he studiously laid on the word joyful)—"this *joyful* occasion," he resumed, trying to give the adjective a more suitable accentuation, "to wish my kinsman Robin's wife a very good morning—Uh! uh!—How's a' wi' ye" (by this time he had talked himself into his usual jog-trot manner, which exhibited a mixture of familiarity and self-importance)—"How's a' wi' ye this lang time?—Ye'll hae forgotten me, Mrs MacGregor Campbell, as your cousin—uh! uh!—if a—but ye'll mind my father, Deacon Nicol Jarvie, in the Saut-Market o' Glasgow?—an honest man he was, and a sponsible, and respectit you and yours—Sae, as I said before, I am right glad to see you, Mrs MacGregor Campbell, as my kinsman's wife. I wad crave the liberty of a kinsman to salute you, but that your gillies keep such a dolefu' fast haud o' my arms; and, to speak Heaven's truth and a magistrate's, ye wadna be the waur of a cogfu' o' water before ye welcomed your friends."—I ken weel aneugh you Hieland folk haud us Glasgow people light and cheap for our language and our claes; but every body speaks their native tongue that they learned in infancy; and it wad be a daft-like thing to see me wi' my fat wame in a short Hieland coat, and my puir short houghs gartered below the knee, like ane o' your lang-legged gillies—Mair by token, kinswoman," he continued, in defiance of various intimations by which Dougal seemed to recommend silence, as well as of the marks of impatience which the Amazon evinced at his loquacity, "I wad hae ye to mind that the king's errand whiles comes in the cadger's gate, and that, for as high as ye may think o' the gudeman, as it's right every wife should honour her husband—there's Scripture warrant for that—yet as high as ye haud him, as I was saying, I hae been serviceable to Rob or now;—forbye a set o' pearlins I sent yoursell when ye was gaun to be married, and when Rob was an honest weel-doing drover, and nane o' this unlawfu' wark, wi' fighting, and flashes, and fluf-gibs, disturbing the king's peace and disarming his soldiers.' III. p. 104—108.

His commentary on these agitating adventures, after they are safely returned to Glasgow, is still true in character.

'"I wad heartily wish, Maister Francis, there suld be as little said as possible about the queer things we saw up yonder awa—There's

nae gude, unless ane were judicially examinate, to say ony thing about that awfu' job o' Morris—and the members o' the council wadna think it creditable in ane of their body to be fighting wi' a wheen Hielandmen, and singeing their plaidens—And abune a', though I am a decent sponsible man, when I am on my right end, I canna but think I maun hae made a queer figure without my hat and my periwig, hinging by the middle like bawdrons, or a cloak flung ower a cloakpin. Baillie Grahame wad hae an unco hair in my neck an' he got that tale by the end." I could not suppress a smile when I recollected the Baillie's situation, although I certainly thought it no laughing matter at the time. The good-natured merchant was a little confused, but smiled also when he shook his head. "I see how it is—I see how it is. But say naething about it—there's a gude callant; and charge that lang-tongued, conceited, upsetting, serving-man o' yours, to say naething neither. I wadna for ever sae muckle that even the lassock Mattie kenn'd ony thing about it. I wad never hear an end o't." He was obviously relieved from his impending fears of ridicule, when I told him it was my father's intention to leave Glasgow almost immediately.

'We spent, accordingly, one hospitable day with the Baillie, and took leave of him, as this narrative now does. He continued to grow in wealth, honour, and credit, and actually rose to the highest civic honours in his native city. About two years after the period I have mentioned, he tired of his bachelor life, and promoted Mattie from her wheel by the kitchen fire, to the upper end of his table, in the character of Mrs Jarvie. Baillie Grahame, the MacVitties, and others (for all men have their enemies, especially in the council of a royal burgh), ridiculed this transformation. "But," said Mr Jarvie, "let them say their say. I'll n'er fash mysell, nor lose my liking for sae feckless a matter as a nine days' clash. My honest father the deacon had a byeword,

"Brent brow and lily skin,
A loving heart, and a leal within,
Is better than gowd or gentle kin."

"Besides," as he always concluded, "Mattie was nae ordinary lassock-quean; she was akin to the Laird of Limmerfield."' p. 265—268.

We must leave this now for more serious work—though there are many other things well worthy of commemoration in the volumes before us; an admirable picture, for example, of Mr Justice Inglewood and his clerk—of the creature Dougal—of the Barony church and its congregation—and of many other scenes, both in England and Scotland. We have said enough, however, to give a sufficient idea of the work to those who may not have perused it: and far more than enough, we fear, to enable those who have, to compare our opinion of its merits with their own.

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ART. VIII. *Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China.* By HENRY ELLIS, Third Commissioner to the Embassy. Printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1817. pp. 526.

EVERY body who knew any thing of the matter, we believe, was prepared for that catastrophe of this new Chinese mission, which actually ensued. Waving the long agitated question of the comparative civilization of China and Europe, the former is universally admitted to be more civilized than any Asiatic nation, with the exception, perhaps, of Japan. Within her vast dominions, the laws are tolerably administered; and both life and property are secure, to a degree altogether unknown in other Eastern societies. The most unequivocal proofs of their civilization, however, are to be found in the high value they put on the blessings of peace and tranquillity; and it is to this principle that we ought to ascribe their jealousy of foreigners, and their repugnance to all foreign connexion. This jealousy has long been chiefly directed against the Europeans, to whose restlessness, ambition, intrigues and abilities, they are no strangers. We have played the game of war and ambition, for near three hundred years, in their immediate vicinity; and most of us have, at one period or another, committed hostilities upon themselves. We have always professed, indeed, the greatest regard to justice and to national independence:—but in truth it was scarcely to be expected, that those who have watched the progress of our Indian empire, should give implicit faith to those professions. The Chinese are a practical, and not a very credulous people, and seem to have been guided almost entirely by experience in the measures they have adopted as to European nations. For though it has been said to be a fundamental law of the empire, to interdict the admission of foreigners, and the emigration of the natives, it is quite certain, not only that the latter has always been tolerated, and a limited commerce to some foreign countries even acknowledged by the laws—but that, in the early intercourse of China with Europe, trade was permitted with all its coasts and ports, and travellers allowed to wander unmolested through the interior. It was the misconduct of the Europeans that roused the just fears of the government, and induced them to resolve upon the limited intercourse which they have ever since permitted. The same course, indeed, has been adopted by all the neighbouring countries, Japan, Cochin,

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Siam, and others. Wherever, in a word, the native governments possessed vigour, the intercourse with Europeans has either been placed under jealous restrictions, or altogether interdicted.

Since the dawning of this spirit of jealousy, there have been nine formal embassies, we think, from European powers to the Court of Pekin; and the reception and result of the whole, certainly, had not been such as to lead to any very sanguine expectations as to the fortune of that, the miscarriage of which is recorded with so much fidelity in the volume before us.

The first embassy of the Russians was in 1655. The embassador refused to comply with *the nine prostrations*; and he was dismissed without ceremony!

The first Dutch embassy was in the same year; but an opposite course was adopted by that prudent, and then potent nation. The embassador performed as many prostrations as were required of him: and humbly intreated the privilege of a free trade for his countrymen. All, however, would not do; and the issue of the matter is contained in the following passage of his Imperial Majesty's answer to the letter of the Governor-General of the Indies, which we consider as an admirable model of Chinese address and refinement.

'You have asked leave,' says the Emperor, 'to come and trade in my country, by importing and exporting commodities, *which will redound very much to the advantage of my subjects:* But, in regard your country is so far distant, and the winds on these coasts so boisterous as to endanger your ships, the loss of which *would very much trouble me*; therefore, if you do think fit to send hither, I desire it may be but *once every eight years*, and no more than 100 men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my court. This I have thought good to propose *for your interest and safety.*'

The relative ranks of the various embassadors at the court of the Tartar monarch, on this occasion, are carefully recorded, and should have been had in remembrance. The first rank was assigned to the representative of the western Tartars, a barbarian half-clothed in sheep skins, with a tuft of horse hair on his bonnet, and a pair of breeches, as the old English translator graphically renders it, 'hanging in a clouterly manner half way down his legs.' Next to him came the embassador of the Lama, the spiritual chief of the conquerors of China, showing perhaps, in the spirit of the nation, the subordination of religious to temporal affairs. After both these, came the representative of the great Mogul, of no less a monarch than Shah Jehan, the lord of Hindustan, of part of Persia, and of the Deccan,

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and the master of 100 millions of subjects. The representative appeared with a splendour worthy of so great a prince—presenting 336 fine horses, a great diamond, and other gems: But he was contented, nevertheless, to be placed below the barbarian in sheep skins, and the Talapoin in his plain yellow robe. The Mogul embassador had truly represented his rank to be that of a viceroy. The Dutch, we are afraid, with less candour, made the same pretension, and were ranked along with him accordingly. If they had told the truth, that they were the representatives of the representatives of a band of merchants, they would, in all probability, have been excluded altogether from the *celestial presence.*

The second Russian Embassy, of which so admirable an account has been given by our countryman, Bell of Antermony, was in 1720, and sent by no less a monarch than that wonderful savage Peter the First. Ismayloff, the embassador, appears to have been a man of prudence and diplomatic dexterity. His negotiations were aided, perhaps, in some degree, by the reputation and victories of his master, but more, we have no doubt, by the singular and magnanimous character of Kang-hi the reigning Emperor, a prince firmly fixed upon his throne, and who patronized the science, and even the religion of the Europeans. His success, therefore, if we except that of the Portuguese, was eminently greater than that of any other embassador to the court of Pekin—yet the Ku-tou, or the three prostrations three times repeated, could not be evaded.

'The master of the ceremonies,' says the narrative, 'brought back the embassador, and then ordered all the company to kneel and make obeisance nine times to the Emperor. At every third time we stood up and kneeled again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but without success. The master of the ceremonies stood by and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* and *boss*, the first meaning to bow, and the other to stand;—" two words," adds Bell, with his accustomed simplicity of language, "which I cannot soon forget."

The instructions of the Czar to leave an agent at the Court of Pekin, were, with some difficulty, accomplished. But this officer was ill accommodated,—treated more like a state prisoner than a public functionary,—had a deaf ear turned to all his representations,—and was finally dismissed with the returning caravan!

A partial success has attended the negotiation of the Portuguese—a still more partial one some of those of the Dutch. The Portuguese, however, it should be remembered, were the first Europeans who reached the ports of China;—they gained the

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favour of the Chinese court, by useful services in suppressing some of those extensive piracies which so frequently endanger the existence of the local government. But, above all, the long continued influence of their Missionaries at the court of Pekin, supported their interests; and their present immunities are a mere boon given in remembrance of ancient services,—and continued to them, because their perfect subserviency, and, above all, their weakness, remove from the minds of the Chinese every thing like jealousy and suspicion.

The second Dutch Embassy was followed by some privileges granted to their nation; but they are very obviously to be ascribed to the conjuncture in which they were asked, and not to the skill with which the negotiation was conducted. The insurgent Que-Sing-Kang or Caxinga, as the Portuguese misname him, was the common enemy of the Tartars and of the Dutch. He was the most formidable opponent of the first in their conquest of China, and he conquered Formosa from the latter. This united their arms; and hence arose the favours bestowed for a time on the Dutch. When they undertook their last mission in 1796, they had no such claims upon the government; and consequently they were treated with the contumely and ridicule that is known to all the world.

It was with these precedents before us, that our mission of 1792 was resolved upon. A man of great experience in diplomacy, of a fine address, and all covered with ribands and orders, was chosen as Embassador. The utter failure of this experiment is matter of notoriety to the nation, and of humiliation to the party with whom it originated: And, with regard to its reasonableness, it may be enough to observe, that Mr Barrow, who accompanied the mission, has lately declared in print, 'that its immediate object was just about as reasonable as if the 'Emperor of China had sent to demand from us a cession of 'the Isle of Wight.' The only point gained on this occasion, was the evasion of the ceremony of the Ku-tou: a victory, to the merit or importance of which we confess that we are still incurably blind, and for which we cannot help thinking that it was at all times absurd to contend. 'The Emperor,' says Du Halde, 'is vested with absolute authority, and, to appearance, 'is a kind of divinity:'---- 'none are permitted to speak 'to him but on their knees; not even his eldest brother. As 'soon as a person has entered the door of the hall, he must run '*in a graceful manner* till he comes to the bottom of the cham-'ber fronting the Emperor, where he must stand a little, with 'both arms stretched downwards, and after bending his knees, 'bow to the ground three times; then rise up again; and 'repeat this last ceremony the second and third time, till he is

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'commanded to advance, and kneel at the Emperor's feet.'—Such is the ceremony of the Ku-tou—which really does not appear much more humiliating than other court ceremonies.

Now, when an embassador goes to a foreign court, it really seems to us but reasonable to suppose that he shall conform to the ceremony of that court with respect to embassadors, and not attempt to prescribe a new one. The most petty state in Europe would not submit to let this be disputed, by the greatest Sovereign in its neighbourhood;—and shall we expect the arrogant and unchangeable Chinese to submit to it? If the result of Lord Macartney's mission had created any such expectations, they should have been corrected by what took place a few years after, in the case of that European power which ranks highest in Chinese estimation—and with which it is most for their interest to be on terms of amity. In the year 1806, the present Emperor of Russia made a third attempt to negociate with the Chinese; and a splendid embassy, consisting of no less than 500 persons, was despatched. But the habitual jealousy of the nation was neither to be lulled nor flattered. The gorgeous cavalcade had no sooner arrived at the Great Wall, than an order was received from Pekin to reduce the persons of the embassy to the number of 70. Shortly after, commenced the discussion respecting the Ku-tou, which the Russian envoy refused to perform; in return for which he was hastily and unceremoniously dismissed, without being suffered even to approach the capital.

The difficulties in conducting the trade, which had suggested the former embassy, having not only continued, but been greatly aggravated, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, in 1815, thought proper to propose a new embassy; and his Majesty's Ministers thought proper to accede to the proposition. A nobleman of the most amiable character, but without diplomatic experience, was appointed embassador; and, to remedy all defects, two of our supercargoes from Canton were joined in the commission with the plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, in a country where, in the clumsy but intelligible words of the late Sir George Staunton, 'persons of a mercantile profession happen to be the lowest class in estimation.' If any thing could add to the folly of such a measure, it was, that one at least of the individuals, so nominated, though every way deserving of confidence and esteem, was considered by the Chinese as a dangerous person, and that this was notorious to those by whom he was appointed.

Such were the auspices under which the mission set forth on the voyage; no arrangement whatever having been made for

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the ceremonial of reception, which ought surely to have been provided for before leaving England. It was not, however, till they were fairly landed on Chinese ground, that the ridiculous discussions respecting the Ku-tou commenced, the details of which fill nearly one half of the volume before us;—though we shall take the liberty to dismiss the subject with merely remarking, that every member of the mission unconnected with the local interests of the Company in China, were decidedly of opinion, that the ceremony, if insisted in, ought to be submitted to:—Lord Amherst himself, Mr Ellis, who had seen the Persian court, and Mr Morrison, who had much experience of the Chinese, and acquired an admirable facility in the use of their language, had all the good sense to consider it as a matter of very little importance, and by no means a point upon which the substantial objects of the embassy should be hazarded.

The sequel of this undertaking is well known; and we have no desire to dwell upon it,—although it must be allowed to be summed up in a style of very amiable simplicity in the paternal lecture which the Chinese monarch directed to be read to the embassador before his embarkation. '*Your good fortune has been small!* you arrived at the gates of the imperial house, and were unable to lift your eyes to the face of heaven.' In this way two or three hundred thousand pounds have been very idly thrown away: But we are not of the number of those who apprehend any serious injury to our trade, from the failure of this expedition. The trade, luckily for us, is in a great measure beyond the reach of our political blunders, and may be soon made still more so. Nor should we be at all inclined to grudge the money that has been expended, if we could be assured that we have purchased with it the lessons of which we stand so much in need—and that there was at last an end of the infatuation of expecting to benefit our commercial relations with China, by associating them with our political power. It seems evident enough, we should think, that the state of society and government in China is such as to preclude entirely a diplomatic connexion with her, of the nature which subsists among the nations of Europe; while, in a political point of view, the country itself is so distant, and our interests so remote and distinct, that no national benefit could be expected from such a connexion. But, on the other hand, China is so vast a country, so populous, her population so ingenious, property so secure, tranquillity so general, and her productions so peculiar and so valuable, that a commercial intercourse with her, ought, to the utmost extent, to be encouraged and protected. For this purpose, we conceive all candid people will admit, that all cause of jealousy and

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distrust ought to be removed from the minds of the Chinese: And the whole history of our connexion with that country most clearly evinces, that all the dangers to which our trade has been exposed, all the disgusts we have received, and all the insults we have endured, have arisen from the absurd mixture of political and diplomatic authority with the system of our commercial agency. Ours is the only nation that has made this awkward combination; and it is matter of notoriety, that, with all our superiority in wealth and mercantile integrity, ours is, beyond all comparison, the most unpopular of all names in that quarter of the world; and that it is almost exclusively to the English that the characteristic jealousy of the nation is practically directed. 'Of all foreigners frequenting the port of Canton,' says Sir George Staunton, 'the English were certainly 'depicted in the most unfavourable colours to the government 'of the country; and probably treated with the greatest rigour 'on the spot.' Mr Barrow goes further, and offers it as his opinion, though we think erroneously, that 'the discussions 'with the English,' and 'the forcing upon the Chinese our 'broad cloths,' must eventually induce them to the measure of shutting even Canton against all European commerce.

The factors or supercargoes of a body of merchants take upon themselves to represent the British nation, in a country where, in the strong but accurate language of Mr Barrow, 'merchants, tradesmen and mechanicks, are considered far be-'neath the husbandman,'—and where 'the man who engages 'in foreign trade is looked upon as little better than a vaga-'bond.' If there was nothing more in the matter, it must seem, at the very first, excessively absurd to choose for political functionaries persons of this obnoxious description. But the absurdity must appear still greater, when it is discovered, that there is no necessity whatever for giving them any political character—and that their utility, as commercial agents, is greatly and seriously impaired by it. To understand this thoroughly, however, it is necessary to have a precise idea of the manner in which our Chinese trade is actually conducted; which will naturally lead to some remarks on the policy which, we humbly conceive, ought now to be pursued with regard to it. The views which we are disposed to take of this question, differ, no doubt, very widely from those which have been industriously propagated by those interested persons who have hitherto monopolized, in a great measure, the information necessary to judge of it. But we have so much reliance upon the plain sense and justice of the case, and the simple eloquence of the facts we have to disclose, as by no means to despair of their ultimate, and even speedy adoption, in the practical polity

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of our commerce. There are a few facts of a general and preliminary nature, which the reader would do well to bear all along in his recollection.

The East India Company's trade to China takes up about 18,000 tons of shipping annually, which, in their expensive way of equipment, cost 26*l.* 5s. per ton, at the moment that the free, or rather licensed trade, affords freights in abundance at 12*l.*; consequently there is a waste, and an actual loss to the public, of no less than 256,500*l.* There are many circumstances which contribute to this enormous disproportion. The Company's ships are, even in time of peace, armed and equipped extravagantly—and the voyage which, with the Americans, takes eleven months, takes with them always eighteen months from the period of contract. The trade, in all of these voyages, is more or less a trading voyage in the ports of India, for the benefit of the captain and officers,—the amount of which, to the nation, may be moderately estimated at 10,000*l.* per voyage on each ship,—or, in all, 180,000*l.*

The affairs of the East India Company in China are managed by their Factory—which consists of twelve supercargoes, eight writers, a surgeon and assistant, with a tea inspector and his deputy. Three of the senior supercargoes form a committee, called *the Select* Committee; and it is this choice junto which represents, among the Chinese, the strange mixture of political and commercial agency to which we have already alluded. The 12 supercargoes are rewarded for the good or evil they do, by a commission of 2 per cent. on the sales of the outward and homeward investments, which may be said to average yearly 120,000*l.* Sterling; of which the senior member of the *Select Committee* receives 18,000*l.*; and he who is worst paid of the group, gets 4000*l.* a year. The writers have independent salaries; and the inspectors and gentlemen of the faculty 5000*l.* divided between them. They have all, besides, a superb table, supplied by that most magnificent body, the East India Company,—whom the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings compared to the merchants of Tyre. To tell what is the employment of all these persons, would not be quite so easy; for we really believe they have little or nothing to do. The junior supercargoes and writers are occasionally employed in superintending the weighing of tea, or the measuring of broad-cloth, &c. &c.—until, in time, they are promoted to the *Select Committee*, to mix politics with the humbler duties of their employment. *

* It is needless, we hope, to say, that nothing can be further from our intention, than to insinuate any thing whatever to the personal

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The trade, as far as the Chinese are concerned, is known to be under restrictions; but they are restrictions very different from those imposed by our law, as it now stands. The example of the Chinese has been indeed held up by some of our politicians as a justification of our own—'Monopoly,' say they, 'ought to be opposed by monopoly.' This is too absurd, perhaps, to deserve any answer. But, independently of the palpable blunder or *bull* that is included in the proposition, we will only observe, that the Chinese restrictions are founded on their holding foreign commerce in contempt, and considering its extension as dangerous to their prosperity. If the friends of English monopoly will prove, that these principles should govern our commercial policy, we will readily admit the soundness of their reasoning, and concede to them, what they have certainly much more at heart, that the monopoly of the China trade should be perpetuated.

The laws of China, always distrustful of foreigners, direct that a certain number of merchants shall be selected at the town of Canton, who shall be responsible to their own government for the conduct of the foreign merchants. These, commonly called the *Hong merchants*, are generally thirteen in number; and no foreign merchant is allowed to trade, until one of these persons becomes security for his good behaviour:—hence their common appellation of Security merchants. The price of this security is a commercial transaction, in which the Chinese merchant naturally insures himself for the responsibility he incurs. The English East India Company deal *wholly* with these persons; but the free traders to China make a bargain with them to take as little as possible at their enhanced prices; and they go into the open market for the rest of their cargo.

That the grievous interdiction under which our trade has been laid in China, and the expensive apparatus by which it is conducted, is not only useless but hurtful, is amply proved by the free and extensive traffic carried on by the Americans—an intercourse which is yearly increasing at our expense, and has never for a moment been interrupted by any quarrel or altercation with the Chinese or their government. American vessels of all burthens trade with advantage to China. Sometimes the functions of our Tyrian supercargoes are supplied by a young gentleman from the counting-rooms of New-York, Baltimore, or Boston,—and as often by an honest *skipper*, who has just learn-

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prejudice of the gentlemen of the Factory in China. Some of them, we know, are persons of the greatest talent and respectability; and all of them, we believe, too good for their employment.

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ing enough to take an observation of the sun and moon to ascertain his longitude. * These persons trade as little as they can with the Hong merchants, and repair to the open market for the bulk of their cargoes, for which they give their sealskins, their furs, their ginseng, and their bullion. These commodities are given from one hand, and the teas and other native commodities received and examined with the other—every thing being so simple, open and direct, as to afford no scope for ingenuity, and no room for imposition. No candid person who has taken any pains to know the fact, will for a moment listen to the pitiful calumnies which some of the most illiterate of our own countrymen have endeavoured, we fear in the bitterness of commercial jealousy, to propagate respecting this American traffic. It will be sufficient however to remark, that the American trade, which, twenty years ago, had no existence, now employs 12,000 tons of shipping annually; and that the Americans daily gain ground in the esteem of the Chinese, who felt and lamented the loss of their trade during our rupture with America.

When we state, that the commerce of America with China actually amounts to two-thirds of our own, it is unnecessary to bring any other proof of the fact, that that commerce has increased at the expense of ours; for assuredly this ratio is out of all proportion to the capital, foreign trade, and population of the two nations. † America, in fact, sailing her ships as cheap or nearly so as our licensed traders to India, in a voyage which is not longer, and is safer than that to the Hoogly, finds no difficulty in getting the principal supply of the Continent of Europe—of all America—and, encouraged by our high prices and exorbitant duties, smuggling a large quantity of tea into Britain. ‡

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* They have a consul indeed at Canton; but he has no connexion with the Chinese government, and no salary from his own. He is purely a commercial officer.

† The foreign trade of Great Britain to that of America, may be safely estimated to be in the proportion of 4 to 1. The particular trade to China ought to be in the same ratio; and instead of 18,000 tons annually, the British trade ought to be 72,000, making no allowance for the one being a long established trade, the other one of a few years standing; and tea, the staple of the trade, being an article of almost universal consumption in Britain, and of very limited consumption in America, the first consuming twenty-five millions of pounds, the other no more than three millions two hundred thousand.

‡ The Americans reexport annually above a million and a half

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A comparison of the prices of tea in America and England, affords the strongest evidence of the economy of the free, unrestricted trade of our rivals, and the profusion and waste which is inseparable from our own management. The difference in favour of America actually amounts to at least 25 per cent. throughout, and, in some descriptions of black tea, to the enormous difference of 70 per cent., exclusive of duties. The duties in Britain are 96 per cent. on the monopoly sales, and, in America, generally not above a quarter of a dollar per pound. The shopkeeper in America can afford to sell a pound of bohea for 1s. 6d.; in England it costs 6s. The excess is clearly a tax imposed upon the people of this country—not for the benefit of the nation, nor even of the East India Company at large, but to cover the profuse expenditure of a few of its functionaries, and enable them to proceed in the same course of jobbing and trucking in appointments and patronage—by which they have interrupted the progress of national honour and prosperity for half a century. If we reckon only 25 per cent. on the whole amount of our annual imports of tea, reckoned at five millions Sterling, we shall find that the national loss is yearly at the rate of the enormous sum of 1,250,000*l.*

To the system we have complained of, and on the strength of which the East India Company have argued the propriety of continuing to them their monopoly, we are inclined to attribute every disaster which has threatened the Chinese commerce, as well as the loss and profusion which is the immediate object of our complaints. In the whole history of our connexion with China, we cannot now recollect any one piece of bad policy which did not emanate from the advice of their Chinese supercargoes; though, for the sake of example, we need not go further than to the expedition intended to occupy Macao in the year 1810. The committee of supercargoes recommended this measure to the supreme government of India; and an expensive expedition was accordingly fitted out. The Indian squadron accompanied it. The Chinese, who had never been sounded or consulted on the subject, refused to acknowledge the doctrines and practice of our commercial politicians, and put a total stop to the trade: The expensive ships of the East India Company were detained for six months; and it was finally thought a happy termination of the transaction, that the trade was permitted to be reestablished on its ancient footing, on our with-

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pounds of tea, besides the quantity supplied directly by them to foreign nations. We export a few hundred pounds, and do not even supply our own colonies.

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drawing the troops, and thus acknowledging our errors.—There are some circumstances attending this strange affair, which, though very little known in this country, deserve to be more particularly noticed. The Chinese officers, with a determination to maintain their rights, showed much moderation and forbearance, and such a reluctance to a rupture, as satisfactorily proves the value they in secret put on our commerce. They affected to look on the affair rather as an unwarrantable breach of the peace, than as an act of public hostility. The viceroy of Quantang and Quangsi ascribes the whole to the political junto; and dissuades the misguided merchants, as he believes them to be, from listening to their '*bad advice.*' The letter in which these opinions are expressed, is addressed to the commanders, officers, passengers, and seamen of the English East India Company's ships, and has the following singular passage.

'I, the mandarin Fu, &c. &c.—am certain, that your bad kingdom is situated on an island of the sea, and that you originally employed yourselves in making watches, to enable you to pay your taxes! Afterwards, by the especial and profound goodness of our great Emperor, who was desirous of benefiting you, he granted you permission to come to this empire to trade. Behold what exalted and profound virtue belongs to him!! Notwithstanding this, the admiral of your kingdom, regardless of the laws, has brought here for the first time foreign soldiers, and, without leave, introduced them into Macao; and, the chief supercargo uniting with him, they are, with one accord, *making disturbances.*'

In another letter, he says—

'I first thought that you, like your merchants,' (the English traders from Bengal, Bombay, &c.) 'came to carry on trade, and that you would not have joined with your superiors, I mean the admiral and chief supercargo, to *make disorders.*'

And he says again, in the usual tone of Chinese authorities respecting foreign trade—

'If you do not wish to trade, you may take away your ships, as you think proper; but if you are desirous of pursuing your mercantile negociations, it is necessary to remain *peaceable*, and to *obey the laws;* relying with certainty, that after your troops shall have entirely evacuated Macao, that your trade shall be granted you as formerly.'

On this occasion, the ships of the East India Company alone were interdicted from the usual trade; and it is a very instructive fact, that the country ships were exonerated entirely, by the justice of the Chinese officers, from any participation in the measures of the chief supercargo, and the other 'breeders of disorders,' and 'makers of disturbances.' In the same man-

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ner, during the disturbances in 1814, it may be remarked, that the same immunity was extended to the free traders of India as on the former occasion. In 1814 the supercargoes had the folly and presumption to put a stop to the country trade at Canton, and to involve it in their political quarrels. The private merchants, on this occasion, proposed to memorial the Board of Controul, and petition the House of Commons, when they proved that 18,250,000 rupees worth of their property was yearly subjected to the caprice of these political blunderers.

Let the Chinese trade, as soon as good faith and the laws will permit, be made free, and we have no doubt whatever, either of its stability or its increase. Of all the arguments that ever were urged in support of the monopoly of the Asiatic trade in general, most of which, by the way, have been triumphantly refuted by recent experience, we really cannot recollect one that can have any application to the case of China. Is danger to be apprehended from colonization? We answer, 1*st*, That the Chinese will not permit Europeans to go a hundred yards from their factories; 2*d*, That colonization is physically impossible in a country already overstocked with inhabitants; 3*dly*, That an European woman is not even permitted to land on the soil of China. Is any danger apprehended from an unrestricted intercourse between our merchants and mariners and the natives, as was plausibly alleged in the case of Hindustan? We answer, That the government and police of China is far too vigorous and efficient to allow of any such danger; and that, in point of fact, the Americans have now enjoyed such an intercourse with this people for a period of twenty years, without being engaged in a single affray, although one third of their crews are virtually English, and the discipline of their merchantmen far more lax than our own; while, during the same period, our sapient factory has been repeatedly embroiled with the government, on account of the disorderly conduct of our seamen.†

† The conduct of the supercargoes, in regard to cases of affrays with loss of life, and other instances of manslaughter which have occurred, appears to us to deserve severe reprehension.—Their struggle has uniformly been, to protect the offenders from trial, and exempt them from any punishment, because the laws of China are more severe, in certain cases of culpable homicide, than they think reasonable. The Chinese have insisted, in cases of manslaughter, that the homicide should be surrendered for trial: nor is it so unreasonable, as has been represented, to insist, in a case of affray, that the real homicide, who must be known to his less guilty accomplices in the affray, should be given up or made known by them. The line between manslaughter and murder, is one not always very easy to distinguish; and, if it be.

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Is danger apprehended from extending the patronage of the crown? Certainly the very reverse. Patronage, and jobbing in shipping and in supercargoes to the extent of little less than two millions a year, would be cut off from a body but too apt to be identified with the ministry.

In short, we are thoroughly persuaded, that, until we appear purely in the character of merchants, and throw off that mixed and suspicious character which we now think so imposing, we shall never be able to disarm the jealousy of the Chinese, or regain the ground we have lost under the present system; for we ought never to forget, that our exclusion from all the ports of China but one, has arisen from the maladministration of the monopoly companies. It is now worth while to consider how far this monopoly has tended to enrich themselves.

It has long been perfectly well known and avowed, that the China trade of the East India Company is the only one that, for many years, has been in any degree profitable. It is the only one accordingly of which they have insisted on retaining the monopoly. But, if it be asked, how it alone should have been profitable, does it not naturally occur to answer, because it is

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a remnant of barbarism to make no distinction between the two crimes, it is as little natural to jump at once across all the gradations of guilt, from the severest punishment to a very light one. If the Chinese are too severe, we are probably too lenient. At all events, we have no right to go within their jurisdiction, and insist that the offences which our countrymen there commit, shall be judged of and punished according to our standard of guilt,—or that our point of honour, in screening brother offenders, should be countenanced and favoured. Nor is it creditable to us, that this end should be sought and attained, by corrupting their Courts of Justice, and bribing their Judges to get up a mock-trial, farcical, if it were not vitious and contaminated with perjury. Our supercargoes exhibit us there in the disgraceful light of suborners of perjury, and corrupters of Judges, for the purpose of screening offenders undeniably guilty of culpable homicide. Their conduct, however, in this particular, is but a part of that general system of bullying which forms the most characteristic and most reprehensible feature in their ordinary course of proceeding. The Chinese, no doubt, are easily intimidated; and particular points may often be gained by a threatening and violent demeanor; but, in the long run, it cannot fail to alienate them from our cause, and to increase and confirm that dislike and distrust, from which our interests are ultimately in such hazard of suffering.—Our Select Committee play a game at *brag* with the Chinese: But, it is admitted, even among gamesters, that they who brag always, must infallibly be ruined in the end.

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here alone that they have *been compelled* to pay some attention to justice and fair dealing in their transactions? In India, they have been under no such necessity; and the result is matter of history. There they soon surmounted all rivalry and control. They made extensive conquests—established the most rigorous monopolies—excluded all competitors, and especially their own countrymen—multiplied offices and establishments—till, after two centuries of successful ambition, the trade, from which they had so jealously debarred all rivals, became a source of loss to its monopolists, and was at last thrown open to the rest of the nation. The actual result, too, of this last step, is worthy of all consideration. The Indian trade, which was a losing one in the hands of the East India Company, has, under the system of freedom, become a most flourishing branch of the foreign trade of the kingdom, in the short period of three years, and increased from 26,320 tons to 102,956; in other words, has been nearly quadrupled; while the Company's trade has, at the same time, fallen from 26,000 tons to 10,000. The manufactures of this kingdom have been exported in quantity and variety far surpassing the most sanguine expectation; and the native produce of India has flowed in in the same proportion. If such have been the immediate consequences of a free intercourse with the Hindus, and other nations of Asia, believed, of all people, to be the most alien to our habits, and the most inveterately attached to their own, what may not be hoped from an empire containing at least a hundred and fifty millions of people—the richest, the most ingenious people of Asia—and who alone, of all the nations in that quarter, understand the value of social order, and have laws of sufficient vigour to maintain it; and, finally, who, under a rigid system of monopoly, consume more than a million and a half's worth of our manufactures and produce, exclusive of the great commerce with British India, amounting, in goods and tonnage, to 2,200,000*l.*, without including the great traffic of the Oriental Islands?

One object of the last ill-fated and ill-directed mission was, if we are rightly informed, a proposal to admit our trade into a second port of China. The object was at least most desirable, though not, we think, to be attained by any such means. The effects of the present restriction to that of Canton are incalculable; and would be but faintly depicted, by supposing that all the trade between Europe and Asia were confined to a single port in the former, and that not a central one, but upon some of its extremities. It is even worse than this; inasmuch as China is a greater country than Europe, less broken by navigable seas, and less accessible to commerce; with infinitely less naval skill, and, in all respects,

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less economy in the transport and circulation of merchandize. The actual trade of Europe with China, is in reality little more than a trade with the province of Canton—or, in other words, with one out of fifteen provinces of the empire—and that not the largest or the richest: For, in reality, the greater part of the imported articles never go out of this district. The principal exports to China, at present, are, cotton wool and woollens, lead, iron, tin from Europe, opium from Bengal; and what, in vulgar commercial language, are called Straits' produce, that is, the productions of the Oriental archipelago, bees' wax, Malay tin, and Malay camphor; rattans, birds' nests, tripang, tortoise shell, gold, betel nut, &c. Many of these articles are so bulky, and costly in transportation, that the consumption is necessarily confined to the province where they are landed; and of others it extends no further than to the neighbouring province of Kyangsi. Bombay cotton is consumed in these two provinces only; Bengal cotton, which is reckoned better, is sent, in small quantity, as far as Fokien. Lead is consumed in Canton only—so is iron; and even tin is mostly circulated there—though, from its greater value, a small part of it finds its way to Kyangnan. Fokien is supplied abundantly with the latter article, from its foreign trade with the Malayan archipelago. Now, the difference in freight between the East India Company's rates, and that of the licensed trade, amounts, on the price of lead, to 20 per cent., and on that of iron to 15;—so that a free trade, independent of the wonders effected by economy and competition, would greatly reduce the price of those articles—push the circulation of them further—and, of course, incalculably augment that consumption, even without opening any new channel of circulation. Such is the demand for the more valuable commodity of woollens, and so much are they suited to the climate and the taste of the people, that they are actually diffused among them from the Tropic to the Great Wall, and probably even beyond both. The productions of the Malayan islands are brought to China by our Indian country traders to Canton; and by the Chinese Junks, to a larger extent, to the province of Fokien: But the want of a market for the staple article of tea, occasioned by the rigid monopoly of it where alone it is in extensive demand, frustrates the effects of the apparent freedom in this trade, and renders its benefits partial. Such is the suitableness of the productions of the Malayan countries to the wants of China, and the safety and facility of the intercourse between them, that we will venture to assert, that were Europeans to be entirely excluded from the ports of China, but a free trade permitted in tea, Europe, through this channel alone,

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would be cheaply and abundantly supplied with that necessary of life. The present condition of the trade necessarily subjects the exports to similar inconveniences as the imports. If we will not sell cheap to the Chinese, the Chinese cannot sell cheap to us. The black teas, forming two-thirds of the whole exports, are procured by the East India Company by barter, and therefore loaded directly with the monopoly price of the European goods, and all the inconveniences of this clumsy, unsatisfactory, and barbarous mode of transacting business. It is no wonder that we find the American teas of the same kind 70 per cent. cheaper, while there is no such extraordinary difference in the green teas, which are purchased by both in the open market. The teas, silks, and nankeens, labour under the same inconveniences in their transport to the mart of Canton, which obstruct the circulation of European commodities to the distant provinces. The black teas are brought from Fokien, many hundred miles by land carriage, over precipices, mountains and defiles, chiefly by the labour of men; and every old lady in England feels the effect of the toil of these Chinese porters, and of the high prices obtained for our broad-cloths by the mercantile skill of the Company's agents. The green teas and raw silks are brought three times as far as the black teas, coming all the way from the province of Kiangnan, on the eastern extremity of the empire. The port from which the black teas ought naturally to be exported, is Amoy, in the very province which produces it—the same which embraced the principal part of our early traffic—and from which we were expelled for our misdemeanours; and the green teas, raw silk, and nankeens, are cheaply and safely conducted and exported from the great emporium of Hang Cheu-fu.

Had a free trade prevailed with China for the last half century, we think it extremely likely that we should by this time have had an extensive commerce with these and many others of the ports of China, instead of being, as we now are, confined to a single port, acknowledged by all to have no natural connexion with the great export and import trade of the country, and to be useful only in as far as it serves for the introduction of goods for the consumption of its own province, or that of Kiangsi.

From the most authentic information we have been able to collect, we are fully satisfied that the European trade, even on its present footing, is not only of consequence to the port and province of Canton, but to the Imperial treasury itself; and that it is only necessary to extend it, or, in other words, to

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render it free, to make it thoroughly popular among the Chinese, and to render the people and the government so dependent upon it, that they will never wish to free themselves from its agreeable bondage. We should therefore conclude, with confidence, that a desire to extend its benefits would, in no long time, induce them to open other ports. Even if this should not occur, however, the advantage would be incalculable; and it is by no means unlikely that some revolution in China will speedily put it in our power to obtain all we desire, by using with discretion the advantages which our local situation must give us in such an emergency; and, having once acquired the privilege of admission to the Chinese ports, we may trust to the mutual interests of the parties for its continuance.

We are told, indeed, by those interested in prolonging the present system, that any innovation will produce the risk of losing the Chinese trade altogether; and the nation is occasionally alarmed with the risk of defalcation of revenue, from any alteration in the present system of collecting the duties. Nothing, it appears to us, can be more chimerical than these apprehensions. It is certain, and indeed admitted, that a change in the present system would not be disagreeable to the Chinese: They would, on the contrary, hail it as a blessing; and we should no longer have to reproach them with their '*gross partiality for the Americans and their trade.*'

An alteration in the present mode of collecting the duties on tea in this country, would be unquestionably attended with the greatest advantage to the revenue, in place of deteriorating it. In the first place, we say, that the most blundering government never wanted ingenuity to raise a tax, when a taxable subject existed. If teas are brought cheaper into this country—and we are sure that, in a free trade, they will—the consumption will inevitably increase; and the duties along with it. Under the system we have recommended, the duties on tea will inevitably become one of the greatest branches of the public revenue; smuggling will diminish, as the temptations to it from exorbitant prices are removed; the same causes will secure teas from adulteration; and, finally, we shall enjoy a share, and probably the greatest share, in the carrying trade of this commodity, now in the hands of our great commercial rivals, who have neither our capital nor our enterprise. It is in the recollection of many of us, that, during the peace which followed the American war, the monopoly prices of the East India Company, and the high duties paid to the Crown, enabled the nations of the Continent to supply us with no less than three-fourths of the whole tea used in these islands. To protect the monopoly, the

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Crown was content to make a reduction of its revenue, to a pittance of 12 per cent. The war, which excluded the Continental nations from the market of China, by protecting the monopoly in another way, enabled the government to raise the duties to the enormous amount of 96 per cent. The opening of the Chinese market to the Continental nations once more, will probably give us another lesson. The Dutch have, last year, wisely relinquished the system of conducting the Chinese trade by a monopoly company, and introduced a perfect freedom both in the direct and carrying trade, the effects of which, it requires little sagacity to predict, will bring certain and inevitable embarrassment to the Revenue, even if the nation should be taxed in another and more pernicious shape, by an increase of our myrmidons of Customhouse and Excise officers.

It may be worth while shortly to compare the China trade of Britain on the present vitious system, with what it might be under an enlightened system of commercial policy. It now gives occupation to about 18,000 tons of shipping, available for no other purpose, and to 2000 seamen—takes off a million worth of the staple commodities of England—and contributes three millions and a half to the revenue. The present importations of the East India Company are averaged at twenty-five millions of pounds of tea per annum, which we are accustomed stupidly to wonder at for its great amount, but which ought rather to excite our astonishment for its smalness, when we reflect, that tea has become an article of almost universal demand, if not indeed, with the better classes, a necessary of life. Twenty-five millions of pounds of tea, meted out to the inhabitants of the united kingdoms, will be found to amount to no more than the sixteenth part of an ounce a day to each individual. At the very moderate estimate of half an ounce a day for each individual, the consumption would, on the contrary, amount nearly to 196 millions, which would give employment to 141,000 tons of shipping, and 16,000 seamen; while the necessary result would be, an exportation of our manufactures to the extent of more than eleven millions, instead of a million and half,—a mere pittance among 150 millions of people! To obtain this amount of consumption, we suppose that both price and tax are each reduced to one half their present amount; and, even in this event, the revenue will still be about 14 millions, or nearly 4 times its present amount.

But, dropping all speculative views of this question, it may be worth while to bring under one view a statement of the actual losses which the industry or revenues of the nation suffer

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from the continuance of the existing abuses. They may be stated as follow—

Difference between freightage of East India Company's shipping, and attainable rates, at 14*l.* per ton on 18,000 tons, is - - - - -	L.	252,000
Ten thousand pounds Sterling given to commander and officers, besides pay for 18 ships, is -		180,000
Two per cent. on sale of outward and homeward investment, amounting to 6,000,000*l.* paid to supercargoes, is - - - - - - -		120,000
To difference between monopoly and fair price on black teas at 150 per cent. - - - -		1,232,640
To difference between monopoly and fair price on green teas at 37 per cent., is - - - -		555,560
Total -	L.	2,340,200

So that, independent of the loss of revenue by the diminished consumption, the nation is actually taxed and made to pay a sum of nearly two millions and a half, which might have formed a portion of the national revenue in times of distress, without inflicting any additional burden upon the people, instead of being dissipated in supporting the jobbing and profusion of the present system. If we take the amount of this annual loss as a fair average for all the years of the last charter, as well as of the hopeful period of the present, it will be seen, by an easy calculation, that the total waste amounts to the enormous sum of 283 millions.

Some persons taking a narrow view of this question, and others interested in countenancing the error, conclude that the losses incurred by our East Indian connexion, are not losses incurred by the nation, but by the East India Company. It would be a mere waste of time, however, to enter into any serious refutation of this folly. It would be just as wise to speak of a loss to the Victualling or Navy Offices, without injury to the nation, as of a loss to the East India Company without any to the publick. The East India Company is but a clumsy and costly machine for administering the political concerns of the British possessions in India, and for managing the British trade in that region. Their commercial dividend, if it deserve the name, is guaranteed by a solemn act of the Legislature. They receive ten and a half per cent., and can receive neither more nor less. In short, the India funds differ in no respect but in name from the funded debts of the nation. The most gambling speculator in the kingdom would not lend the East India Company a farthing, did he not feel that the public was tacitly, if

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not avowedly a guarantee for the payment. This is at bottom felt in every case; and the consequence is, that India stock is as little fluctuating as any other branch of the public funds. It is now generally understood, that the East India Company's exclusive privileges will not again be renewed in any shape, and therefore the time will come, when the question, cleared from the confusion of forms and language, will be distinctly understood by all. When this period arrives, the nation will find itself burthened with every shilling of the Indian debt; and there will then be an end to the illusion of placing the losses of the nation to the profit and loss account of the East India Company.

We have spent so much time in discussing the great commercial and practical questions that are suggested by Mr Ellis's book, that we really cannot say any thing of the book itself. It is the work, unquestionably, of a man of talent and accomplishments; but it is hastily and unequally written; and the state of durance, anxiety, and discontent, in which the author was kept during the whole expedition, certainly was not well calculated either to give him the best means of information, or the happiest use of his understanding. He has candidly confessed, indeed, that 'he felt his mind and spirits influenced by the surrounding atmo-'sphere of dulness and constraint;' and perhaps his readers and critics might be excused for confessing, that they have occasionally been conscious of a sympathetic sensation in perusing his work. There are some blunders and mistakes in it; but it bears, on the whole, traces of the most conscientious integrity and fairness; and it has made some small additions to the particulars of our knowledge of this extraordinary people. We shall know the Chinese, we think, by and by. The progress made by Mr Morrison, and several other gentlemen, in the language of the country, will at last enable us to form a just estimate of their character and attainments. With the lights we already have, indeed, we think there is room for much edifying and original speculation on that curious question; and we are not without hopes of soon being able to present our readers with an article regarding it. At present, however, we must not approach it.

ART. IX. *Dante: with a new Italian Commentary.* By G. BAGLIOLI. Paris, 1818.

The Vision of Dante. Translated by the Reverend H. F. CARY, A. M. 3 vol. 18mo. London, 1818.

M. BAGLIOLI's new work on Dante was announced, in 1816, by subscription, in large quarto, with magnificent pa-

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per and characters. The subscription was, it seems, not encouraging; and, after two years' expectation, the author has published his work in a more modest form; which, indeed, we think the most fair, as well as the most prudent part. If the book be good, it will be useful to a greater number of readers. If it be bad, the buyers will have less cost to regret. Authors now seem desirous of placing their works under the protection of splendid printing, and to have the hope of being immortalized at least by the continuators of Mr Dibdin's Decameron.

M. Baglioli's Dante will form three volumes in large octavo, of which the first is not yet completely printed; but we have now before us nine sheets of it, which contain the text of eight books of the Inferno, with the Commentary. This is not enough, perhaps, for a complete criticism of the work; but it sufficiently shows his method, and enables us to determine, that, if he has improved, he has not fundamentally changed the plan of his predecessors. This leads us to give a rapid sketch of the history of the commentators on Dante, and to inquire into the causes of the very little service which they have done to the poet or the reader. Perhaps our observations may suggest a new method of undertaking, with more advantage, a work which we think necessary, not only to Italy, but to other nations; because it is in the age of Dante, and principally from the influence of his genius, that we may date the commencement of the literary history of Europe.

The poem of Dante is like an immense forest, venerable for its antiquity, and astonishing by the growth of trees which seem to have sprung up at once to their gigantic height by the force of nature, aided *by some unknown art*. It is a forest, curious from the extensive regions which it hides, but frightful from its darkness and its labyrinths. The first travellers who attempted to cross it have opened a road. Those who followed have enlarged and enlightened it; but the road is still the same; and the greater part of this immense forest remains, after the labours of five centuries, involved in its primitive darkness. Readers, especially foreign readers, believe, on the faith of the commentators, that they have seen the whole; like the readers of modern travels, who fancy that they know a country from the descriptions of those who have run through it with a road-book and a dictionary, and return home to publish their tour.

It is said by Warburton in his Preface to Shakespeare, that 'the whole a critic can do for an author who deserves his services, is to correct the faulty text, to remark the peculiarities of language, to illustrate the obscure allusions, and to explain the beauties and defects of sentiment or composition.' Perhaps we may prove, in the sequel, that this observation cannot

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be universally adopted;—but if it were sufficient in the case of all other poets, it is certain, that, by the most complete and successful application of it to the poem of Dante, a critic would perform only half his task. The first part which relates to the emendation of the text, has been happily enough executed in the native city of the poet, by the Academy della Crusca. That learned body, occupied in studying and purifying their language, naturally sought for its radical treasures in the age of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio. These academicians were almost all Florentines, and had abundant means of collecting various readings. The numerous libraries of Florence were supplied with MSS. of Dante's poem, of which they collated more than a hundred with the early editions. These various readings were discussed by them for the common interest—for the honour of the poet, the language, and the academy; by which means they avoided the obstinacy, the acrimony, and the puerile quarrels which the jealousy of individuals has spread among the commentators of Homer and Shakespeare. They thus spared the time of their readers, and saved literature from some ridicule. This academy was not always so wise. They dishonoured themselves in their hostility against Tasso. But in that case they were ambitious of giving laws to genius; a task for which an assembly of men is peculiarly unfitted. In their emendations of Dante, on the contrary, they needed only a calm and attentive examination, a free discussion, and a mature deliberation on questions purely verbal and grammatical. Academies are in general useful, where the object is only to arrange and preserve the stock of human knowledge. It can be increased only by men of genius—independent of rules and associations, and fearlessly pursuing glory at their own peril. But societies bound by institutions, often obliged to respect and sometimes to flatter governments and powerful individuals, can never display independence of mind, or possess the courage necessary for the exertion of genius. They may, under despotic governments, become instruments in the hands of tyrants for repressing the progress of mind, and narrowing the diffusion of knowledge.

But to return to Dante. The Academy della Crusca have admitted the best of the various readings into their text, and have placed in the margin all that are probable. Their edition is known by the date of 1595. * This edition has always been

* It is not improper to inform the general reader, that this edition is disgraced by typographical errors of every sort. It should

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regarded with a sort of veneration; and the best reprints of it are that of Padua by Comino in 1627, and that of Leghorn in 1807, by Gaetano Poggiali. Of this last, which is printed with exactness and elegance, and which contains a judicious selection of various readings, we have seen two volumes of text, and a third of notes on the Inferno. Whether he has published those on the other parts of the poem, we know not.

Padre Lombardi having examined an ancient Milanese edition of 1478 called the Nido beatina, found in almost every page various readings, which sometimes illustrate, and sometimes embellish the verses, and which he has introduced into his edition, published at Rome in three volumes quarto. But his partiality to his favourite edition is excessive, and sometimes offensive to men of taste. He openly attacks the Academy of Florence; and he has provoked the pedants. His work is, on the whole, very curious and useful to those who amuse themselves with philology, and who are scrupulous in the choice of words. His principal antagonist is Monsignor Dionisi, canon of Verona, who has attacked him with the animosity of a verbal critic, with the dogmatic tone of a prelate, and the contemptuous air of a patrician. Dionisi declares war against the Nido beatina edition, and all other ancient and modern editions of Dante, without excepting even that of the Academy della Crusca. He has examined many manuscripts unknown to former editors; but he has unfortunately introduced the most manifest errors of copyists into his own text as newly discovered beauties. After having injured Dante as much as Bentley did Milton, he caused his edition to be splendidly printed by Bodoni, which, indeed, insures the purchase of the book by collectors, but has rendered the author magnificently ridiculous.

So much for the history of emendatory criticism on Dante. As to the second part of Warburton's suggestion, 'to remark the peculiarities of language,' the ancient editors, from the sons of Dante, who were the first to illustrate the poem of their father, till the edition of Della Crusca, did not consider such remarks as necessary. The Academy did much; but their remarks on the phraseology of Dante are scattered over their voluminous Dictionary. Volpi collected all the peculiar words and phrases of Dante in an Index, with such words and phrases of modern Italian as he thought equivalent, but without observation. Lombardi has done more than all the rest; but his

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be left to critics, who are not perplexed by its blunders; and to collectors, who sometimes prefer editions for the celebrity of their mistakes

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grammatical notes are more founded on rules, than on the genius of the language, though the poem was written two hundred years before the earliest Italian grammar. Volumes might be formed of the various works of literature, the discussions, the conjectures, the long dissertations, which in the last three centuries have been written on words and phrases of Dante, but they are dispersed, either in perishable pamphlets, or in folios buried in libraries.

The third part of the editor's duty, 'to illustrate the obscure allusions,' has been executed with more care than success. All the other great poems in the world, taken together, have, perhaps, not so many allusions as the single work of Dante. He comprehends the whole history of his age—all that was then known of art, literature, and science—the usages and morals of his time, and their origin in preceding ages—together with theological opinions, and the great influence which they then exercised over the mind and actions of men. His allusions are rapid, various, multiplied—succeeding each other with the rapidity of flashes of lightning, which leaves short intervals of darkness between them. He describes all human passions—all actions—the vices and the virtues of the most different scenes. He places them in the despair of hell—in the hope of purgatory—and in the blessedness of paradise. He observes men in youth—in manhood—and in old age. He has brought together those of both sexes—of all religions—of all occupations—of all nations—and of all ages; yet he never takes them in masses—he always presents them as individuals. He speaks to every one of them—he studies their words—he watches their countenances. He often paints a great character by his inaction. Jordello, who had led a very active life, and who, after having made every effort for his country, died despairing of the fate of Italy, is met by Dante in purgatory. While a crowd of ghosts, curious about the affairs of the world, followed the poet to learn news from him, Jordello kept aloof.

> 'Esso non ne diceva alcuna cosa
> Ma lasciavano andar, sempre guardando
> A guisa di Leon quando si posa.—*Purg. Canto* VI. 64. *

Let it be remarked, that he has not before named Jordello. He gives no reason for his disdainful silence; and he leaves his reader to discover in the chronicles what we have said on the

* 'Scarce moving with slow dignity his eyes,
He spoke not aught, but let us onward pass,
Eying us as a lion on his watch.'—*Cary's Dante*, II. 24.

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character of this illustrious personage. The poet condenses into three lines, and often into one, the history of a Prince's life. In speaking of St Celestino, who refused the papacy at the suggestion of Urban VIII. his successor, he describes him without mention of his name.

'Colui
Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto.'
* *Infern. Cant.* III. 60.

In the twentieth Canto of the Purgatorio, he traces the genealogy of the Capets, their acts and crimes; the influence of the Kings of France on the church and on Italy, from Hugh Capet to Louis X.—and this history, comprehending a period of 347 years, is contained in fifty lines. Dante was the declared enemy of all the Capets; and he finishes by invoking the vengeance of God on their heads.

'Oh Signor mio quando saro Jo lieto
A veder la vendetta che nascosa
Fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo secreto.' †

In this last verse we find a sentiment as old as Homer, who tells us, that 'vengeance is the pleasure of the gods,' and that 'a great king digests his wrath in his inmost parts, and hides it till the appointed time of its bursting on the enemy.' ‡ Tacitus thus describes feelings somewhat similar. 'Infensus memoria—et adversum eludentes se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant.'—*Ann. IV.* 25. Homer makes a reflection on human nature. Tacitus blends the same sentiment with the narrative of a fact, by the three words 'Memoria, Ultione, Explebant.' In Dante, it is the passionate exclamation of a man who has long brooded over his own indignation.

Shakespeare unfolds the character of his persons, and presents them under all the variety of forms which they can naturally assume. He surrounds them with all the splendour of his imagination, and bestows on them that full and minute reality which

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* 'I saw
And knew the shade of him, who to base fear
Yielding, abjured his estate.'
Cary's Dante, I. 11.

† O Sovran Master, when shall I rejoice
To see the vengeance which thy wrath well pleased
In secret silence broods.'—*Cary's Dante,* II. 92.

‡ Κρεισσων γαρ βασιλευς. ὁτε χωσεται ανδρι χολῳ.
Ειπερ γαρ τε χολοντε και αυτημαρ καταπτυῃ
Αλλα γε και μετοπισθεν. εχει κοτον ὁφρα, τελεσσῃ
Εν στηθεσσιν οισι.—*Iliad.* I. 81. *Iliad.* A. 80. *et seqq.*

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his creative genius could alone confer. Of all tragic poets, he most amply develops character. On the other hand, Dante, if compared not only to Virgil, the most sober of poets, but even to Tacitus, will be found never to employ more than a stroke or two of his pencil, which he aims at imprinting almost insensibly on the hearts of his readers. Virgil has related the story of Eurydice in two hundred verses; Dante, in sixty verses, has finished his masterpiece—the Tale of Francesca de Rimini. The history of Desdemona has a parallel in the following passage of Dante. Nello della Pietra had espoused a lady of noble family at Sienna, named Madonna Pia. Her beauty was the admiration of Tuscany, and excited in the heart of her husband a jealousy, which, exasperated by false reports and groundless suspicions, at length drove him to the desperate resolution of Othello. It is difficult to decide whether the lady was quite innocent; but so Dante represents her. Her husband brought her into the Maremma, which, then as now, was a district destructive to health. He never told his unfortunate wife the reason of her banishment to so dangerous a country. He did not deign to utter complaint or accusation. He lived with her alone, in cold silence, without answering her questions, or listening to her remonstrances. He patiently waited till the pestilential air should destroy the health of this young lady. In a few months she died. Some chroniclers, indeed, tell us, that Nello used the dagger to hasten her death. It is certain that he survived her, plunged in sadness and perpetual silence. Dante had, in this incident, all the materials of an ample and very poetical narrative. But he bestows on it only four verses. He meets in Purgatory three spirits; one was a captain who fell fighting on the same side with him in the battle of Campaldino; the second, a gentleman assassinated by the treachery of the House of Este; the third was a woman unknown to the poet, and who, after the others had spoken, turned towards him with these words.

'Ricorditi di me; che son la Pia;
Sienna mi fe, disfecemi Maremma.
Salsi colui che inannellata pria
Disposando m'avea con la sua gemma.'

* *Purgat. Cant. V. et ult.*

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* 'Ah, when thou to the world shalt be returned
Remember me.
I once was Pia. Sienna gave me life;
Maremma took it from me. That he knows!
Who me with jewelled ring had first espoused.'

Cary's Dante, II. 22.

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Yet these few words draw tears from those who know the fate of this young woman. Her first desire to be recalled to the remembrance of her friends on earth is very affecting. Her modest request, her manner of naming herself, and of describing the author of her sufferings, without any allusion to his crime, and merely by the pledges of faith and love which attended their first union, are deeply pathetic. The soft harmony of the last verses, full of gay and tender remembrances, forms a most striking contrast with the ideas of domestic unhappiness, of death and of cruelty, which must rise in the reader's imagination.

He has not treated every subject so laconically. In the history of Count Ugolino, and in that of Francesca di Rimini, he paints on a larger scale. There are, perhaps, in the poem, thirty passages of equal energy and extent. But he generally compresses his narration in the manner which we have pointed out. He often speaks of anecdotes, of men and of crimes not mentioned by any contemporary writer; and it is for these reasons that a commentary on his allusions would have been impracticable, if, fortunately for us, it had not been commenced soon after his death.

He died in 1321; and, in 1334, we find mention made of a commentary by his sons Peter and James, and another anonymous writer. In 1350, Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, formed a commission of six scholars, namely, two Philosophers, two Theologians, and two Florentine men of letters, to compose a commentary on Dante, which they completed. Petrarch, also, is said to have written commentaries on his great predecessor: But of this there seems no evidence. In 1373, the Republic of Florence elected Boccaccio to explain Dante to his fellow-citizens. He delivered lectures on this subject, in which he poured forth the knowledge which he had accumulated during a long life. His digressions are fine and instructive; his style more sober than in his more known works, without losing the richness and elegance which distinguish him. But he died before he had expounded above a third of the Inferno. Florence continued to nominate professors; and her example was imitated by other cities. The Latin commentary of Benvenuto of Imola, who lectured on Dante at Bologna in 1375, is rich in historical anecdotes. The greater part of these numerous commentaries remain unpublished in the libraries of Italy; and only a part of Benvenuto of Imola has been published by Muratori in his Italian antiquities. All these inedited commentaries supplied the editors of the next age with the means of explaining allusions, which, our readers will be pleased to recollect, is the only point of view under which we at present consider the history of the commentators on Dante.

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Among the fathers of the council of Constance, were two English prelates, Nicholas, Bishop of Bath, and Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, who, with Cardinal Amadeo de Saluces, requested John de Saravalla, Prince Bishop of Fermo, to explain Dante to them. He translated the poem into Latin prose, and subjoined notes. We learn, from the Dedication, that he began his work on the 1st February 1416, and finished it in a year and a fortnight. It has never been printed; but, a few years ago, a manuscript copy was extant in the Vatican library; and we mention it only to remark, that, at the time of the Council of Trent, Dante was a writer, of whom no Bishop would dare to avow that he was the commentator. We subjoin a passage from this manuscript, * from which it should seem, that Dante had come to Oxford to pursue his studies in that celebrated school. But we must add, that the Bishop lived more than a century after the Poet, and that he is the only writer who speaks of this journey to England.

Christopher Landinus, a commentator on Virgil, published also commentaries on Dante. He lived near the time of the discovery of printing, when verbal criticism became a separate study. He was a man of great erudition, who has multiplied quotations, expanded the too diffuse commentaries of his forerunners, and expatiated on the allegories, the theological opinions and the scholastic philosophy of the Poet; but, like his successor in the next age, *Alexander Velutello*, has done nothing to illustrate the poetical beauties. These commentators have been little read since their own time. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the popularity of Dante underwent some fluctuations. The exclusive taste for Grecian and Roman literature which flourished under Leo X., disposed the critics of that period to look down upon Dante as an irregular and barbarous writer. Boccaccio and Petrarca had become the sole models of Italian composition; for taste had already been tainted by effe-

* 'Dantes dilexit Theologiam sacram in qua diu studuit in Oxoniis in Regno Angliæ.' In the next page, he says, 'Dantes in juventute sese dedit omnibus artibus liberalibus, studens eas et Padue, et Bononie, demum Oxoniis et Parisiis, ubi fecit multos actus mirabiles in tantum quod ab aliquibus dicebatur magnus Philosophus, ab aliquibus magnus Theologus, ab aliquibus magnus Poeta.' It is probable that the Italian Bishop received this information, true or false, from his English brethren, especially as the conclusion of the above passage has much the air of a literal translation from an English original.

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minacy. ‡ The Orlando Inamorato and the Orlando Furioso amused more, and fatigued less. The reformation had set Europe on fire, and Dante had dared to condemn even Popes to Hell. In 'the Paradise,' St Peter himself utters a sublime invective against the temporal power of the church. In a Latin work on monarchy, the Poet had maintained the superiority of the Emperors over the Popes; and Protestant writers quoted his authority as § 'one of the Witnesses of the Truth.'

Towards 1550, the Jesuits possessed themselves of the education of Italy; and they systematically decried a writer likely to produce effects on the opinions and on the character of youth so irreconcileable with their policy. Three men of genius, however, even at that time, professed their admiration of him. The first was Sperone Speroni, a writer now little read, but considered in his own time as the oracle of philosophy and literature, and still deserving to be regarded as a model of vigour and elegance in Italian prose. Michael Angelo had filled a copy of Dante with drawings, which he lost in a sea voyage. * Torquato Tasso being asked who was the greatest poet of Italy, answered, '*Dante.*' †

From 1600 to 1730, Dante had no commentators, and few editions. ‡ The Spanish government, and the ascendancy of monks, had enervated the national mind; while the popular taste was corrupted by the poetry which then reigned in Spain. *Dante*, of whom no edition had been allowed at Rome till the middle of the eighteenth century, could at such a period hope for no toleration. It may be observed, that during the same time Machiavel had few editions. The bad taste of the writers called in Italy Seicentisti, began indeed to be purified towards the conclusion of this period; but, from the quaintness and extravagance of Marini, the reformers of literature ran to the opposite extreme of a slavish subjection

‡ See Sperone Speroni's Funeral Oration on Bembo.

§ Bayle, Art. Dante. * Vasari, VI. 245.

† Serassi, in the second edition of the Life of Tasso, mentions a copy of Giolito's edition of Dante, of which the margins were filled with remarks on the style of the poem in the handwriting of Tasso.

‡ From 1473 to the edition of La Crusca, Haim enumerates 44 editions. From 1598 to the edition of Volpi in 1727, he only mentions 5. This enumeration must be understood to refer only to rare or important editions; for about 1620, Francesco Cionacci, a noble Florentine, published a catalogue of 452 editions extant in his time. Since the Revolution, editions of Dante have succeeded each other with astonishing rapidity.

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to rules, either arbitrary or at most of a secondary importance. They wrote as if only to avoid faults; and the nation, broken down by every species of slavery, no longer had the faculty of admiring the free and daring exertion of sublime genius. The Jesuits were indefatigable in their hostility to Dante. *Venturi*, who made an useful abridgement of the most necessary explanatory notes, accompanied it by critical remarks; in which, agreeably to the maxims of his order, he labours to exaggerate the faults, and to detect the impiety of the poet. Bettinelli in his Virgilian Letters, an ingenious but tasteless book, ridicules Dante as the most barbarous of poets. Tiraboschi, who was also a Jesuit, examines the life of Petrarch with great historical exactness, expatiates with zeal and at length on his merit; and contents himself with a few dates and some very vague criticism on Dante. The same historian who bestows twenty pages on the Jesuit Possevino, employs only four on the private and public life, on the opinions and works of Machiavel.

It was after the fall of the Jesuits that Lombardi a Franciscan, incensed at their malignity and false taste, ventured to undertake his commentary on Dante. He was of the same order with Ganganelli, the pope who suppressed the Jesuits. But it was more easy to suppress than to extinguish the literary and religious prejudices which they had established in Italy. Pius VI., then employed in the defence of the doctrines of the see of Rome against Joseph II., Leopold in Tuscany, and against the Jansenism which predominated in the universities both of Tuscany and Lombardy, was not favourable to an antipapal poet. Lombardi might have observed the accomplishment of his author's prophecy—

> ' Giunta e la Spada
> Col Pasturale, è l'uno è l'altero insieme
> Per viva forza mal convien che vada.
>
> * *Purgat. XVI.* 119.

But he did not even venture to put his name in the title-page. He ventures only on his initials, with a vignette, exhibiting a portrait of Dante with a somewhat obscure inscription, intimating that he also was in danger from the power which had trampled on Kings and Emperors. We know none of the circumstances of his life which could throw light on this intimation.

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* ' the sword
Is grafted on the crook; and, so conjoined,
Each must perforce decline to worse, unaw'd
By fear of other.' *Cary's Dante, II.* 73.

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But it is certain that his friend Angelucci who appeared as the editor of his work, was imprisoned in 1794 for his political opinions.

In these circumstances we must not wonder at the circumspection with which he conducts that part of his plan which consists in the defence of Dante. We have already spoken of his emendations and grammatical remarks. His explanations are clear and sometimes new, though he does not often venture to quit the beaten track. He had not sufficient taste and sensibility to discern the delicacy, or to feel the tenderness of the historical allusions. The prose of his notes is dry, and, though concise, the want of elegance makes it appear diffuse. After all, it is the most useful historical commentary yet printed on Dante.

Volpi was a learned man; but Italian was not his principal study. Mr Poggiali has studied it more deeply. The brevity adopted by both, in their excellent editions of Padua and Leghorn, has left no room for narrative commentary—indispensable to the illustration of a poem in which the anecdotes of an obscure age are accumulated, and often only hinted at.

On the last head of Warburton's description of the critical office—that of explaining 'the beauties and defects of sentiment and composition'—we must at once say, that, in truth, nothing has been done. It is indeed a task, of which the due, or even tolerable execution requires, in the case of Dante, a combination of talents which can hardly be united in the same individual. He who undertakes this part of criticism has two duties to fulfil. The first, and by far the most easy, relates to the general plan of a work—its end, the style, the progress which the language makes under the author—his original inventions and imitations—the degree in which he has improved on his models, or fallen short of them—and the instruction or amusement which he has imparted to his contemporaries or posterity. The second is far more difficult, and, in its utmost extent, impracticable. It consists in a minute exposition of all the separate beauties and defects of a poem, from page to page, often from verse to verse, and sometimes from word to word. The critic must display beauties, so that they shall be felt by those who did not feel them in the poet; and he must explain the causes of pleasure to those who are delighted without knowing how. Minute and argumentative as this analysis may often be, its object would be defeated if it were to extinguish the fire of poetry; and the reader, in reasoning with the critic, must never cease to feel with the poet.

A critic may attempt, like the celebrated Gravina, to prove that the '*Italia Liberata*' of Trissino is the finest epic poem

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since the Iliad; and that the Giuresalemme Liberata of Tasso is neither well imagined nor well written. The book of Gravina is a fine exertion of talent. It is written with elegance. His principles are just, his applications happy; and, as long as he confines himself to the analysis of the general plan of celebrated Epic poems, he appears to succeed. But, when all is done, the poem of Trissino reposes in libraries; and the reader, whose curiosity leads him to read a page, coldly shuts and replaces the volume. Tasso is reprinted every year. He is always indeed criticized; but he is always read. It is by the examination of particular beauties, continual, varied, inexhaustible, which lead the reader on from page to page, which flow into his heart, and are treasured in his memory, that the merit of the greatest poets must be measured. It is by such beauties that Ariosto compels his reader to go on in spite of inequality and disorder. It is to them that Virgil owes his superiority. * Many critics have, it is true, attempted this minute analysis of a poem. But it has two great difficulties, which have, in general, proved insurmountable obstacles to their success. In the *first* place, it regards the workings of the imagination and the heart, which are minute, rapid, evanescent and innumerable—sufficient to confound the head of the steadiest speculator. In the *second* place, it ends in system, when it does not arise from it; and for that reason seldom fails to deceive the critic and his readers. A system founded on exclusive admiration of the classics, has produced the barren rules of the schools, and prejudices which still influence literature. Rules, founded on the practice of Petrarch in the 16th century, raised Bembo and Molza to the rank of poetical mo-

* A foreigner of great literary distinction assures us, that, in an attentive perusal of Shakespeare, he finds little to displease him; that, on the contrary, in spite of his preference of the tragic system of the Greeks, he is continually moved; that he meets, in every page, subjects of admiration and meditation. But, when he sees the same tragedies on the stage, the art of the actors, and the illusion of the theatre, serve only to make him see more clearly what he thinks faults. He is not only cooled, but sometimes repelled. The reason which he gives for this difference is, that, in reading, he can feel and see all the beauties of thought and style. He is charmed by originality and variety; his attention is more directed to verses and sentiments, than to the action. But in the theatre, as his ear is not habituated to our pronunciation, he loses the strength and delicacy of the diction. He sees only the outline of events. He follows the action, divested of the attractions of style. When he thus loses all the particular beauties which Shakespeare often draws from the depths of human nature, he returns to his original taste, and once more prefers Sophocles.

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dels, while Dante was forgotten; and the revival of his fame has occasioned the establishment of new rules for poetry. In a manuscript of Petrarch, published by Ubaldini, there is a single line, in which we find forty-four alterations made in various days, and even years; for Petrarch marked, on the margin of his manuscripts, not only the years, but the months, days and hours, when he retouched his poems.

The changes in this verse do not appear to the common reader essential either to the thought, the expression, or the harmony. Yet so, on a calm revisal, the poet must have considered them. Every man familiar with the art must perceive, that, during these changes, the heart, the head and the ear of the writer, must have performed many operations. The business of the critic is to discover the reasons which determined the poet finally to fix on the line as it now stands in his printed text. But how difficult it is to find these reasons! and yet, how can the beauty of the verse be explained without them? If we had the manuscript, with the various alterations of the noblest passages of great poets, something might doubtless be done. We have in our possession, the variations in a very fine stanza of Ariosto, which he altered a hundred times. If we should ever have occasion to speak of that poet, we shall avail ourselves of these alterations to illustrate his manner of writing. But, in the other fine stanzas, which seem as if they flowed from inspiration, his mind must have gone through a like progress, though so rapidly, that he was himself almost unconscious of its action. The verses of great poets are always the result of a long series of thoughts, emotions, remembrances and images, compared, combined, rejected or selected. The strength, the quickness, and the number of impressions made on the mind; the promptitude of recollection; the facility of combining fact with feeling and thought, together with the powers of comparison and selection, constitute the greater part of what is called Genius. A man of genius seems to be inspired, because his mental operations are so much more rapid than those of other men. To develop the beauties of a poem, the critic must go through the same reasonings and judgments which ultimately determined the poet to write as he has done. But such a critic would be a poet. His ardent and impatient genius would never submit to the cold labour of criticism. Such a man might, however, analyze some passages, and at least describe the sensations with which he had himself perused them; which must surpass, in depth and vivacity, the sensations of an unpoetical mind. Johnson laughs at the notion, 'that a poet is to be published only by a poet;'—and, in what relates to emendation, and grammatical or explanatory notes, he is certainly right. Critics may assist us in ge-

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neralities; but, when we come to particulars, which are the soul of poetry, their aid becomes of little value. Great poets concentrate their ideas, and embody their feelings in images. Critics take them to pieces, in order to ascertain their texture. Poets, who are also critics, often exhibit a strange mixture of analysis and imagery.

We shall not enter into the question, whether Pope had most taste or genius. Perhaps he was destined by nature for bold invention; but in fact he has, in general, imitated with taste. The same thing may be said of Horace, Vida, and Boileau. Pope, like them, was a critic as well as a poet. It is a curious observation, that no poet of the first rank has ever spoken of the mechanism of his art, while poets of inferior station have laboriously displayed its rules in verse. Pindar declares, that a great poet, like 'the eagle, soars by his natural strength, and leaves beneath him the ignoble birds who seem to animate each other by their hoarse cries.' Horace, on the contrary, is always teaching us how the wings are to be managed. Pope lived in the philosophical age of Bayle and Locke; and English poetry, after shining forth in the originality of Shakespeare, having combined the genius of the Greek, Latin, and Italian classics in Milton, and having displayed its various treasures in Dryden, began to form itself upon the models of the French school. Among the French poets, imagery and feeling are smothered by reflection. Pope could not resist his habit of analysis, even in the translation of Homer, who, of all poets, is least disposed to turn aside to speculate. Perhaps these deviations of Pope from the character of his author, have contributed to the popularity of the English Iliad. But it is not here our object to censure the taste of various ages and nations. It is enough for us to prove, in fact, that Homer, Virgil, and Dante, have, in their pictures, left much to the imagination of the reader; that it is easy to feel their beauties, and very difficult to analyze them; and that, when poetry is made by system, it may display artificial beauties, but those of nature disappear.

In the scene where Venus leads Helen to Paris, Homer shows his knowledge of the heart of a woman agitated by a passion which she strives in vain to conquer. Helen regrets her family, and is ashamed of her situation. She resists the suggestions of Venus, bitterly bewails the infamy of her condition, and warmly desires to return to her husband, though she expects only the contempt of Greece. Venus tells her that her return would not heal the animosities between Greece and Asia; that war would still continue; and that Helen herself would perish by a cruel death. It is after this dialogue that Helen, wrapped up

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in her veil, follows the goddess in silence. The reader is left to feel the struggles of this woman's reason against her passion. Homer does not explain them. He contents himself with saying, at the beginning of the dialogue, that as soon as Helen heard of the danger of Paris, and was reminded of his beauty, her heart was moved; and that, when she discovered that it was Venus who spoke to her, she was seized with fright—

> 'She spoke, and Helen's secret soul was moved;
> She scorn'd the champion, but the man she loved.'

The first line of this couplet is in Homer, and only tells the fact. The second is added by Pope, to explain the intention of Helen and Homer. But the whole interest of the succeeding dialogue vanishes with this explanation. The passion of Helen becomes that of a libertine; and her remonstrances against the counsels of Venus seem gross hypocrisy. But the true Helen of Homer, throughout the Iliad, is considered as a woman, who, by her beauty, approaches the divinity. The gods, in forming so beautiful a creature, ordain that she should be admired with a species of adoration. The war, and the evils of which she is the cause, are attributed to the will of Heaven. Homer puts these sentiments into the mouth of Priam, rendered the most unfortunate of men by the war, and no longer of an age to be moved by beauty. Not a murmur is mentioned of the Trojans or of the Greeks against the source of their woes. Her husband laments her fate; and old Nestor, not moved by the same sentiments, speaks of her with the same pity. Paris declares that he had, like a pirate, carried her from Sparta. She never seems to open her mouth without a blush. It was a character very difficult to be painted. Homer has employed in the picture the utmost delicacy of pencil, and the deepest knowledge of human nature. When she bewails the death of Hector, she says, 'He never reproached me;—he hindered others from reproaching me.' A sublime sentiment, which describes at once the noble character of Hector, and all the remorse of the soul of Helen. She lives with Paris, from a sort of union of fatality and despair. She loves him; but she desires to escape from him. Her character in the Odyssey agrees with this representation of her in the Iliad. The Helen of Homer is always the same. The reasonings of the critics make her different from herself. The slightest change in delicate features destroys the physiognomy—

> 'She scorned the champion, but the man she loved.'

This is the illicit love of a modern lady of fashion; but it is not that of the amorous queen whom Homer saw in his imagination, and perhaps partly also in the manners of his age.

Othello, justifying himself against the charge of having seduced Desdemona, tells the Senate,

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'She loved me for the dangers I had past,
And I loved her that she did pity them.'

He tells the fact, and adds the simple reflection which immediately flows from experience and feeling. In such passages, it is impossible to contemplate without astonishment the genius of Shakespeare, which veils the depth of his observation by the simplicity of nature. The passage is thus translated by Delille—

'Elle aimoit mes malheurs; moi j'aimais ses larmes,
L'Amour et la Pitié confondoient ses charmes.'

Shakespeare seems only to give to Othello the characteristic features of a savage hero, who repays, with all his affection, those who love and admire him, and with all his vengeance those who betray or despise him. The Senate understood Othello. It may be doubted whether they would have understood, or at least felt the cold generalities which make the metaphysical commentary of Delille. Yet the readers of most of the capitals of Europe, at this day, would probably prefer the couplet of Delille.

Of all the translators of Dante with whom we are acquainted, Mr Cary is the most successful; and we cannot but consider his work as a great acquisition to the English reader. It is executed with a fidelity almost without example; and, though the measure he has adopted, conveys no idea of the original stanza, it is perhaps the best for his purpose, and what Dante himself would have chosen, if he had written in English and in a later day. The reasons, which influenced the mind of our own Milton would most probably have determined the author of the Inferno.

Some years ago, Mr Hayley published a translation of the three first Cantos of that Poem, in which he endeavoured to give an idea of Dante's peculiar manner, by introducing his triple rhyme. It was written with a considerable degree of spirit and elegance; but we cannot much regret that he proceeded no further. The difficulties which he had to encounter were almost insurmountable; at least he has led us to think so, by his many deviations from the text. Of these there is a remarkable instance in the third Canto. When the poet enters in at the gate, his ears are instantly assailed by a multitude of dismal sounds, among which he distinguishes

'Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle.'

'Voices deep and hoarse,
With hands together smote.'

The last circumstance, the most striking of them all, is entirely passed over by Mr Hayley. Mr Pope himself indeed could furnish many a parallel from his far-famed translations;

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and one of his most flagrant transgressions has never, to our knowledge, been pointed out. Penelope, in the Odyssey, (XIX. 597. and XXIII. 19.), twice mentions Troy, the source of all her misfortunes, in a manner the most natural and affecting, giving to that city the epithet of *bad*, and describing it as a place *not to be named*, though, in the hurry of her grief, she herself has just named it. A circumstance so beautiful and characteristic could not well be overlooked; but no notice is taken of it by the translator.

Cowper asserts it as his opinion, that 'a just translation of 'any ancient poet in rhyme is impossible;' and we must confess that we have never seen one. A translator has no occasion to forge fetters for himself. He has enough to wear already; and, do what he will, they will for ever weigh him down. Mr Pope attempted to cover his with flowers; but he could not conceal them. Sometimes, indeed, he throws them off altogether; but then he ceases to be a translator of Homer. No adventitious ornament—no invention can supply the place of truth and exactness to him who wants to know how men thought and felt in past ages. Who would consent to exchange the story of Joseph and his Brethren, as it is told in our Bibles, for the most elegant version of it by Mr Pope?

Of such offences we cannot accuse Mr Cary. Throughout he discovers the will and the power to do justice to his author. He has omitted nothing, he has added nothing; and though here and there his inversions are ungraceful, and his phrases a little obsolete, he walks not unfrequently by the side of his master, and sometimes perhaps goes beyond him. We may say in the language of that venerable Father of Italian Poetry,

> 'Hor ti riman, lector, sopral tuo banco:
> Drieto pensando accioche si preliba,' &c. *Paradiso* X.
>
> 'Now rest thee, reader! on thy bench, and muse
> Anticipative of the feast to come;
> So shall delight make thee not feel the toil.'

Perhaps there is no description so sublime in the Purgatory, as that of the discovery and expulsion of the Serpent in the Eighth Canto. How delightfully it opens with that passage from which Gray has borrowed the first line of his Elegy!

> 'Now was the hour that wakens fond desire
> In men at sea, and melts their thoughtful hearts,
> Who in the morn have bid sweet friends farewel;
> And pilgrim newly on his road with love
> Thrills, if he hear the vesper bell from far,
> That seems to mourn for the expiring day.'

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In the Ninth Canto, the Angel of God unlocks the gate; and the verses, that follow, are not unworthy of Milton.

'As in the hinges of that sacred ward
The swivels moved, ——————
Harsh was the grating.
Attentively I turned,
Listening the thunder, that first issued forth;
And "We praise thee, O God," methought I heard
In accents blended with sweet melody.
The strains came o'er mine ear, e'en as the sound
Of choral voices, that in solemn chant
With organ mingle, and, now high and clear,
Come swelling, now float indistinct away.'

In no writer, not even in Homer, have the similes more life and variety than in Dante; and they are for the most part given with the truest touches in the translation. We shall select two or three that may convey perhaps a less gloomy idea of him than generally prevails among us.

'As from a troop of well-ranked chivalry
One knight, more enterprising than the rest,
Pricks forth at gallop, eager to display
His prowess in the first encounter proved;
So parted he from us with lengthened strides,
And left me on the way with those two spirits,
Who were such mighty marshals of the world.' *Purgatory*, 24.

'As on their road
The thoughtful pilgrims, overtaking some
Not known unto them, turn to them, and look,
But stay not; thus, approaching from behind,
They eyed us as they passed.' *Ibid.* 23.

'When from their game of dice men separate,
He, who hath lost, remains in sadness fixed,
Revolving in his mind, what luckless throws
He cast: but meanwhile all the company
Go with the other; one before him runs,
And one, behind, his mantle twitches, one
Fast by his side bids him remember him.
He stops not; and each one, to whom his hand
Is stretched, well knows he bids him stand aside;
And thus he from the press defends himself.
E'en such was I in that close crowding throng;
And turning so my face around to all,
And promising, I 'scaped from it with pains.' *Ibid.* 6.

'Then as a troop of maskers, when they put
Their vizors off, look other than before,
The counterfeited semblance thrown aside;' &c. *Paradise*, 30.

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Dante must have loved hawking. He paints his bird always to the life. ' On his feet
The falcon first looks down, then to the sky
Turns, and forth stretches, eager for the food
That wooes him thither.' *Purgatory*, 19.

And again,

' Like to a falcon issuing from the hood,
That rears his head, and claps him with his wings,
His beauty and his eagerness bewraying.' *Paradise*, 19.

Mr Cary reminds us sometimes of Shakespeare,—oftener of Milton; but, in his anxiety to imitate them, he becomes more antiquated than either; and we hope, that, when he republishes his translation, which, we trust, he soon will, in a larger and more legible character, he will think proper to modernize the language a little, and give more simplicity and sweetness to many parts of it. In that beautiful simile,

' Then seemed they like to ladies, from the dance
Not ceasing, but *suspense*, in silent pause,
Listening till they have caught the strain anew.' *Paradise*, X.

—surely the word *suspense* is obscure and unpleasing. Milton uses it indeed in like manner; but why not avoid, when we can, the perplexity that must always arise from using the same word as an adjective and a substantive? We do not disapprove of the judicious use of old words. Far from it. They are, in their place, most becoming; and, in the present instance, throw a sober colouring over the whole, which we should be sorry to lose. If Dante himself were to appear among us, should we not expect to find his beard and his tunic after an ancient fashion, and much as they are represented in that old painting in the Duomo at Florence?

But, when Dante is the subject, our readers may require something of a darker complexion than what we have given them; and we shall conclude with two extracts from the Inferno. The pathetic story of Francesca, before mentioned, is known to all; and all can, in some degree, form a judgment of the translation.

' When I had heard my sage instructor name
Those dames and knights of antique days, o'erpowered
By pity, well-nigh in amaze my mind
Was lost; and I began—" Bard, willingly
I would address those two together coming,
Which seem so light before the wind." He thus;
" Note thou, when nearer they to us approach.
Then by that love which carries them along
Entreat; and they will come." Soon as the wind
Swayed them toward us, I thus framed my speech;

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" O wearied spirits! come, and hold discourse
With us, if by none else restrained." As doves
By fond desire invited, on wide wings
And firm, to their sweet nest returning home,
Cleave the air, wafted by their will along;
They came—— - - - - - - - - -
Then, turning, I to them my speech addressed,
And thus began—" Francesca! your sad fate
Even to tears my grief and pity moves.
But tell me, in the time of your sweet sighs,
By what and how Love granted that ye knew
Your yet uncertain wishes?" She replied:
" No greater grief than to remember days
Of joy, when misery is at hand. That knows
Thy learned instructor. Yet so eagerly
If thou art bent to learn the primal root
From whence our love got being, I will do,
As one, who weeps and tells his tale. One day
For our delight we read of Lancelot,
How him Love thralled. Alone we were, and no
Suspicion near us. Ofttimes by that reading
Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue
Fled from our altered cheeks. But at one point
Alone, we fell. When of that smile we read,
The wish'd-for smile, so rapturously kissed
By one so deep in love, then he, who ne'er
From me shall separate, at once my lips
All trembling kissed. The book and writer both
Were Love's purveyors. In its leaves that day
We read no more." *Canto* V.

The same observation applies still more strongly to the unrivalled tale of Ugolino; which Michael Angelo is said to have delighted in. There is a bas-relief of his on the subject.

" How cruel was the murder shalt thou hear,
And know if he have wronged me. - - -
Before the dawn, amid their sleep, I heard
My sons, for they were with me, weep, and ask
For bread. Right cruel art thou, if no pang
Thou feel at thinking what my heart foretold;
And if not now, why use thy tears to flow?
Now had they wakened; and the hour drew near
When they were wont to bring us food; the mind
Of each misgave him through his dream, and I
Heard at its outlet underneath locked up
The horrible tower. Then, uttering not a word
I looked upon the faces of my sons.
I wept not; so all stone I felt within.
They wept; and one, my little Anselm, cried;
" Thou lookest so!—Father, what ails thee?" Yet

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I shed no tear, nor answer'd all that day
Nor the next night, until another sun
Came out upon the world. When a faint beam
Had to our doleful prison made its way,
And in four countenances I descry'd
The image of my own, on either hand
Through agony I bit, and they who thought
I did it through desire of feeding, rose
O' th' sudden, and cried, " Father, we should grieve
" Far less, if thou wouldst eat of us: thou gav'st
" These weeds of miserable flesh we wear,
" And do thou strip them off from us again."
Then, not to make them sadder, I kept down
My spirit in stillness. That day and the next
We all were silent. Ah, obdurate earth!
Why open'dst not upon us? When we came
To the fourth day, then Gaddo at my feet
Outstretch'd did fling him, crying, " Hast no help
" For me, my father!" There he died, and e'en,
Plainly as thou seest me, saw I the three
Fall one by one 'twixt the fifth day and sixth:
Whence I betook me, now grown blind, to grope
Over them all, and for three days aloud
Call'd on them who were dead. Then, fasting got
The mastery of grief." Thus having spoke,
Once more upon the wretched skull his teeth
He fasten'd, like a mastiff's 'gainst the bone
Firm and unyielding.' *Canto* xxxiii.

When such stories are related by such a poet as Dante, 'the world will not willingly let them die.' Yet, not very long before he appeared, what a darkness prevailed over Europe!—when there was a high-constable of France who could not read, and when there were Kings who could only make the sign of the cross in confirmation of their charters. Even then, however, as an elegant writer § has observed, the Muses, with their attendant arts (in strange disguise indeed, and uncouth trappings) were not idle in the cloister. Statuary carved a madonna or a crucifix;—Painting illuminated a missal;—Eloquence made the panegyric of a saint;—and History composed a legend. Still they breathed; and were ready, at any happier period, to emerge from obscurity with all their native charms and undiminished lustre.

§ Mrs Barbauld. We rejoice in this opportunity to express our high sense of her talents. The greatest and most accomplished statesman of the age always spoke of them with admiration. Her songs he could repeat by heart; and her essay 'against Inconsistency in our Expectations,' he justly considered as equal to any thing of the kind in any language.

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ART. X. *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo-Choo Island; with an Appendix, containing Charts, and various Hydrographical and Scientific Notices.* By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL, Royal Navy, F. R. S. Lond. & Edin. Member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, of the Literary Society of Bombay, and of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia. *And a Vocabulary of the Loo-Choo Language:* By H. J. CLIFFORD, Esq. Lieutenant Royal Navy. 4to. pp. . London, 1818.

Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Alceste, along the Coast of Corea to the Island of Loo-Choo; with an Account of her subsequent Shipwreck. By JOHN M'LEOD, Surgeon of the Alceste. 8vo. pp. London, 1818.

WE do not know when we have met with two more pleasing works than those of which we have just copied the titles. They make us proud of our country, and put us in good humour with our species. They contain a great deal of curious information, too;—but it is their *moral* interest that forms by far their greatest attraction.

There is always something very interesting in an account of rude or remote races of men:—But there is almost always something very painful too. Human nature is often exhibited in so very low and miserable a condition, as to excite nothing but commisseration and disgust: Or, where outward circumstances have been more favourable, their moral state is so deplorable, as to give rise to feelings still more unwelcome. Cruelty, duplicity, sensuality—war without generosity—profligacy without elegance or decency—debasing and sanguinary superstitions—lawless tyrannies—continual insecurity of life and property—childish levity and caprice, or brutal apathy.—Such is the picture, we fear, of about three fourths of our species;—and if we even take the more civilized communities, out of Europe or its colonies, we need only add the features of greater dissimulation and selfishness—more intolerant bigotry, and more preposterous national conceit, to preserve the resemblance entire.

But if the spectacle of new countries thus yields little but new forms of human wretchedness and corruption, we are afraid there is nothing in the usual history of the intercourse between them and their enlightened visiters which can very much relieve or enliven the prospect. We have commonly appeared, and been treated as enemies—and marked our footsteps among them with blood. When this has not happened, or after it is over, we have generally taken advantage of our superior knowledge or discipline, to enslave, plunder and oppress—or at best have exchanged vices

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and diseases with our newly discovered brethren,—and brought the distant families of mankind into acquaintanceship, only to increase their dangers, their sufferings, their means of annoyance, and their knowledge of evil. There have been exceptions to this:—But they are very few; and we know of none so striking and complete as that which is recorded in the volumes before us—none in which both parties appeared to have been animated with so cordial and disinterested a feeling of good will and affection—and in which that mutual feeling was mutually so well deserved.

These two books both contain an account of the proceedings of the ships of war which accompanied our late Embassy to China; and, of course, coincide in a good part of their contents. This coincidence, however, is only partial,—and by no means distressing; for Mr M'Leod has aspired to give his readers an account of the whole voyage from England and back, while Captain Hall, we conceive with better judgment, has confined himself to that part of their track which had the recommendation of novelty. He could afford, therefore, to be more particular; and his book, accordingly, is not only on the whole the most interesting, but also by much the largest of the two. The most remarkable part of Mr M'Leod's, is his account of the wreck of the Alceste, and the conduct and condition of her crew and commander, till they were relieved from Batavia.

After the embassador was landed in the Yellow Sea, the two vessels that accompanied him were ordered on a cruize to the east and south, in order to ascertain the geography of the Corean coast and the adjoining islands—and it is to the results of this expedition that Captain Hall has limited his narrative. His account is given mostly in the form of a Journal—in a very easy, unassuming, and lively style—in the language and manner of a gentleman and a man of the world—and not only with much acute observation and just reflection, but with infinite good humour, modesty and candour.

They soon fell in with the coast, and landed on two or three of the adjacent islands. The inhabitants appear to be unequivocally a race of Chinese, and use the same written character, though their spoken language is entirely different. Though quite pacific in their deportment, their great desire was evidently to get rid, as soon as possible, of their curious visiters; for which purpose they used all sorts of anxious signs and intimations—and when these proved ineffectual, took them resolutely under the arms, and walked them down to the beach! They showed very little curiosity, and no admiration or sense of inferiority; but, on the contrary, maintained a proud and somewhat insolent manner, giving way now and then

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to bursts of derision. They did not seem to know the value of money, and would make no presents, and scarcely receive any. They kept their women most jealously secluded from the view of their visiters. They are rather small in stature, though robust. Some of them seemed marked with small-pox. They are well clothed in cottons of various colours, and seemed abundantly supplied with provisions. A few days after this first encounter, the voyagers came to a more thickly inhabited part of the coast, and were met on their approach by a great cavalcade of boats, crowded with people, and ornamented with flags and streamers of all colours. Under a great blue umbrella, in one of the largest, they found a fine patriarchal figure, with a huge white beard flowing below his middle, and over the folds of the vast blue silk mantle in which his person was enveloped. He wore a light hat of varnished gauze work, apparently of horse hair, with a very small sharp crown, and near three feet broad in the brim; and had a little black rod tipped with silver in his hand. He received the officers who had approached in their boat, with great civility and unembarrassed politeness, and accompanied them aboard the frigate, where, after delivering a long harangue, he dictated a billet to his secretary with great solemnity, and put it into Captain Maxwell's hands, with the most apparent confidence of its being understood—a confidence not very unnatural, perhaps, to those who are daily accustomed to see their written characters adopted by persons who are utter strangers to their speech. Captain Maxwell very judiciously called for paper in return, and writing a few words in English, presented it with all due solemnity to his visiter, who, after turning it in all directions, and submitting it to the consideration of his secretary, was obliged to give up all conventional means of communication, and to have recourse to the natural language of signs. On the approach of night, he ordered his boats, and was assisted into his own; when he was expected, of course, to return to the shore.

'But there was still something amiss; for the old man, seated in state under his umbrella, remained alongside with his attendants ranged on the deck about him, he and his people preserving the most perfect silence, and making no signs to explain his wishes. We were greatly puzzled to discover what the old gentleman wanted; till at length it was suggested, that having paid us a visit, he expected a similar compliment in return. This idea was no sooner started, than we proceeded to pay our respects to him in his boat. He made signs for us to sit down, honouring us at the same time with a corner of his own mat. When we were seated, he looked about as if in distress at having nothing to entertain us with, upon which a bottle of wine was sent for and given to him. He ordered an attendant to pour it into

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several bowls, and putting the bottle away, made signs for us to drink, but would not taste it himself till all of us had been served. He was nowise discomposed at being obliged to entertain his company at their own expense; on the contrary, he carried off the whole affair with so much cheerfulness and ease, as to make us suspect sometimes that he saw and enjoyed the oddity of the scene and circumstances, as fully as we did ourselves.' p. 20, 21.

Next day he paid another visit aboard, and drank tea and cherry brandy with great sociality; but, in retiring, he displayed his authority over his attendants in a very characteristic way.

'On passing the gun-room sky-light, he heard the voices of some of his people whom the officers had taken below, and who were enjoying themselves very merrily amongst their new acquaintance. The old Chief looked down, and observing them drinking and making a noise, he called to them in a loud passionate voice, which made them leave their glasses, and run up the ladder in great terror. From thence the alarm spread along the lower deck, to the midshipmen's birth, where another party was carousing. The grog and wine with which they had been entertained was too potent for this party, as they did not seem to care much for the old Chief, who, posting himself at the hatchway, ascertained, by personal examination, who the offenders were. On this occasion, his little rod of office was of much use; he pushed the people about with it to make them speak, and used it to turn them round, in order to discover their faces. One man watching his opportunity when the Chief was punching away at somebody who had just come up, slipped past and ran off; but the quick eye of the old man was not so easily deceived, and he set off in chase of him round the quarter deck. The man had an apron full of biscuit, which had been given to him by the midshipmen; this impeded his running, so that the Chief, notwithstanding his robes, at last came up with him; but while he was stirring him up with his rod, the fellow slipped his cargo of bread into a coil of rope, and then went along with the Chief quietly enough. The old man came back afterwards, and found the biscuit, which he pointed out to us, to show that it had not been taken away. He continued for some time at the hatchway, expecting more people; but finding none come up, he went below himself, to the main deck, and rummaged under the guns and round the main-mast, to discover whether any one was concealed; but finding no person there, he came again upon deck, and shortly after went into his boat.' p. 25, 26.

We may add the following just and characteristic passage to complete the picture—and it is no doubt a very engaging one—of Corean manners.

'In the mean time, Captain Maxwell had come on board; and breakfast being ready, we prevailed upon the Chief to sit down with us. He ate heartily of our hashes, and of every thing else that was put before him, using a knife, fork, and spoon, which he now

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saw, probably, for the first time in his life, not only without awkwardness, but to such good purpose, that he declined exchanging them for Chinese chop-sticks, which were provided for him. In fact, he was so determined to adopt our customs in every respect, that when the tea was offered to him in the Chinese way, he looked to the right and left; and seeing ours differently prepared, held up his cup to the servant, for milk and sugar, which being given to him, the old gentleman remained perfectly satisfied.

'The politeness and ease with which he accommodated himself to the habits of people so different from himself, were truly admirable; and when it is considered, that hitherto, in all probability, he was ignorant even of our existence, his propriety of manners should seem to point, not only to high rank in society, but to imply also a degree of civilization in that society, not confirmed by other circumstances. Be this as it may, the incident is curious, as showing, that however different the state of society may be in different countries, the forms of politeness are much alike in all. This polished character was very well sustained by the old Chief; as he was pleased with our attempts to oblige him, and whatever we seemed to care about, he immediately took an interest in. He was very inquisitive, and was always highly gratified when he discovered the use of any thing which had puzzled him at first. But there was no idle surprise, no extravagant bursts of admiration; and he certainly would be considered a man of good breeding, and keen observation, in any part of the world.' p. 33, 34.

The character, however, is not quite so unexceptionable as the manners; and, even during the brief period of their acquaintance, the harshness, the imbecility and selfishness of the half savage was strikingly developed. The old chief was fond of quarrelling and chastising his attendants, and had one of them severely bastinadoed for some very slight offence; while all the rest joined in mockery of his cries and lamentations. When the officers at last insisted on returning his visits on shore, he appeared extremely distressed; and intimated, by many signs, that it would cost him his head if he were to permit it. However, though surrounded by a great submissive population, he made no resistance; and they accordingly landed along with him.

'The old man was lifted out of the boat by several of his people, and we were amazed to find, when they set him down, that he was in tears, and looking altogether very unhappy. In a few minutes a crowd, consisting of more than a hundred people, assembled round us, and we began to think we should pay dearly for our curiosity. But the poor old man had no thoughts of vengeance, and was no better pleased with the crowd than we were; for, turning to his soldiers, he desired them to disperse the mob, which they did in a moment by pelting them with great stones. The Chief now began crying violently; and, turning towards the village, walked away, leaning his head on the

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shoulder of one of his people. As he went along, he not only sobbed and wept, but every now and then bellowed aloud. We had been nowise prepared for such a scene, and were extremely sorry for having pushed matters to this extremity. It had never occurred to us that the old Chief's head was really in danger; and even now we could not satisfy ourselves whether he was sincere, or merely acting in order to prevail on us to retire. The perfect tranquillity, nay even cheerfulness of the Courtier, who staid with us all this time, puzzled us extremely: nor could we account for the indifference of the other attendants, who looked on with as much composure as if such scenes were every-day occurrences. But at all events, it was necessary before proceeding any further, that the old man should be pacified; and in order to effect this, we sat down on the beach, upon which he turned about and came crying back again.' p. 36, 37.

The party good-humouredly repressed their curiosity, when they saw how much distress it occasioned; and, after doing all they could to cheer the poor old man, returned to their ships without entering the village, and sailed away. They now entered upon a scene utterly unknown to European navigators, and more invariably beautiful than ever before repaid the toils and hazards of discovery.

'We threaded our way for upwards of a hundred miles amongst islands which lie in immense clusters in every direction. At first we thought of counting them, and even attempted to note their places on the charts which we were making of this coast; but their great number completely baffled these endeavours. They vary in size, from a few hundred yards in length to five or six miles, and are of all shapes. From the mast-head other groups were perceived lying one behind the other to the east and south as far as the eye could reach. *Frequently above a hundred islands were in sight from deck at one moment.* The sea being quite smooth, the weather fine, and many of the islands wooded and cultivated in the valleys, the scene was at all times lively, and was rendered still more interesting by our rapid passage along the coast, by which the appearances about us were perpetually changing. Of this coast we had no charts possessing the slightest pretensions to accuracy, none of the places at which we touched being laid down within sixty miles of their proper places. Only a few islands are noticed in any map; whereas the coast, for near two hundred miles, is completely studded with them, to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues from the main land. These inaccuracies in the charts naturally gave a very high degree of interest to this part of the voyage; yet the navigation being at all times uncertain, and often dangerous, considerable anxiety necessarily mingled itself with the satisfaction produced by so new and splendid a scene. We always anchored during the night, or when the tides, which were very rapid, prevented our proceeding in the deliberate manner absolutely required by the nature of the circum-

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stances. An instance of the necessity of these precautions occurred on the 7th of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, when, it being quite calm, we were drifting along with the tide, which suddenly shifted and carried us rapidly towards a reef of rocks, which was invisible till the strong rippling of the water showed us our danger: we let go the anchor immediately, but the jerk was so great, as to break the Lyra's cable. A second anchor, however, brought her up at a sufficient distance from the reef.' p. 42, 43.

They landed on several of those islands, all of which swarm with inhabitants; and found pretty uniformly the same impatience on the part of the natives to get rid of them—the same aversion to enter into any traffic—the same jealous seclusion of their women—and the same pacific though repulsive deportment that had struck them on their first approach—with the same general appearance of comfort and good order. It is curious to think of this living fringe of cultivated islands—peopled, to all appearance from the earliest ages, by millions of polished and instructed human beings, who have never, till now, been known to the active searchers of this little globe, nor at all aware of their existence,—and to whom all our learning, our traditions, our histories and occupations, are as insignificant as the theories of the Moonites are to us. This archipelago is not the work of insects; and the islands are not surrounded with coral reefs. Whether they are the relics and skeleton of a disintegrated continent, or the buds and germs of a new one, we leave to geologists to determine,—or at least to dispute. Our adventurers saw bullocks and poultry in abundance—but could obtain no supplies. They also observed numbers of crows, apparently of the same species as in Europe.

On the 13th of September, they turned away from this garland of islands, without having by any means got to the end of it; and, entering the Japan sea, stood to the south for the Great Loo-Choo. They passed a remarkable volcano called Sulphur Island, but could not land on account of the surf; and came in sight of the shore they were in search of in the close of the following day. The first interview with the inhabitants was promising, and not delusive.

'While the boats were away, several natives came off to the Lyra. No people that we have yet met with have been so friendly; for, the moment they came alongside, one handed a jar of water up to us, and another a basket of boiled sweet potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. Their manners were gentle and respectful; they uncovered their heads when in our presence, bowed whenever they spoke to us; and when we gave them some

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rum, they did not drink it till they had bowed to every person round. Another canoe went near the Alceste; and a rope being thrown to them, they tied a fish to it, and then paddled away. All this seemed to promise well, and was particularly grateful after the cold repulsive manners of the Coreans.' p. 61, 62.

After the ships were anchored, they came aboard in great numbers. Captain Hall gives this lively and distinct account of the deportment and appearance of the higher classes.

'Their manners are remarkably gentle and unassuming. They are observant, and not without curiosity; but they require encouragement to induce them to come forward, being restrained, it would seem, by a genteel self-denial, from gratifying curiosity, lest it might be thought obtrusive. Their dress is singularly graceful; it consists of a loose flowing robe, with very wide sleeves, tied round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of wrought silk, a yellow cylindrical cap, and a neat straw sandal, over a short cotton boot or stocking. Two of the chiefs wore light yellow robes, the other dark blue, streaked with white, all of cotton. The cap is flat at top. They all carry fans, which they stick in their girdles when not in use; and each person has a short tobacco-pipe in a small bag, hanging, along with the pouch, at the girdle.' p. 68, 69.

The following description applies to the whole population.

'The variety of colour and pattern in the dresses of the people to-day, is remarkable. Many wear printed cottons, others have cotton dresses with the pattern drawn on it by hand, instead of being stamped; but blue, in all its shades, is the prevalent colour, though there were many dresses resembling in every respect Highland tartans. The children, in general, wear more showy dresses than the men; and of the dress of the women we can say nothing, as none have yet been seen. Every person has one of the girdles before described, which is always of a different colour from the dress, and is, in general, richly ornamented with flowers in embossed silk, and sometimes with gold and silver threads. This dress is naturally so graceful, that even the lowest boatmen have a picturesque appearance. Their hair, which is of a glossy black, is shaved off the crown; but the bare place is concealed by their mode of dressing the hair in a close knot over it. Their beards and mustachios are allowed to grow, and are kept neat and smooth. They are rather low in stature, but are well formed, and have an easy graceful carriage, which suits well with their flowing dress. Their colour is not good, some being very dark and others nearly white; but in most instances they are of a deep copper. This is fully compensated for by the sweetness and intelligence of their countenance. Their eyes, which are black, have a placid expression, and their teeth are regular and beautifully white. In deportment they are modest, polite, timid, and respectful; and, in short, appear to be a most interesting and amiable people.' p. 70, 71.

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There were considerable difficulties about their being permitted to land; but these were at last overcome; and the sick were accommodated in the gardens of a temple or place of worship, of which the natives appeared to make very little use, and where they were treated with the kindest and most unwearied attention by all classes of the inhabitants.

'Milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables, were brought to them every day; and whenever they felt disposed to walk, they were accompanied by one or two of the natives, who took their arms on coming to rough ground, and often helped them up the steep side of the hill behind the hospital, to a pleasant grassy spot on the summit, where the natives lighted pipes for them: in short, I suppose sailors were never so caressed before.' p. 155.

The rest of the crew, however, and even the officers, were a good deal restricted in their communications with the interior, being specially interdicted from entering the town or large village near the landing place, and generally confined, indeed, either to a walk along the beach, or to the top of a small eminence in the neighbourhood. The Lyra, however, circumnavigated the island, which was found to be about sixty miles in length,—and examined several other harbours; and such was the familiarity and cordiality of the intercourse maintained with the natives, that many intimacies and friendships were formed with individuals, and a pretty correct notion obtained of the general character and habits of the population. From the account which is here given, it is impossible to imagine a more amiable or a happier race. Their manners appear to be formed upon the very highest standard of true, and therefore universal politeness; and a disciple of Chesterfield, it would appear, might have something to learn, but would certainly find nothing to teach, among those simple and remote people. In addition to the testimonies we have already quoted, we may give the following pleasing and characteristic anecdotes. The first time the Chiefs dined on board, it was observed, that—

'When the covers were removed, they became silent, and looked on either hand for directions how to proceed. On being helped to soup, they did not stir till they saw us take spoons, in the management of which they showed but little awkwardness. The knife and fork gave them more trouble; but they set seriously about acquiring a knowledge of their use, and, in a short time, found no difficulty. Their grave propriety on this occasion is the more worthy of remark, from its standing in some measure opposed to our own behaviour under similar circumstances: for instance, when we first tried to eat with their chopsticks: on that occasion there was a sort of giggling embarrassment shown by some of us, a contempt as it were of ourselves, for condescending to employ an effort to acquire the use of a

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thing apparently so unimportant. Their diminutive cups and odd dishes, too, sometimes excited mirth amongst us. Our Loo-choo friends, however, never committed themselves in this way; a difference of manners, which may arise from their looking upon us as their superiors, and vice versâ; but even admitting this, which we were sufficiently disposed to do, it is certainly no excuse for us.'—p. 116, 117.

On another occasion of the same kind—

'They were all in great spirits, and ate and drank freely, and though they complained of the size of the glasses, and of the strength of the wine, tasted every thing from punch to champagne: the briskness of the last indeed surprised them not a little, and effectually muddled two of them for some time. Cheese was the only thing they all objected to, probably on account of its being made of milk, which they never taste. The interpreter not being present, the conversation was carried on through Mr Clifford and Mádera, and partly by signs. Whether intelligibly or not, every body was talking. Mádera has dinned often on board the ship, and is quite perfect in our customs. On this occasion he took great charge of the chiefs at his end of the table, speaking sometimes in one language and sometimes in the other. Observing Jeema eating ham without mustard, he called to Captain Maxwell's servant, and pointing to Jeema, said, "Tom, take mustard to him."

'After sitting about an hour and a half after dinner, and drinking with tolerable spirit, they rose to depart; but this they were not allowed to do, and they were informed that it was the English custom to sit a much longer time. They represented that the sun had set, and they would never be able to find their way on shore, but would all be drowned in attempting it. This alarming difficulty was easily overruled by a promise of the barge, and they sat down again.—These four bumpers made the party very merry, and it now was intimated to them, that as all the usual formalities had been observed, they might drink just as much as they liked, or pass the bottle altogether; a permission of which few of them took advantage. They lighted their pipes, laughed, joked, and seemed so happy, that it was agreed on all hands, that conviviality is nowhere better understood than at Loo-choo. After a time, at our request, they played some games, of which we had heard them speak.—Before leaving the cabin, they showed us a Loo-choo dance round the table: Mádera placed himself at the head before Ookooma, while the others ranged themselves in a line behind him; he began by a song, the air of which was very pretty, and nearly at the same time commenced the dance, which consisted principally in throwing the body into a variety of postures, and twisting the hands about. Sometimes the hands were placed flat together, at others separate, but generally the former; the movements both of the body and hands were regular, and of a waving description.—In this way they went several times

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round the table. Mádera had a graceful carriage; and his dancing, though fantastic, was really elegant; his singing too was in good taste. The others danced clumsily, though in perfect good time, and joined with some spirit in the chorus.

'The ship was illuminated, and the sailors were dancing on the upper deck. The chiefs were much pleased with this scene, which was lively enough. After watching the dance of the sailors for a few minutes, Mádera, who, to use a common phrase, "was up to every thing," ran among the sailors, and seizing one of them by the shoulders, put him out of the dance, took his place, and kept up the reel with the same spirit, and exactly in the same style and step as the sailors. The other dances were left off, and the whole ship's company assembling round Mádera, cheered and clapped him till the dance was done. The chiefs joined in the applause, seeming no less surprised than ourselves at Mádera's skill; for his imitation of the sailors' odd steps and gestures was as exact as if he had lived amongst seamen all his life. The officers then danced a country dance, after which the chiefs, unasked, and with a sort of intuitive politeness, which rendered every thing they did appropriate, instantly stepped forward, and danced several times round the quarter-deck, to the infinite gratification of the sailors.' p. 162—168.

The following is perhaps a still more decisive proof of the native delicacy of their character.

'A young man belonging to the Alceste had died during our absence. When the natives were informed of this circumstance, they requested permission to make the grave, and begged Captain Maxwell to point out a place for this purpose. Captain Maxwell said that no situation could be more appropriate than under the grove of trees near the temple, a spot already rendered sacred by many Loo-choo tombs.—Next day the body was carried to the grave with all the formalities usual on such occasions, Captain Maxwell, according to custom, walking last, with the officers and crew before him. The ready politeness of the natives was never more strikingly displayed than now; for, perceiving that those who were of the highest rank walked in the rear, they considered that their station must of course be in front; and they accordingly placed themselves at the head of the procession, and preserved, throughout the ceremony, the most profound silence. They were all dressed in white robes, which we have reason to believe is their mourning.' p. 153–4.

As a further proof of their social and familiar habits, we may mention a singular and most laudable custom they have, of always carrying with them, nicely packed in a box, the materials for a comfortable dinner, which they eat when and wherever they find most agreeable, and with such companions as they may pick up in their rambles.

'Every person of rank,' says Captain Hall, 'is attended by a lad, generally his son, whose business it is to carry a little square

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box, in which there are several small drawers, divided into compartments, filled with rice, sliced eggs, small squares of smoked pork, cakes, and fish; and in one corner a small metal pot of sackee, besides cups and chopsticks. By having this always with them, they can dine when and where they choose. They frequently invite us to dine with them; and, if we agree to the proposal, they generally ask any other of the chiefs whom they meet to be of the party, and join dinners. The place selected for these pic-nics is commonly under the trees, in a cool spot, where a mat is spread on the grass; and every thing being laid out in great order, the party lies down in a circle, and seldom breaks up till the sackee pot is empty.' p. 160.

But it is not only their manners and tempers that are thus singularly agreeable;—their dispositions seem to be thoroughly amiable and gentle, and their honesty and integrity without blemish. During six weeks continual intimacy, our adventurers never saw any thing approaching to a quarrel or affray, nor any punishment inflicted beyond an angry look, or the tap of a fan; and not an article of any kind was stolen, or suspected to be stolen, though every thing was exposed in a way that might have tempted persons in whose eyes most of them must have been less rare and precious. To complete this picture of the golden age, it is stated, that the Chiefs never once appeared to treat the inferior people with harshness or severity; that there was nothing like poverty or distress of any kind to be seen—no deformed persons—and very little appearance of disease; and finally, that they have no arms of any sort for offence or defence, and positively denied having any knowledge of war, either by experience or tradition. It is at least equally certain, that they have no knowledge of, or regard for money; as they appeared to set no value whatever either on the dollars or gold pieces that were offered them by the navigators; and it was understood, that any little simple traffic they carry on is managed in the way of barter.

As to their knowledge and attainments, they manufacture salt—build stone arches—cultivate their fields, both for rice, millet, sugar, and other crops, with great neatness—weave and stain their cotton cloths with singular taste—and embroider their girdles and pouches with a great deal of fancy and elegance. Their silks and woollens are said to be brought from China; and the latter, Captain Hall conceives, from their appearance, to have come originally from England. Their hair and dress is always arranged with the utmost regard to cleanliness and neatness. They all carry fans of a pretty and light construction. The most remarkable person that appeared, was a chief of the name of Mádera, who for several weeks dissembled his high rank, and, in the habit of the lower orders, attracted the notice of every one by his singular curiosity and in-

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telligence, and ingratiated himself with every one by his extreme good humour, kindness, and habits of accommodation. In less than a month, he had acquired so much English as to be able to converse very intelligibly, and, on many occasions, to perform the part of an interpreter; and, in a far shorter time, he had so perfectly familiarized himself with our usages, as to have no appearance whatever of awkwardness or embarrassment in the society of the travellers.

'The great interest,' says Captain Hall, 'which Mádera took in the English, and the curiosity he always expressed about our customs at home, suggested the idea of taking him with us to England, where he would have been an interesting specimen of a people so little known; and he also might have carried back knowledge of the greatest use to his country. When it was proposed to him, he paused for some minutes, and then, shaking his head, said, 'I go Injeree,—father, mother, childs, wife, house, all cry! not go; no, no, all cry!' p. 159.

The parting scene between these amiable people and their affectionate visiters, shows this distinguished character in a still more engaging light, and is altogether exceedingly touching and pleasing. It does one's heart good to read such passages as the following—though it is a little painful to think how seldom they can be written with truth, and how rare it is to find a brave and hardy seaman like Captain Hall, able or willing to do them such justice in the expression.

'While we were at dinner, Mádera came into the Alceste's cabin for the purpose of asking some questions about the sextant. He had not been aware of our being at dinner, and looked shocked at having intruded; and when invited to sit down, politely, but firmly declined. From the cabin he went to the gun room, to see his friend Mr Hoppner, the junior lieutenant of the Alceste, with whom he had formed a great friendship. Mr Hoppner gave him a picture of the Alceste, and some other presents; upon which Mádera, who was much affected, said, "To-morrow ship go sea; I go my father house, two day distance: when I see my father, I show him your present, and I tell him, me, Henry Hoppner all same (as) brother," and burst into tears!

'Sunday, 27th of October.—At day-break we unmoored; and the natives, on seeing us take up one of our anchors, thought we were going to get under weigh immediately, and give them the slip, which was not at all intended. This alarm, however, brought the chiefs off in a great hurry; not in a body in their usual formal way, but one by one, in separate canoes. Old Jeema called on board the Lyra on his way to the frigate; he was a good deal agitated; and the tears came into his eyes when I put a ring on his finger. He gave me, in return, his knife.

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'The other chiefs called alongside on their way to the frigate, but went on when I told them that I was just going to the Alceste myself. In the mean time Mádera came on board, with the sextant in his hand; he was in such distress that he scarcely knew what he was about. In this distracted state he sat down to breakfast with us, during which he continued lighting his pipe and smoking as fast as he could; drinking and eating whatever was placed before him. After he had a little recovered himself, he asked what books it would be necessary to read to enable him to make use of the sextant; I gave him a nautical almanack, and told him that he must understand that in the first instance: he opened it, and looking at the figures, held up his hands in despair, and was at last forced to confess that it was a hopeless business. He therefore put the sextant up and bade us farewell. Before he left the Lyra he gave Mr Clifford his pipe, tobacco-pouch, and a crystal ornament; saying, as he held out the last, "You go, Ingeree, you give this to your childs."—Mr Clifford gave him a few presents in return, and expressed his anxiety to be considered his friend. Mádera, with the tears streaming down his cheeks, placed his hands several times upon his heart, and cried, "Eedooshee, edooshee!" My friend, my friend!—To me he gave a fan and a picture of an old man looking up at the sun, drawn, he said, by himself: he probably meant in his picture some allusion to my usual occupation at the observatory. After he had put off in his boat, he called out, "Ingeree noo choo sibittee yootoosha," I shall ever remember the English people. When he went to the Alceste, one of the chiefs remarked that he had neither his hatchee-matchee on nor his robes, and told him that it was not respectful to wait upon Captain Maxwell for the last time, in his ordinary dress; particularly as all the others were in full array. Mádera, who, poor fellow, had been too much concerned about other matters to think of dress, was shocked at this apparent want of politeness, and went immediately to apologize to Captain Maxwell, who took him by the hand, and gave him a present, telling him, at the same time, that he was always too happy to see him, to notice what dress he had on.—In the mean time, the anchor was hove up, and every thing being ready for making sail, the chiefs rose to take leave. Ookooma wished to say something, but was too much affected to speak, and before they reached their boats they were all in tears.—Mádera cried bitterly as he shook hands with his numerous friends, who were loading him with presents.—The chiefs, as well as the people in the numerous canoes which had assembled round the ships, stood up, and continued waving their fans and handerchiefs till we were beyond the reefs, and could see them no longer!' 199—203.

We have already mentioned two of the most curious peculiarities in the state of this people—that they are ignorant of War—and of the use or value of Money;—facts so very singular, considering their proximity and occasional intercourse with

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China, Corea and Japan, in all of which both are sufficiently known, that it may be reasonably doubted, perhaps, whether their intelligent visiters, inquisitive and vigilant as they were as to both particulars, have not been in some measure deceived. The other most remarkable features in their condition, are their indifference or disregard for religion, and the low state in which they keep their priests—their singular and invariable reserve on the subject of their sovereign and his government—and the unprecedented and inflexible rigour with which they sequester their women from the sight or observation of strangers.

Their religion, it seems, is that of Buddh or Fo; but it seems to occupy scarcely any share of their regard, and the priests are universally regarded as the lowest and least respected class in the community. These unhappy men are condemned to celibacy, and seemed to have no occupation but to sweep the temple, and keep the walks in the garden in order. They have a timorous and subdued expression of countenance; and, when our officers showed them any mark of respect, the chiefs represented this as quite ridiculous, and told them to show them no sort of attention. They never talk or seem to think of religion—nor did the visiters observe any thing in the nature of a religious ceremony, except the killing of a hog, and burning some spirits over the grave of the English sailor;—a proceeding in which, however, the priests were not allowed to take any share, but which was entirely conducted by the chiefs. They bury their dead; and, after some years, gather up their bones, which they preserve in jars of a handsome shape.

Captain Maxwell made many attempts to have an interview with their sovereign; but this was not only rejected with the greatest appearance of distress, but every inquiry into his condition or place of residence, seemed to produce equal suffering and embarrassment. A grave and dignified person, said to be the heir-apparent, paid a visit to the ships; and was infinitely relieved, when Captain Maxwell, with his usual mildness and good sense, assured him, that 'however desirous he had originally been to pay his respects to his Majesty, he had ceased 'to think of it from the moment he had learned that it was contrary to the customs of the country.' The chiefs fell on their knees to the Captain on hearing this gracious communication. All the natives kneeled whenever the Prince came near them. None of the chiefs were allowed to sit down, or to eat in his presence; and his personal attendants, who, from their dress and occupations, were evidently servants, sat down along with the chiefs to the table which their master had left.

The seclusion of the women was so complete, that none of

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the voyagers ever fairly saw one of them during the whole time of their stay. Once, some of the officers rowed near a point where several were assembled to look at them; but they fled on their approach. The best view they had of them was through the telescope in the ship's cabin window. By this means they saw them passing along with their children bound on their backs, and sometimes husking rice in a wooden mortar, undressed from the waist upwards. One young lady was observed to amuse herself a long time in making her dog bark at the ships. They do not allow polygamy; and expressed great horror at the licentious practices of the Chinese in this respect. They would never talk of their women, nor give any explanation of their reason for thus secluding them. All that could be got from them was, that they would be sadly terrified at the sight of the English strangers.—'Loo-Choo woman see Engeree man—Loo-Choo woman cry.' On another occasion, on being shown the picture of an English lady, they said, 'Loo-Choo woman not handsome!' but whether out of jealousy or humility, it is not easy to determine.—Though they often spoke with affection of their children and families, it is rather surmised by Captain Hall, that they do not treat their women with very great gallantry or indulgence. It was gathered, at least, not only that they were scarcely admitted into society, but that a considerable part of the drudgery of agriculture fell upon them; and it was even suspected that they were not allowed the indispensable luxury of a fan. There was one woman in the English party, the wife of the boatswain of the Alceste, who attracted a good deal of attention from the natives, and was even invited to walk through their city—an honour which, in spite of female curiosity, she thought fit to decline. When she was washing some linen on the shore by herself, she was visited by a native female, very elegantly dressed, who examined her with the greatest attention; but shrunk from the reciprocal scrutiny which Mrs Loy very naturally wished to make into the state of her habiliments.

We cannot bid farewell to these interesting islanders, without again expressing our pride and admiration at the uniform propriety, good humour, and kindness of those of our countrymen to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of them, and by whom we hope they will judge of English and European manners. It is fortunate to be represented, in foreign regions, by such men as Captains Maxwell and Hall, and the crews formed by their precept and example:—nor can any thing be more delightful than the spectacle of warlike and hardy men, secluded from female society, and all the softening influences of domestic life, thus yielding themselves to the kindly feelings of

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human brotherhood, and exchanging gentle offices with a race of beings, in whom, however amiable, coarser and uninstructed nations might so easily have found materials for scorn and derision. It seems very singular, indeed, to us, that there should have been no tendency to any such feelings—and that the whole crews should have been so subdued by the kindness and unaffected suavity of those gentle strangers, as to have laid aside a great part of their habitual roughness on their account, and treated them with something of the softness and consideration with which generous men always behave to women. Even to us, who have by no means the same right to despise timid and unwarlike natives that must be allowed to British seamen, there is something, we confess, a little ridiculous in the picture of this comparatively effeminate race, armed only with fans, and bustling about with their submissive smile, and long petticoats of bright silk and figured muslin; and it is not without difficulty that we can avoid feeling a little contempt for that utter ignorance of discord and avarice which must constitute their chief felicity. It is only necessary, however, to read Captain Hall's book, to become ashamed of these paltry feelings—and to be convinced, that they who could thus win the friendship and esteem of the crews and commanders of British ships of war, can only appear ridiculous when considered through the medium of some gross and despicable prejudice.

This very delightful account of the people of Loo-choo is followed by an Appendix; in which various points of learning are discussed with singular modesty and intelligence.

Captain Hall's voyage has furnished several corrections on the Geography of the remote regions which he visited. One of these respects the coast of Corea; for though his course was not always in sight of that coast, he was sufficiently near to be certain that there is a great error in the longitude usually assigned to it, which is indeed nearly the same, from the first maps of the Jesuits down to the present time. The maps constructed by those reverend fathers conveyed the first authentic information concerning the geography of China and the adjacent countries; and are, we believe, very correct in the position of all such places as were actually visited by them. However, as they do not appear to have surveyed Corea, and as no European voyagers, antecedent to the present, seem to have visited its western coast, it was to be expected that great errors would be discovered whenever a more accurate examination was made. Accordingly, the west coast of Corea, which, between the parallels of 34 and 37 north, is placed by the JESUITS, by DANVILLE, KEMPFER, and the most modern authorities, in lon-

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gitude 125° E. or a little more, was found to be not less than 2° further to the east. When the Alceste and Lyra were in the latitude of 36° 40′ north, and longitude 126° 10′ E., they could discover no land to the eastward; and they steered E. S. E. for more than 90 miles before they reached the coast. Their course, after leaving the coast, lay about S. S. W. for more than 120 miles, through prodigious clusters of islands, of which no mention is made in any chart. On reaching latitude 34° 22′ 39″ north, and longitude 126° 2′ 52″ east, they were still surrounded by innumerable islands; and a high point on the main land was just discernible in the eastern quarter, from the top of an elevated peak near the anchorage, at an island where they landed. The coast could not, therefore, be less than 40 or 50 miles distant, or in longitude about 127° E.; so that the whole of this range of coast, from 34° to 36½° north, an extent of about 150 nautical miles, must be carried 2° of longitude, or nearly 100 such miles further to the east; thereby cutting off a space of no less than 14,400 square miles, and, of course, diminishing the peninsula of Corea about one-third.

On comparing the charts in this volume with the maps of the Jesuits, we have been surprised to observe a much more exact agreement in the longitudes than in the latitudes. In a map professedly copied from their surveys, we find the mouth of the Pei-ho laid down in 117° 37′ E.; and the anchorage of the squadron of the late embassy was 118° E.; and, taking away 12′, this gives, for the mouth of the Pei-ho, 117° 48′, only 13 minutes greater than the preceding determination. In the same manner, the bottom of the Gulph of Peechelee is, by both charts, in 119° 30′ east longitude. In the reduction of this longitude, the island of Ferro is supposed to be 17° 35′ west from Greenwich.

The coast of the Yellow Sea affords several other examples of the same kind; and though accident must be allowed to come in for a share in this coincidence, it is nevertheless a proof that the Reverend Fathers were actual observers, and possessed a great deal both of diligence and accuracy. The best maps are wrong in the situation of Loo-choo. They place it between 25° 45′ and 27° 57′ N., and between 128½° and 129° east longitude. The island is also made to extend about 130 miles from north to south, with a uniform breadth of about 30 miles. Its true direction is nearly N. E. by N., and S. W. by S.; its length only 56 miles, and its breadth about 11. The longitude of the western extremity is 120° 34′ east, and of the eastern 128° 18′. The latitude of the south point is 26° 4¼′ N. and of the north point 26° 52½′.

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The tract of the ships, in running down from the head of the Gulph of Peechelee to Loo-choo, lay mostly through the Yellow Sea; an extensive but shallow inland sea, hardly anywhere exceeding 45 fathoms in depth, and often not more than 20; with a bottom of clay or mud, the *alluvion*, no doubt, of the great rivers that are poured into it from the mountains and the plains of China. It was in the months of July and August that the voyage was performed, and between the parallels of 38° and 26°, the temperature being very uniform, and the heat moderate; so that Fahrenheit's thermometer seems never to have been higher than 84° in the day, and rarely lower than 78° in the night. Toward the middle of the sea, the temperature appears to have been less by 2° or 3° than near the shore. In the middle of October the ships were off Loo-choo, in the Sea of Japan, between the parallels of 26 and 27, with a mean temperature of about 72°, which, as the mean temperature of October is nearly that of the whole year, may be taken for the annual average temperature in that parallel, at least when it traverses the Yellow Sea. The variations of the barometer were inconsiderable; but a sudden descent, though of no great quantity, was usually observed previous to a gale of wind.

Several currents were detected, by comparing the place of the ship given by the chronometer, with the place given by the dead reckoning. For this purpose, Captain Hall set down for every day the place of the ship, by both these computations, beginning both reckonings anew, every day, and taking the departure from the same point. The line joining the places of the ship found in this manner, gave the velocity of the current and its direction; the actual way of the ship, as exhibited by the chronometer, being the diagonal of the parallelogram contained under the other two lines, of which the one marks the effect of the wind, and the other of the current, as has been said. This seems to be a very judicious arrangement, and is different from that usually followed, where the two reckonings do not begin every day from the same point, and by which, of course, the daily velocity and direction of the current are not exhibited. This may be seen very clearly in the charts; but we may remark, that there is a want of a general chart, comprehending the tract of the Lyra and Alceste during the whole period to which the narrative extends. When the work comes to a second edition, we hope this deficiency will be supplied.

The use of the dip sector, which appears in Captain Hall's voyage for the first time, is to be considered as an important improvement in nautical astronomy. This instrument, intend-

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ed for measuring the true dip of the horizon, was invented several years ago by Dr Wollaston, but not used in practice before the present voyage. It is well known, that the apparent dip of the horizon does not depend merely on the height of the observer's eye above the sea, but on accidental inequalities of refraction, which cannot be reduced to rule. All that can be done, therefore, is to measure the effects; and this Dr Wollaston has contrived to accomplish, by an instrument every way worthy of that sagacious and indefatigable ingenuity which has enriched so many branches, both of the sciences and the arts, with new and useful inventions. He remarked, in a paper published in the Transactions of London in 1803, that an arch passing through the zenith, and intersecting two opposite points of the horizon of the sea, might be measured by the back observation with Hadley's quadrant. This arch, it is evident, would measure the angular distance between two opposite points of the horizon; and therefore its excess above 180° would give twice the dip of the horizon at either of these points. It afterwards occurred, as it was only necessary to measure this excess, that the arch of 180° might be dispensed with, in the construction of the instrument by which the dip was to be ascertained.

This produced the dip sector, an instrument constructed on the principle of Hadley's quadrant, but very simple, and contained in small compass. It appears, however, to be an instrument somewhat difficult to use, and requires not only good eyes, but a great deal of skill and patience. Captain Hall has given a table of 90 of these observations, made occasionally from the middle of June 1816 to the end of July 1817. From these it appears, that the difference between the observed and calculated dip, amounted sometimes to no less than three minutes. Such irregularities not only affect the latitude, but, in the observations for ascertaining time, they produce even a worse error; and it is probably in a great measure owing to these irregularities that it is found impossible to fix the rate of a chronometer, by observations made with the horizon of the sea. Captain Hall commends the instrument as of great use, and has been careful to explain the method of observing with it, and of deducing the results (Appendix, p. 33, &c.) While the ships lay in the mouth of the Pei-ho, in the month of August, the accidental refractions were very great, the vessels at some distance being often seen with an inverted image of themselves under them, extending to the hull, and a part of the sails; and, at such times, the observed dip differed very much from that contained in the tables.

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We hope that the use of this instrument will become general in all voyages where nice observations, either for the latitude, or for regulating the chronometers, are required to be made; and we have been glad to understand, that the ships at present destined for the Polar Circle are provided with dip sectors, instruments so important in voyages, where the nature and the quantity of the atmospherical refraction are among the principal objects to be examined.

A geological memorandum, with which the Appendix concludes, contains several interesting observations. It is highly satisfactory to remark, that our globe, in parts of its surface most remote from one another, appears to be constructed on the same plan, and to consist of similar materials similarly disposed. The same rocks of sandstone, limestone, schistus, gneiss, granite, succeed one another, as you go from the valley to the mountain—or, as you descend from the surface into the interior of the earth, are formed into the same kind of strata or beds, and are intersected in the same way by metallic veins, or by dykes of basalt, greenstone, porphyry, &c. Thus, on the coast of Corea, in latitude 36° 10′ north, and longitude about 127°, Captain Hall found an island, one end of which was composed of fine-grained granite, the other end of a breccia, being an assemblage of angular and water-worn pieces of quartz, mica slate, &c. and the middle of it a brittle micaceous schistus, of a deep blue colour, in strata nearly horizontal. These strata are cut across by a granite dyke, at some places forty feet wide, and at others not more than ten. In the vicinity of this dyke, the strata are broken and bent in a remarkable manner; and veins of granite branch out from the dike to a great distance, varying in width from three feet to the $\frac{1}{100}$th of an inch.

This dyke crosses the little island, and takes a direction that would lead one to look for it in another smaller island, no more than thirty yards distant from the former, and composed of the same materials. The granite dyke, however, is not to be seen here; but the island is cut by a vertical whinstone dyke about four feet wide, in a direction nearly at right angles to the granite dyke just mentioned. The strata contiguous to the whin are considerably troubled and broken, though not so much as in the case of the other more powerful dyke. This island our navigators called by the name of Hutton's Island, in honour of the distinguished geologist, of whose ideas about the structure of the globe it seemed to afford so complete an illustration.

This, we must remark, is not the first instance in which Captain Hall has given proofs of his attention to the phenomena of geology, and his skill in observing them. The seventh volume

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of the Edinburgh Transactions contains an account of observations which he made on the veins that issue from the central nucleus of granite in the Table mountain, at the Cape, and penetrate into the schistus which lies on its sides. Though that mountain had been often visited, we do not believe that these veins had been before remarked. They are the more curious, that this granite is covered at the top by a sandstone formation, into which, however, no veins from it have found their way. The oldest of the three formations, then, one should conclude to be the schistus; the next the granite; and the last the sandstone. The position of the sandstone in this arrangement, we believe, all geologists will admit; that of the granite, the majority of them probably will deny; but, without admitting it, they will hardly explain the existence of the granite veins.

The observations that follow, relate to a rock formation which has not so close a resemblance to those found in Europe,—the reefs of coral which abound in low latitudes. The examination of a coral reef during the different stages of one tide, seems, as Captain Hall remarks, to be particularly interesting. When the tide has left the reef for some time, it becomes dry, and appears to be like a compact rock, exceedingly hard and ragged; but, as the tide rises, and the waves begin to wash over it, the coral worms protrude themselves from holes which were before invisible. These animals are of a great variety of shapes and sizes; and in such number, that in a short time the whole surface of the rock appears to be alive and in motion. The most common worm is in the form of a star, with arms from four to six inches long, which are moved about with a rapid motion in all directions, probably to catch food. Others are so sluggish that they may be mistaken for pieces of the rock; they are generally of a dark colour, and from four to five inches long, and two or three round. When the coral is broken about high water mark, it is a solid hard stone; but if any part of it be detached at a spot which the tide reaches every day, it is found to be full of worms, of different lengths and colours, some being as fine as a thread, and several feet long; others resembling snails, and not above two inches long.

'The growth of coral appears to cease when the worm is no longer exposed to the washing of the sea. Accordingly, a reef rises in the form of a cauliflower, till its top has gained the level of the highest tides, above which the worm has no power to advance, and the reef, of course, no longer extends itself upwards. The other parts, in succession, reach the surface, and there stop; forming, in time, a level field, with steep sides all round. The reef, as it can now reach no higher, extends itself laterally in all directions. But this growth

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being as rapid at the upper edge as it is lower down, the steepness of the sides is still preserved. These are the two circumstances which render coral reefs dangerous in navigation; for, in the first place, they are seldom seen above the water; and, in the next, their sides are so steep, that a ship's bows may strike against the rock before any change of soundings has given warning of the danger.'

It is not a little curious to observe Nature thus employing the feeblest, most contemptible, and most imperfect of all the animal tribes she has formed, in the construction of the most gigantic and durable edifices of which we can venture to trace the origin; and by the agency of worms, hardly entitled to stand in the lowest place of the animal kingdom, building up rocks and mountains, that reach from the bottom to the surface of the ocean; or laying the foundation of islands and of continents which are, in future ages, to be the habitations of men—are to witness their vices and their virtues—to be cultivated by the arts of peace, desolated by the arts of war—and to figure in that strange mixture of good and evil which has so long constituted, and will perhaps for ever constitute, the history of the world.

We find we have no room left for Mr M'Leod; and, indeed, it would not be fair to crowd in a mutilated and abridged account of the animating and ennobling story of the loss of the Alceste, and the deliverance of the crew, at the end of an article already too long for the place it holds in the volume. We mean hereafter to return to this subject; and to make it, and the contrast it affords to the frightful and disgusting scene of the wreck of a French frigate, about the same period, an occasion for some remarks on the national character of the two countries; which appear to us important, and, we trust, may be so expressed as to be instructive, without being invidious. At present, we shall only say, that the conduct of Captain Maxwell, and his officers and ship's company, on this trying occasion, seems to realize all that imagination could conceive of perfect discipline and judgment, operating upon that calm and generous courage which can only exist where the conscience is void of offence, and the heart enlarged by kindly affections.

Want of room must also serve as an apology for not giving an account of the Vocabulary of the Loo-choo language, and the observations concerning it, which form the subject of a memoir inserted at the end of the voyage, the work of a very intelligent and ingenious officer, Lieutenant CLIFFORD, who voluntarily accompanied Captain HALL.

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ART. XI. *Report on the Management of the Poor of Glasgow.* By JAMES EWING, Esq. Glasgow.

Supplementary Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the Poor Laws. Folio. 1818.

WE regret that the limits of our present Number do not admit of any thing more than a very short and hasty notice of this interesting performance. It is the work of a gentleman who has filled a number of city offices in Glasgow, and has taken a very laborious and distinguished share in the management of its public business. In any circumstances, such a book would do credit to its author, as evincing a mind enlightened by those great principles, which will, in all probability, be misunderstood and misrepresented for some time longer—but which, we cannot doubt, are destined at last to find their way to general approbation.

In the mean time, this work exhibits the testimony of a practical and experienced man in favour of these principles—and is chiefly to be valued, as offering to us the rare example of one versant in all the details of an existing management; and yet able, by his powers of generalization, both clearly to perceive, and vigorously to point out, the radical vice by which it is pervaded, and rendered utterly incompetent to its professed object. Were we asked to station an observer at the most *unfavourable* point, from which to survey any system of management, with a view to estimate its merits and its general tendency—we would place him in the centre of the system itself—we would close him round by its complicated machinery—and task him with the routine of some prescribed and uniform operation. This, which is generally thought to be the very best station for acquiring right views on the subject of pauperism, is, in fact, with most men, the very worst: And, what reflects the highest credit on the author of this work, is, that he has surmounted the difficulties of so unfavourable a situation; and, while beset by the confinements of a local experience, has obtained a firm hold of the lessons of an universal experience.

The difference, however, between some of his specific plans and his general principles, must be perceived by every reader: and such, in fact, is the amount of this difference, that the success of the former would prove a most decisive experimental re-

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futation of the truth of the latter; and we think that it can only be accounted for by a supposed necessity on the part of the author, to soften, as much as in him lay, the appearance of innovation. For our own parts, we are perfectly persuaded, that the specific plans which he has suggested, would not, if put into execution, arrest the progress of pauperism. The management might receive such an impulse for a few years, by the novelty of the proposed arrangement, as might serve to give a temporary check to the rate of its acceleration. But we hold it to be an axiom on this subject, that wherever the principle of a compulsory provision for the poor is admitted and acted upon, there must, under every variety in the mode of administration, be an increase, in the long run, both of expense to the higher, and of discomfort to the lower orders of society.

It is but justice, however, to Mr Ewing, to add, that it does not distinctly appear in how far he approves of the plans which he here suggests for the consideration and choice of the Town Hospital; that he abstains from giving to any of them, in a positive way, the weight of his own personal recommendation; and that, in drawing up this book, he acts as the organ of a Committee, of which he is one of the members.

As this can scarcely be considered as a separate article, so much as a supplement to that which stands first in this Number, we shall make no apology for concluding it, by laying before our readers the instructive, but most appalling results, of that Parliamentary inquiry to which we have already so frequently alluded. We have no room for any commentary; and they neither require nor admit of any. But the facts ought to be engraven on the memory of all who approach to the consideration of this great and distressing question. It appears, from a Supplementary Report recently given in by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, that they have been furnished with some returns, made in pursuance of orders of the House, of assessments in the years 1748, 1749, and 1750, which were not known to exist till they were discovered by the researches of the Speaker into the records of the House during the recess; and also with the returns of the assessments for the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, embracing an abundant and valuable mass of materials. From the new information thus obtained, the Committee have been enabled to submit the following more correct view of the sums raised for, and expended on the poor, at different periods.

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	TOTAL RAISED.	EXPENDED.
Average, 1748, 1749, 1750,	L.730,135 - - -	L.689,971
Year - 1776, - - - - -	1,720,316 - - -	1,530,864
Average, 1783, 1784, 1785,	2,167,748 - - -	2,004,237
Year - 1803, - - - - -	5,348,204 - - -	4,267,963
Average, 1813, 1814, 1815,	8,164,496 - - -	6,129,844

A very valuable Appendix is annexed to this Report. It gives the assessment for the relief of the poor in 1748, 1749 and 1750, by which it appears, that, on the average of those three years, about 690,000*l.* per annum was applied for this purpose; in the year 1776, the sum of 1,531,000*l.* was expended on account of the poor; in 1783, 4, and 5, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* per annum; in 1803, 4,268,000*l.*; and in 1813, 14, and 15, the average sum of about 6,130,000*l.* per annum was expended for the maintenance of the poor. But the sums raised by poor's rates and any other rate or rates in these years was, in 1813, 8,651,438*l.*; in 1814, 8,392,728*l.*; in 1815, 7,460,855*l.* The number of paupers relieved in 1813, was 971,913; in 1814, 953,995; in 1815, 895,979.

The Appendix closes with the statement of some very striking and important results, which we shall give without any observation, in the most summary and compendious form. It is stated then, upon the authority of the very laborious investigation which has just been concluded—'1*st*, That the number of persons relieved permanently, both in and out of any workhouse, on the average of the last three years, appears to be 516,963; ditto, occasionally, being parishioners, 423,663; total, 940,626; exclusive of any children of those permanently relieved out of the house.'—'2*d*, That four thousand and ninety-four parishes or places maintain the greater part of the poor in workhouses, averaging, for the last three years, 93,142 persons.'—'3*d*, That the population of England and Wales, as taken from the abstract laid before Parliament in the year 1811, appears to have been 10,150,615; so that the number of persons relieved from the poor's rates appears to have *been* 9¼ *in each* 10 *of the population.*'—'4*th*, That the total of the money raised by poor's rates, or other rates, appears to have averaged, for the last three years, the sum of 8,168,340*l.* 13s. 9¾d., being at the rate of 16s. 1d. per head on the population, or 3s. 1⅝d. in the pound, of the total amount of the sum of 51,898,423*l.* 12s. 6½d. as assessed to the property tax in the year 1813.'—'5*th*, That the amount of money annually expended in suits of law, removals, and expenses of parish officers, for militia purposes, and for all other purposes, is, independent of the maintenance of the poor, no less than 2,162,799*l.*'—'6*th*, That the number of

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persons belonging to Friendly Societies appears to be, for the last three years, nearly 8½ in the 100 of the resident population.' —' 7*th*, That the area of England and Wales, according to the latest authorities, appears to be 57,960 square statute miles, or 37,094,400 statute acres; wherefore the number of inhabitants in each square mile, containing 640 acres, averages 175 persons.'—' 8*th*, That the greater proportion of the population of England and Wales appears to be employed in trade and manufactures; there being 770,199 families returned employed in agriculture, and 959,632 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft; besides 413,316 other families.'

Such is the extraordinary picture exhibited, on the highest authority, of the richest, the most industrious, and most moral population, that probably ever existed. More than nine-tenths of its whole amount occasionally subsisting on public charity—the nation taxed for their support, in an annual sum, larger than its whole revenue in the days of its greatest power and glory—and, in spite of all these exertions, the evil uniformly and rapidly progressive! This is manifestly not a *natural* state of things; and we may now form a pretty safe judgment as to its artificial cause. We have elsewhere shown, we trust, that the disease has been produced by the remedy;—and that, in seeking to alleviate disorders inseparable from our social constitution, and calculated perhaps to give a salutary stimulus to its various functions, we have generated and fostered a frightful and fatal distemper—which can only be cured by a renunciation of all our quackeries. We do not mean, however, to resume any part of the argument on this subject—but shall end by merely recommending *the facts* we have just abstracted, to the serious meditation of all whom they may concern.

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